

THE
ANNALS
AND
HISTORY
OF
C. Cornelius Tacitus.

Made English by several Hands.

WITH THE
POLITICAL REFLECTIONS
AND
HISTORICAL NOTES
OF
Monsieur AMELOT, *de la Houffay*;
AND THE
Learned Sir HENRY SAVILE.

V O L. III.

LONDON: Printed for *M. Gillyflower*, at the
Spread-Eagle, in *Westminster-hall*. MDCXCVIII.



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THE
ANTHROPOLOGICAL

INSTITUTE



M. Ambrose Holbech of Mollington
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THE END OF
N E R O
And Beginning of
G A L B A.

By Sir HENRY SAVILE

VOL. III.

G *Alerius Trachalus, and Silius* The Year of
Italicus being Consuls: *Caius* the City,
Julius Vindex, Lientenant of 821.
Gallia Lugdunensis, perceiving
 that private Conspiracies against the Person of *Nero*
 had been often intended and ever discovered, deter-
 mined to give the first onset in Arms, and openly go
 to the Field. *Vindex* was by his Father of a Senators
 House, by birth *French* and extracted from the Line of
 their antient Kings, of body puissant, quick of con-
 ceit, of a ready dispatch, skilful in Arms, and bold
 to attempt. His Province peaceable, and therefore
 B utterly

utterly disfurnisht of Forces: no Legion, no Garifon under his Government. Notwithstanding as in a Body corrupt, and full of ill humors, the first pain that appeareth, be it never so slender, draws on the rest, discloseth old Aches and Strains, actuateth what else is unsound in the Body: so in a State universally disliked, the first disorder dissolveth the whole: yea and oft so it happeneth in both, the Disease that grew first, and gave cause to the other, being recured, the rest notwithstanding work out the final destruction. Now *Vindex*, before he declared himself, well weighing the weakness of his Estate, and withal his own Person incapable of the Empire, as being but a Stranger, without Followers, without Friends or Allies among the Nobility, deliberated to cast it on some other Man of more Reputation, who also by nearness and strength might second his attempt. *Corbulo* was lately murdered by *Nero*; *Vespasian* far off warring in *Jewry*: *Suetonius Paullinus* at Home without an Army, the most famous Men of that Age for Military matters. Of *Higb Germany*, *Verginius Rufus* was Lieutenant, with three Legions, next Neighbour to *Vindex*, only of a mean Gentlemans House. In *Low Germany* *Fonteius Capito* with four Legions, and *Clodius Macer* in *Africk* with a Competent Army, neither of them likely to repair that which *Nero* had ruined. There remained then in Arms *Servius Sulpitius Galba*, a Man of great Wealth and antient Nobility, who had been eight years Lieutenant in nearer *Spain*, to the reasonable contentment of the Country, with an Host of one Legion, and the Aids belonging thereto. Upon him *Vindex* finally resolving, dispatcheth into *Spain*, and other Countries adjoining, secret Letters, declaring his purpose to the Lieutenants. *Galba*, in whom Age had abated the heat of Ambition; Experience and dangerous times engendred a wary and fearful proceeding, thought as then upon nothing less than Diadems and Kingdoms, having given himself over,

over, for certain years past, to an idle and obscure kind of life, sequestred as it were, and retired from Affairs for fear of *Nero*; under whom to do ill was not always safe, always unsafe to do well, and of doing nothing no Man constrained to yield an account. Whereupon the Letters arriving, he stood much amazed, divided in mind what course he should follow, to trust them? Peradventure it was but a Train, to disclose them and send them to *Nero*? That were indeed to put in his head an eternal jealousy, and himself into a needless peril: and perhaps also there might be good meaning. Whereupon in so doubtful a case, the extremes seeming dangerous, he took the mean way, suppressing the Letters, and not entring into the Cause any further, reserving to govern himself in the rest, as Events and Occurrents should lead and direct him. The other Lieutenants sent all their Letters to *Nero*, betraying *Vindex*, betraying the Cause, whereof themselves anon were partakers.

Now *Vindex* certain days after the Calends of *March*, though not fully assured, yet hoping well of *Galba's* intent, and presuming good luck to so good a meaning, assembled them of his Province, such chiefly as were in their Country of great credit, and chiefly had been touched in Goods or in Honour. To whom recounting in order the Tyrannies of *Nero*, namely his paring of † *France* to the † *Gallia*. quick, to the utter destruction of so many Men, the universal decay of so goodly a Country, he exhorteth them all to take Arms, to succour themselves, to succour the *Romans*, and to free the whole World from so heavy a Yoak. Or if, which the Gods forbid in so good a Cause, yet let us (quoth he) sell him our lives in the Field with Honour, seeing we cannot possess them with Safety. For another Prince (our broken State, and Age void of Vertue, not bearing a free Common-wealth) we have here at hand a Man

of great Birth, great Wealth, and great Forces, one that hath made honourable proof of himself, at home and abroad; in all respects worthy the place: *Galba* Lieutenant of † *Arragon*. If you like of the Man, there remaineth then only we Muster the Country to the most that we may, without whose Swords all talk of War is but vain, and this pernicious. His demands being all accorded by common consent, he levieth a Power; many Men and few Soldiers, taken up on the suddain, not Disciplined, not trained to the order of Service; he publishes Edicts defaming the Person and Government of *Nero*. Then causing *Galba* to be Proclaimed, he writes him a Letter, now, or else never, to declare himself in favour of Mankind against that Monster of Nature, to furnish the Body of an hundred thousand *Frenchmen* in Arms, and more if need were, of a Head. The *Sequani*, *Aedui*, *Arverni*, *Remi*, and the Flower in a manner of France, were all of the Party, contributing Men, Horse, Armour, Mony, and what else was requisite for service in Field. *Rufinus*, *Flavius*, *Asiaticus*, with others were appointed Captains, and *Vienne* the Seat of the War; whose next Neighbours, and ancient Enemies, the *Lugdunenses* Banded themselves against them, and the Cause, or the Cause for their sakes. Many conflicts between them, and Skirmishes during the War, so thick, and so hotly pursued, that one might perceive much private Choler pals under the shadow of publick pretences. The *Lingones* likewise and *Treveri*, and some other Cities, forsaking their Fellows, linked themselves with the Legions confining. Three Legions, as before it is said, with their Aids, *Verginius* had in his charge; who seeing all France on a fire, and that now of force he must either Rebel with the rest, or War with the Rebels (for so they were stiled till they prevailed) in private beholden, for publick respects misliking

liking of *Nero*, no admirer of *Galba*, with *Vindex* proceedings highly displeased; the example being unseen, that a Province should be a Prince-maker: thus unresolved, resolving this only, that he would not be directed by others, determined to stand on his guard, and gathered his Men about him in hast, valiant Soldiers, and expert in Service, and likely to sway where they went.

On the other side the Lieutenant of *Aquitania*, against the troubles of *France*, requested the assistance of *Galba* his Neighbour, who then at *New Carthage* kept a Law-day: but anon he perceived how that he had taken a wrong address. For *Galba* receiving the Letters of *Vindex*, and being advertised that Warrant was out for his Death to the Procurators, had debated the matter afresh with his Friends. Some unwilling to play their Estate at a Cast, wisht him to stay and attend to what Head the humours in *Rome*, new stirred, would gather: as for the Procurators they might be prevented, and who is warned is half armed. To *Titus Vinus*, then Lieutenant of the Legion, and anon chief in favour with *Galba*, that course seemed unsafe. "Armed indeed we are (quoth he) for a while against a Procurator or two: nay, put case we could hang up these few in our places, shall we live, do you think, for lack of a Hangman? Give us Arms against *Nero*, and then we are armed. But perhaps, sith nothing is past on our parts, he may be persuaded to call in his Sentence again. Even good Princes are jealous of Sovereign Points, and that String being touched, have a quick Ear. They have bought it full dear which ignorantly have sate in their Chair of Estate, that have worn their Diadem to keep it from wetting, or upon like occasion. *Germanicus*, as some here may remember, because one or two in the Army had only a purpose to salute him Prince, was never well brooked, till by his own Death he had paid the price of other mens rashness. *Corbulo*, even that *Corbulo*,
B 3 which

which had quieted *Germany*, subdued *Armenia*, broken the *Parthian* spirits, brought *Arfaces* Line on their Knees before *Nero*, after he had so highly deserved at his Hands, it cost him his life, that some Men in secret thought him a Man fit to succeed. We are, as they say, openly proclaimed, we have an Army in Field : shall he then repent it, that never repented but when he did well ? Let him look that list for Succours from *Rome*, where Liberty is lost, fit Men to free others. *Galba* and *Vindex*, their Swords and their Armies must purchase our freedom. This Opinion prevailing, as possible to prove, but of force to be followed, a day was appointed by *Galba*, therein to dispatch the freeing of Slaves. The Country came in at the day, suspecting the matter, apt to receive any new impression. And *Galba* having placed of purpose, before his Tribunal, a many of Images of great Personages Executed or Banisht in *Nero's* time, and fetched from Exile a young Nobleman, out of the next Islands, to stand by his seat, his Army about him, spake in this wise. " My fellow Soldiers and Friends, we are at this present assembled to enfranchise our Bondmen, to bestow upon others that great benefit of liberty and freedom, which we our selves, whom both Nature and Fortune hath freed, this long time have smally enjoyed. The life I have led hitherto will sufficiently discharge me from any aspiring conceit, and mine own Conscience beareth me witness, that I speak not upon any Malice, or private respects. It grieves me to say : but it helps not to hide that which every Man seeth. Hath ever Bondman under a cruel Master passed a year of harder service, than we have done fourteen under *Nero* ? What kind of exaction hath he not proved to supply with Extortion that which with shame he hath spent ? What kind of cruelty hath he not practised ? If we should conceal or seek to suppress it, these dumb Stones would declare them. Behold,

his

his Father and Brother Poisoned, his own Mother abused and slain, his Wife, his Master murdered, and what else soever valiant or vertuous in Senate, in City, in Province, without any difference of Sex, or of Age. I need not to speak of the sorrowful sighs and bitter tears of so many young Gentlemen bereft of their Fathers, so many Wives robbed of their Husbands, so many great Men deprived of their Country, which cry vengeance upon such a Prince. A Prince! Nay, an Incendiary, a Singer, a Fidler, a Stage-Player, a Cart-driver, a Crier; no Prince, nay, no Man, that hath a Man to his Husband, and a Man to his Wife, but a Monster of Mankind; against whom what *Vindex* in *France* hath already intended I am sure you do know, and I, for my part, am most sorry to hear. The whole course of my former life hath been otherwise removed from ambition in Court, from aiming too high: and this little that remains of my days I could heartily wish were spent in more ease. But sith, I know not by what misfortune, some have imposed upon me a part, which I never meant to sustain, and least of all at this Age, I will not refuse, if you also approve it, to Sacrifice this old Carcase of mine for the Weal of my Country, not as Emperor, or *Augustus* which Sacred Names I adore afar off, not daring to approach them, but as — The speech was not finished, when the Soldiers, and People, with one common voice interrupting, saluted him Emperor. *Galba* commending their Zeal to the good of the Empire, and accepting the Substance refused the Name, terming himself Lieutenant of the Senate and People of *Rome*. Next care was to Muster more Men, to make good the Revolt. The Country was Prest, and Soldiers came in on all Hands. New Legions and Aids were Enrolled, and to help at a need, a Ship of *Alexandria*, laden with Armor, without Master, without Mariner, without Passenger, arrived at the Port:

which Accident, besides that the Wreck came in in good season, increast to the Cause Reputation, as though against *Nero* the Gods had furnished Weapons from Heaven. Then he ordained a Counsel in form of a Senate, elected out of the chiefest and gravest Men of his Train, and a Guard of young Gentlemen to Watch and Ward at his Lodging, he publisheth Edicts, and sends them abroad to every Province, exhorting them all to take up Arms, and concur in common against the Common Enemy. Many revolted from *Nero* and came to the side: *M. Salvius*

Otho with the first, then Lieutenant of
 † *Lusitania*. † *Portugal*, bringing his Jewels and Plate,
 which *Galba* made into money.

In *Highb Germany*, the Soldiers considering the weakness of *Nero*, that *France* had already rebelled, that *Spain* made a Prince, that the rest of the Countries were like to follow, if not all for the same, yet all against *Nero*; viewing their own Forces, and Strength now united, which before lay dispers'd in Troops and in Bands, strangers to *Galba*, and greatly disdainning that one simple Legion should impose on them a Prince, finally concluded to make it their Benefit, and bestow the Empire themselves. A fit Man they needed not seek far off. *Verginius Rufus* the Lieutenant, though but of a Gentleman's House, and no higher, in Strength of Body, Matters of Action, and all other things excelled *Galba*; in Birth, what if *Galba* were better? *Catulus* the top of his Kin, fled dishonourably away in the *Cimbrian War*, where *Marius*, baselier born than *Verginius*, worthily stuck to it, and saved the State. Hereupon they go and break down tumultuously the Images of *Nero*, salute *Verginius* Prince, inscribing his Name in the Banners. *Verginius* seeing the matter grow to a Tumult, and being unable to resist their Violence, shewed to yield in some degree against *Nero*, but not for himself, much less any other named abroad.

abroad. For his part he said he had no need of the place, which all Men beside so greatly desired; nor was any to suffer, but such as by Order of Senate should be appointed; that they were the Men, to whom that Election belonged, whose right he would surely maintain against whomsoever. The Soldiers being in part thus appeased, he commands the Inscription to be defaced, and with his whole Army entrenches *France*, pretending to War against *Vindex*. The City of *Bezanson*, which first refused to receive him, he straitway besiegeth. *Vindex* to succour the Town, and levy the Siege, or bid him Battel, if it might be no better, with Twenty Thousand Men cometh against him. Lying encamped not far asunder, there passed Letters between them; whereupon they secretly met and conferred together, none else being present on either side. Their conclusion was friendly, doubtless to joyn against *Nero*: some thought to set down *Galba* also, and it was not unlikely. Thus departing as Friends, each to his Camp, *Vindex* secure as in a Quarrel already composed, and nothing attending less than the shock, meaning to enter the Town, and repose his Army, with all his Men made towards the Gates. The Soldiers of *Germany* lying at the Walls, and perceiving the Army approach, marched as it seemed, directly upon them, not privy to their Generals purpose, or not willing to lose so fair an Occasion, ran out without bidding, and falling upon them at unawares, and in disarray, not able on a sudden to remedy the Error, as Men newly trained and unexpert in War, slew them all in a manner, and spoiled the Carriage. *Vindex* seeing the unlucky Success of this unlooked for Battel, having lost in a manner the Flower of all *France*, and suspecting Fraud on *Verginius's* side, as though he meant to entrap him, and send him to *Nero*, ran himself upon his own Sword; many coming after, bestowed their Blows upon

upon the dead Carcass, seeking a colour for Praise or Reward, if *Nero* prevailed. After this slaughter, the Soldiers pressed *Verginius* again to accept of the Empire, and Embassies came almost from every Quarter requiring the same, with assured Promise of all possible Assistance, if not, ready to return to *Nero's* obedience; but *Verginius* bewailing the heavy mishap of his unfortunate Friend, rejecteth the Speech, and marcheth forward into *France*. This end had *Julius Vindex*, a Man in the course of this Action more Vertuous than Fortunate, who having no Army provided, no Legion, no Soldier in charge, whilst other more able look'd on, first entered the Lists, challenging a Prince upholden with thirty Legions, rooted in the Empire by four descents of Ancestors, and fourteen years continuance of Reign, not upon private Despair to set in combustion the State, not to revenge Disgrace and Dishonour, not to establish his own Sovereignty, things which have moved most Men to attempt; but to redeem his Country from Tyranny and Bondage, which only respect he regarded so much, that in respect he regarded nothing his own Life or Security. For when

**That is, about
fourscore thousand
pound.*

it was shewed him, that *Nero* by publick Edict had prized his Head at * ten thousand thousand *Sesterces*: Well, quoth he again, and he that kills *Nero*, and brings me his Head, shall have mine in exchange. And tho' in this Action, Fortune gave Vertue the check, and by a strange Accident, which Man's Wisdom could not fore-see, over-turned the Enterprize, yet must we confess, that *Vindex* first stirred the Stone, which rowling along, tumbled *Nero* out of his Seat.

Of *Vindex's* Revolt, the first News came to *Nero* at *Naples*, about the twentieth of *March*; whereof he made shew so lightly to set, that he would not vouchsafe once to intermit his accustomed Pastimes and Pleasures, but rather seemed to rejoyce, and embrace the

the occasion, as falling out fitly to convert to his Coffers by the Laws of Arms, the Spoil of so large and so wealthy a Country : at Supper also, receiving more Letters of fresher Advice, and certainer Danger, he wished them only ill Chance, which thus by Rebelling had troubled his Drinking, and so for eight days he neither wrote Letter, nor gave out Order for any such dispatch. At length, through *Vindex's* Edicts, so thick and so biting, being awaked, he warned the Senate by Letter to avenge his Cause, and the Common-Wealths, excusing his absence by reason of Sickness. In *Vindex's* Edicts, supporting the rest patiently, one thing above all troubled him most, that his Skill was impeached in playing ; wherein he thought surely there was not his peer ; estoons demanding of them about him, whether, without flattery, they knew any in that Profession more skilful than him ; by this, then so manifest an untruth, in an Art that he had so painfully laboured, so perfectly learned, he willed them to esteem of the rest. The Senate, receiving the Letters, flattering and fearing, adjudged *Vindex* a Traitor, the self-same Men which soon after bestowed the like upon *Nero*. But urged by News upon News, at last in a fright he repaired to *Rome* ; where not calling Senate, nor People together, but some principal Men to the Palace at an unseasonable hour of the Night, as to consult of urgent Affairs, he shewed them certain Conceits, and new strange Devices of Musick by Water-Instruments, discoursing of the manner and difficulty of each, and that he had found out a way to make them sound sweeter and louder, and shortly meant to produce them in Stage, if *Vindex* would give him leisure to do it. But hearing that *Galba* and *Spain* had rebelled, he tare his Cloaths, beat his Head, and would in no wise receive any Comfort, till such time as the Senate by Decree had declared *Galba* Enemy to the State. Then resuming Courage, and
some

somewhat revived with some rumours out of *Germany*, he returned to his Riot and careless licentious Life, and putting *Galba's* Servants in Prison, seized his Goods, and set them to Sale. The like did *Galba* with *Nero's* in *Spain*, and found a great many more ready Chapmen.

Anon, as the Tumult began, it is supposed credibly that *Nero* had purposed to have made away all the Governours of Armies and Provinces, as being conspired against him; to murder all exil'd Persons, lest they should joyn themselves with the Rebels; all *French* he could find in the City, as being Friends to the Cause; to poyson the Senate in Banquet; to set on fire the City, turning in wild Beasts among them which endeavoured to stop the course of the Flame. But setting apart that Device, not as disliking, being so suitable to his proceeding, but as despairing to bring it about, he determined a Voyage in person, sending before in the mean season *Petronius Turpilianus*, and *Rubrius Gallus*, with certain others, against them. To furnish the Journey, his chiefest provision consisted in carriage for playing Furniture, in Concubines shorn and polled as Men, armed with Hatchet and Target, according to the *Amazonian* fashion. For mustering of Men, there were but few able enrolled, and most of them Bond-men. Money was hardly, and with much ado a little extorted. For whereas in time of civil Sedition most need is of Money, and a wise Prince will least grieve the Subject with new Impositions, as seeming to stand in some sort at his courtesie, and having to employ his Body beside, *Nero*, in Peace no storer for War, was forced then to offend, when he should in reason have sought to have won, and yet raised less with more Opposition than ever, Reputation now waining, a contrary Faction being on foot. As for Policies and Plots of War, he told his familiar Friends, he had one most assured; As soon

as he entered the Province, he would venture himself unarmed amongst them, and with silence and Tears move them to Compassion, and so they returning to former Obedience without more ado, he would the next day merrily sing, in that merry Company, Sonnets of Victory, which he willed to be composed out of hand against the time came.

As *Nero* was thus busily occupied in making provision for the War against *Galba* and *Vindex*, Letters were brought in at dinner of *Verginius* defection, and the rest of the Armies. Whereupon in a desperate rage he tare the Letters, overturned the Table, dashed two Cups on the ground, which he dearly esteemed, and casting away all care of himself, notwithstanding the Peril pressed no nearer, he called for Poyson, which he put up in a golden Box, that his Death at the least might be according to his Estate, and so walked forth into the *Servilian* Gardens. From thence he sent of his trusty Servants to *Ostia* to make ready the Ships, purposing to have fled with his Friends into *Egypt*, and there to have taken himself to his Musick to get him a living; sottishly supposing in *Egypt* an imaginary surety to himself by his Musick, when he could not live safely Emperor at *Rome*. To that purpose sounding the minds of the Tribunes and Centurions of the Guard, and finding them some to draw back, and some flatly refuse to go with him, one among others directly to tell him, that sure his best way were to make an end of himself, he was distracted into divers Opinions, casting about what course he should follow; flee to the *Parthian*, whom of late he had pleased? to *Galba*, who peradventure might pity his estate? Or were it else better in lamentable sort and mourning weed to go out abroad, and in the place of common assembly, most humbly, for that which was past, demand pardon: Or if he could not obtain it, that at least they would grant him the Govern-

Government of *Egypt*. This liked him best, and thereof he framed a Speech, which afterwards was found in his Papers: But fearing the People would pull him to pieces before he came to the place, he deferred the matter till the next Morning.

Nymphidius Sabinus and *Sophonius Tigellinus* were Captains of the Guard, preferred by *Nero* from nothing to that honourable Place, and now the first to forsake him. But *Tigellinus*, as a Person infamous and generally hated, prevailed not much: *Sabinus* had the Credit with the Soldier; who affirming that *Nero* was

already fled into *Egypt*, and promising a

* 234l. 5s. 6d. donative in *Galba's* Name, of * Thirty

39l. 11. 3d. Thousand Sesterces a Man, and † Five
Thousand to the Soldier abroad, much

more than would or could be performed, easily won them to leave him, who had as they thought already left them, and so to pronounce *Galba* Emperour, not upon any especial liking they had to the Man above others; but while some doubted, some others denied, *Galba* pretending directly the Suit, and no Counter-Suitor appearing, they were content to accept him for Prince. Their Fellows which warded that Night foreseeing the issue, and coveting in this creation of the new Prince a part with the rest, left *Nero* asleep alone in the Garden; who being awaked about Mid-night, understood his Guard was departed, leapt out of his Bed, and sent about for his Friends; from whom receiving no Answer, he with a few went to their Lodgings himself. The great Monarch of the World, adored ere-while as a God, attended upon and guarded by Thousands of Friends, of Soldiers, of Servants, now as a Page knocking at Doors, finds all shut against his unfortunate state. Thus in Adversity destitute of Aid, of Counsel or Comfort of Friends, he returneth home, where finding his Chamber rifled, the Chamberlains fled,

fled, his Box of Poyson removed away, he sought for *Spicillus* the * Fencer; or * *Gladiator*. some of his sort, by whose Hands he might be dispatched; and finding none, wanting alike both Friends and Foes, he ran desperately out, as though he would have thrown himself headlong into the *Tiber*; but his Heart failing, he repressed his pace, and thereupon requiring some secret place to recall his Wits, and resume Courage again, *Phaon* his freed-Man offered his House Four Miles off in the Country, which *Nero* accepted; and so accompany'd with Four Men only, *Phaon*, *Epaphroditus*, *Sporus*, and *Neophytus*, fleeth away, badly apparell'd and worse mounted, covering his Head, and hiding his Face with a Handkerchief. As he was in his way out of the City, approaching the Camp of the Guard, he heard the Soldiers shouting and wishing good luck unto *Galba* and ill to himself. In riding along, his Horse starting aside, his Face was discovered, and he known and saluted by one of the Guard which met him by chance. Whereupon forsaking Horse and High-way, through Bushes and Briers he crept in at the last into a Thicket of Reeds on the back-side of *Phaon's* Farm-house, who persuading *Nero* in the mean while to sit in a Pit out of which Sand had been digged, he refused the Favour, denying to go alive under ground, and so cast himself down close in the Reeds, till they had beaten a hole in the Wall, through which *Nero* upon all four crept into the Back-side, casting himself upon a simple Pallet in a back Room.

Whilst *Nero* thus lurked, the Senate assembled in Council declare him Enemy of the State, and punishable *more majorem*, sending out to seek him and bring him alive. Concerning the choice of a new, altho in their secret opinions, *Verginius* deserved to resume the benefit which he had put into their hands; yet being not willing to enter into further Troubles, and
raise

raise up a new Civil War, without which *Galba*, who had already foreprised the place could not be set down, following the Soldiers example they openly agreed all upon *Galba*. By this time they about *Nero* were instant upon him to rid himself quickly out of the Contumelies and Indignities which anon he should be forced to endure. To whom yielding himself, he commands to make ready for the Funerals, weeping and wailing at every word. What great pity it was, that so good a Minstrel should be so cast away. In the mean season, certain Letters which were brought to *Phaon* from *Rome* he snatched away, and finding therein the Senates Decree, demanded what *more majorem* meant, for that piece of Law he had never perused: understanding it was, that his Neck should be locked in a Fork, and himself whipped naked to death, having in horror so shameful an End, he took up two Rapiers which he had brought with him, and trying their points how sharp they were, put them up again, desiring some of them to begin and shew him the way to be manful; but desiring a virtuous example out of so vicious a School, a Court so corrupt, he desired in vain. And now the Horsemen sent by the Senate approached, which *Nero* perceiving, by Fear encouraged, ran himself through, *Epaphroditus* his Secretary, at his request, helping to dispatch him the sooner, for which Service he was afterwards put to death by *Domitian*, who thought it not meet to suffer any to live, which had in any sort lent his hand to the death of a Prince. Thus *Nero*, a Prince in Life contemptible, and hateful in Government, having thereby disarmed himself both of the Love and Fear of his Subjects, ended his Days the Eighth of *June*, in the One and Thirtieth Year of his Age, and Fourteenth of his Empire, at the first having ruled the State with reasonable liking, insomuch that *Trajan* was wont to say, That even good Princes were short
of

of *Nero's* five years: but after breaking forth into all infamous behaviour, and detestable oppressions and cruelties, and being withal a Prince weak in Action, not of vertue sufficient to uphold his Vices by might, he was at the length thus overthrown.

Nero being Slain, the People and Gentlemen, but principally the Nobility, the principal object of Tyranny, sacrificed to the Gods, and feasted for joy: some also ware Bonnets, as being newly enfranchised. The Senate assembled again decreeth thanks to *Nymphidius* in most exquisite manner, extolling his high Wisdom and tender Care over the State: confirmeth to *Galba* all Princely Prerogatives and Imperial Titles; making thereof a publick Instrument, which the Consuls sent him in Post: and moreover concludeth upon a solemn Embassage of honourable Personages with Instructions, beside Congratulations and Complements, humbly to desire with speed his presence at *Rome*. Then was it proposed, that information might proceed against the Accusers. The matter concerned some mighty Men, which had lived in times past by the loss of their Neighbours, and touched somewhat a secret of State overthrowing and abolishing the Instruments of the Empire. Notwithstanding their doings were so much detested, and the memory of their Malice so fresh, that the order passed by Voices in Senate, making them all, with the rest of the Ministers of *Nero's* Tyranny, punishable *more majorum*: but was executed only against some base persons, which had gained but little, and done little harm: the principal Malefactors brake through well enough, and escaped the danger.

While matters thus passed in *France* and at *Rome*; in *Spain*, *Galba's* Soldiers in part were in terms to forsake him, and hardly reclaimed. About the same time also a freedman of *Nero* had bestowed upon *Galba* a present of bondmen prepared for a Practice: who according to their Instructions watching opportunities,

as *Galba* by a narrow passage entred the Bath, using their Tongues, when time was for hands, and exhorting one another not to let slip the occasion, were suddainly apprehended, and being examined what occasion they meant, and put to the Rack, confessed the Treason. Anon after these hazards so hardly escaped, the news came to *Galba* of *Vindex* death, and that upon so great a Victory most Men were willing *Verginius* should take the Empire upon him, or else would return to *Nero* again: *Galba* extremely afraid writes to *Verginius*, beseeching him most instantly to join in defence of the Liberty and Empire of *Rome*: himself notwithstanding as destitute and forlorn, and weary of the World that went so against him, leaving *Vinius* Lieutenant in the Army, retireth to *Clania*, repenting of that he had done, and wishing again his private Estate, as though in this case there were any mean between highest and nothing. Thus being distressed and anguish'd in mind without any care of himself or the Cause, in very good season comes *Icelus* his freedman from *Rome* in seven days thither, reporting that *Nero* being yet alive, but not to be found, the Soldiers, the Senate and People had pronounced *Galba* Prince, that straight thereupon *Nero* was said to be Slain, but himself not believing it went to the place, saw him ly dead, and so came his way. Two days after *Vinius* came from the Camp, declaring to him the particular points of the Senates Decree. *Galba* receiving the News with great joy, as greatly above expectation, priviledgeth *Icelus* to wear Gold Rings, advanceth *Vinius* to chief Place in Credit about him: and laying aside the name of Lieutenant, assumeth the Title of *Cæsar*, prefereth *Cornelius Laco* to be Captain of his Guard, and judging his presence necessary to settle the State, giveth out order for his Voiage to *Rome* with his Army by Land.

Now at Rome *Nymphidius* making his count that *Nero's* fall was his only deed, that no recompence is sufficient for bestowing the Diadem but the Diadem, that *Galba* was old, and scarce could last out in a Litter to Rome, not by degrees, but with a main course drew all to himself. The Guard in respect of their Donative, were at his Devotion, to be employed as he should direct them. The Lords of the Senate courted him daily, and seemed to depend wholly upon him. Whereupon Usurping Authority undue to his place, he commands by and by *Tigellinus* his Companion to put off his Sword and surcease from his Office. The Consuls upon a displeasure, that they had sent the publick Patents not by his Soldiers, nor signed with his Seal, the Couriers Commission, he had once determined to have deprived. And laying the Plot for himself he biddeth to Banquet the principal Men of the City: sets under hand to put in the Soldiers Heads to present supplication to *Galba*, to establish *Nymphidius* Captain for life without any Fellow. To pleasure the People and get the good will of the Commons, he permits them to vex and torment whom they could catch of *Nero's* crew. *Spicillus* the † Fencer they † *Gladiator*. tied under the Images of *Nero*, trailed him along through the Streets, and dispatcht him in the Place of publick Assembly. *Aponius* an Accuser, they overthrew, and drew Carts laden with Stones over his Body, beside many other outraged and slain, and some, as it happeneth where the Rein is let loose to the furious multitude, innocently: insomuch that in Senate a grave and honourable Counsellor openly protested, that in short time there would be great cause to wish *Nero* again, as being more tolerable one Tirant than many, and better to live where nothing than there where all things were lawful. Thus *Nymphidius*, Son to *Nimphidia* a Libertine, an old Servant in Court; and *Martianus* a Fencer, secretly aspired to the Em-

pire, working in *Rome* by certain gracious Women and Senators, and sending to *Spain* *Gellianus*, one of his Friends to espy the proceedings and actions of *Galba*.

Macer in *Africk*, the State being troubled, mustered Men, and pretended for himself: but being for Avarice and Cruelty hated extremely, and finding no Followers, could neither maintain it with strength, nor leave it with safety. *Galvia Crispinilla*, *Nero's* Schoolmistress in matter of Pleasure and Lust, when *Nero* was dead, misdoubting mischances, sailed into *Africk*, by her advise *Macer* beset the Sea Coasts, and forbad any Corn should be Transported, meaning to famish the City of *Rome*. *Fonteius Capito*, Lieutenant of *Low Germany*, some thought had a meaning also for himself. Certain it is that sitting in Judgment, the Party aggrieved, appealing to *Cæsar*, he skipped out of the seat where he sat, into a Chair of State set up on high, and then bad him tell on his Tale before *Cæsar*. But *Fabius Valens*, Lieutenant there of a Legion, then greatly befriending *Galba's* part, sware to him first he with his Company, and the rest of the Army followed the example. *Verginius*, the only concurrent of *Galba* in speech of the People, having overthrown *Vindex* and mastered *France*, notwithstanding his Soldiers, after the death of *Nero* was known, pressed him again in such vehement sort, that one of the Tribunes drawing his Sword willed him to accept of it or the Empire, persisted constantly in his first resolution: and receiving anon advise of the Senates Decree, himself most willingly, his Soldiers hardly, and with much ado were persuaded, sith *Lower Germany* had sworn, to swear Allegiance to *Galba*. The rest of the Provinces without any difficulty accepted him all.

Now *Galba* disposing, as Prince, the Affairs of the Empire, fineth the Cities of *Spain*, which were not so forward to further the Cause, and some he dismantelleth: certain Procurators and Officers he putteth to death,
their

their Wives and their Children, a cruelty practised no not by *Nero*, much less expected in *Galba's* beginnings. He directeth out warrant to *Trebonius Garrucianus* Procurator of *Africa* to put *Macer* to death, dismiss the Legion lately mustered, and quiet the Country: and appoints in *Verginius* place *Hordeonius Flaccus* Lieutenant in *Germany*. Then without Coat-Armour on back, a sickly old Man, himself and his Men in warlike order march over the Mountains. The Cities of *France* that took part against *Vindex* he punisheth with loss of Revenue and Country: the rest were relieved, their Tributes a quarter abated, themselves made Citizens of *Rome* by means of their mony, and *Vinius*; who carrying an ill mind, and serving in great Place a weak Master, made open sale of his Princes free Graces and Favours. At *Narbon* the Embassadours sent from the Senate met him in dutiful manner, whom *Galba* received curteously with friendly and familiar Speeches, and feasted in sober sort all with his own, though otherwise he had plenty there of *Nero's* waiters and service sent by *Nymphidius*. But anon *Vinius*, which wholly possessed and governed the old Man, counseled him to put of popularity, as not befitting his place, to accept of *Nero's* provision, and to become Royal in Expence and Service. *Verginius* having delivered the Army to his Successor met *Galba* on the way, received of him not as in displeasure, and yet with small honour, so dangerous a point it is yea to have but only refused the Empire.

At *Gellianus* return *Nymphidius* hearing that *Laco* was Captain already, that *Vinius* had all the Authority and Credit, that his Messenger was suspected and watched of all, not suffered to talk with the Prince in private, not once to approach to his Person, was wonderfully moved in mind. Whereupon assembling the chief of the Guard, he shewed them that *Galba* was for his own part a good harmless old Man, but misled by two persons

much of *Tigellinus* making, *Vinius* and *Laco*: and therefore it were not amiss to send one or two in the name of the whole to make him Remonstrance, that removing away those two from about him he should be more welcome, and better accepted. This Speech seeming strange and absurd to prescribe to a Prince of those years, as it were to an Infant, his Counsel and Servants; he taketh a Contrary course, and writeth to *Galba* in terrifying manner, That the matters at *Rome* were doubtful and dangerous, that *Macer* in *Africk* had staid the Ships, the Legions of *Germany* stirred anew, the like was reported from *Jewry* and *Syria*. But perceiving that *Galba* gave to his Tales small Ear and less Credit, and having the Soldiers all well affected, he determined to prevent and give the attempt, notwithstanding that *Clodius Celsus* a sober wise Man and one of his Friends plainly protested, that in his opinion scarce any three persons in *Rome* would accept him for Emperor: but the rest scoffed it out, namely one *Mithridates* of *Pontus*, Perhaps, quoth he, *Galba* seems some body now to the *Romans*, whilst he is absent: but when they shall see that bald Head, and riveled Face, he will seem the very reproach and disgrace of the days in which he was Prince. And so they concluded at midnight following to bring *Nymphidius* into the Camp and proclaim him Emperor. But when the Evening was come *Antonius Honoratus* a principal Tribune assembling the Soldiers under his charge, demanded what evil Spirit had bereaved them of Understanding, moving them so suddainly and without cause to change their Allegiance. If *Nero* deserved it, what Mother, what Wife, had *Galba* then killed? Or for what misdemeanour would they forsake *Servius Galba* to prefer a Courtisans Son? With whose blood they should ere it were long if they would be directed by him both revenge *Nero's* death, whom he first betraied, and shew themselves Loyal to *Galba* against whom he intendeth:
willing

willing them lastly to reckon in reason what success might ten thousand attend against the consent of the Empire armed for *Galba*. His Soldiers thus being persuaded, persuaded the rest all in a manner to remain in *Galba's* Obedience. Whereupon a shout being made in the Camp, *Nymphidius* supposing the Soldiers had called him, or hasting to confirm the wavering, and prevent the Tumult, went thither himself with Torches and Links, having learned without Book an Oration Composed by *Cingonius Varro*, to pronounce there among them. But finding the Gates of the Camp made fast, and Soldiers in Arms on the Walls, he feared the matter, and drawing near demanded what they meant, and by whose warrant they had put themselves so in Arms. And when it was answered by all agreeably, that they knew not, nor would accept other Prince beside *Galba*, *Nymphidius* finding the peril, joyned with them and wished also long life and prosperity to *Galba Augustus*, commanding his Followers to do all the like. And so by the Soldiers, which guarded the Gates, being admitted with a few of his Train, he was at his entry welcomed in with a Dart hurled at him, which one *Septinius* bare of with a Buckler. But seeing so many at the receipt with naked swords prepared against him, he fled, and being pursued was slain at the length in a Soldiers Cabin. The day following his Body was laid out to view in an open place railed about.

Galba being yet in his way, and hearing of *Nymphidius* death commanded the rest of his Favourers and Complices to be Executed: among which *Mitbridates* of *Pontus* paid for his mirth, and *Cingonius Varro* who penned the Oration. As *Galba* drew near to the City at the *Milvian* Bridge the Mariners met him, whom, being by *Nero* taken from service by Sea, and inrolled into a Legion, *Galba* had commanded to return to their former Estate. But they being many in number, and

loath to go back to the Gallies again, beset the Highway on both sides, demanding their Eagle and Ensigns tumultuously, and so without order, that the Prince could neither be heard nor seen of the People making his Entry: neither could he appease them by putting them over to another time of greater Leisure and better Audience, but taking deferring as a kind of denying, seditiously they murmured and followed with outcries. And some of them also drew out their Swords, as though they would obtain it by force, which by fair means they could not. Whereupon *Galba* commanding the Horsemen to ride in amongst them, slew of them, being unarmed, seven thousand, and of the residue allotted every tenth Man to suffer, and putting the rest close up in Prison, which nevertheless he after enlarged to his disadvantage.

Now *Galba*, being with general applause and great good liking of the Empire placed in State, behaved himself under expectation. And though in most points he shewed himself a vertuous Prince, yet were not his well doings so well accepted, as those disallowed which were otherwise. All persons unjustly exiled by *Nero*, as well of the Nobility as meaner sort, with their Children he mercifully restored again to their Country and Honour, thought not to their Wealth. Contrarily *Petronius Turpilianus*, an ancient Man and once Consul, without form of Process or order of Law, he commanded to die, being charged with no other Crime, but only that he had been faithful to *Nero*, and would not betray him as the rest did. Then was represented a plausible and grateful Spectacle, *Elius*, *Polycletus*, *Locusta*, *Patrobius*, *Petinus* and others in Fetters drawn through the City and publickly Executed, as Ministers of *Nero* in mischiefs, whereans *Tigellinus* the Master, not without notable incongruity, was by *Galba* protected. And notwithstanding the People in Theatres and all common Assemblies ceased not importunately to demand

demand his death, as an accomplishment of due and exemplary Justice pleasing to God and to man, yet Gold with *Vinius* and *Vinius* with *Galba* weighed so much, that not only he received undeserved Protection, but also for his sake People were rebuked by publick Edict. Whereupon *Tigellinus* solempnizing the Feast of his deliverance, *Vinius* rose from Supper with *Galba* and went thither with *Crispina* his Daughter to Banquet, upon whom *Tigellinus* bestowed a Courtessie of * a thousand thousand Sesterces in ready mony, and beside all the Jewels and Carcanets of his principal Minion which sate there at Table, by estimation † six hundred thousand Sesterces. Beside *Tigellinus* one *Halotus* of all *Nero's* Instruments the most pernicious, was likewise by *Galba* protected, and preferred also to an honorable Office. Now for nearness *Galba* was noted extremely, a Vice though incident to Age, yet doubtless in a Prince much disliked, and in a new Prince dangerous. To a certain Musician which had wonderfully pleased he gave with his own Hands out of his own Purse ∴ twenty Sesterces: ∴ Three Shillings English. and to his Steward at the making up of his Books a reward from his Table. But that which was most material of all. and prepared the way to his fall, was his hardness towards the Soldiers: to whom large donative being promised in *Galba's* name, and requiring if not so much, yet so much at least as they were wont to receive, he wholly refused the suit, adding withal, That Soldiers he took up in the Muster, bought not in the Market. A saying no doubt fit for a great Prince in a more vertuous Age, but not so in those Seasons for him, who suffered himself to be sold every hour, and abused to all purposes; to be governed by three Pedagogues, *Vinius* and *Laco* his Favourites, and *Icelus* his man. To private Men it is sufficient

* That is, about eight thousand pound English.

† Almost five thousand pound.

∴ Three Shillings English.

sufficient if themselves do no wrong: a Prince must provide that none do it about him; or else he may look when the first occasion is offered against him to be charged with all the reckoning together. To him that suffereth the injury, it matters not much who made the motion when he feeleth the Hand that is heavy upon him. Thus *Galba* though innocent of much harm which passed under his name; yet because he permitted them to commit it, whom he ought to have brideled, or was ignorant of that which he ought to have known, lost Reputation, and opened the way to his own destruction.

THE

THE
FIRST BOOK
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
CORNELIUS TACITUS.

By Sir H. S.

MY History shall begin at the Second Consulship of *Servius Galba*, when *Titus Vinius* was his Colleague. The antient Story of the *Roman* People for above Seven hundred years from the Foundation of the City, having been publish'd by variety of Excellent Authors, who have treated their Subject with equal freedom and eloquence. But after the Victory of *Actium*, when the Sovereignty for the tranquility of the World

was

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was devolv'd on a single person, that noble Spirit ceas'd, and the Credit of History became divers ways impair'd: partly through Ignorance from the Peoples sharing now no more in the Administration of the Publick; and partly through Courtship of the Princes on the one Hand, and hatred on the other; whereby the desire rightly to inform Posterity was extinguish'd.

But Flattery is a prostitute Vice discern'd with ease, and despis'd by all; while Detraction finds a better relish, as being harder to know, lying for the most part conceal'd under the disguise of a false Freedom. For my own part, as to *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*; I shall mention them as unknown for either Favour or Injury; while I freely confess that my first Preferment was by *Vespasian*; that my Condition was bettered by *Titus*, and my Fortune further'd by *Domitian*: But a Candid Author is without Byas from either Love or Hatred.

Towards my declining years (if the Gods spare me) I purpose to write the History of the Emperors *Nerva* and *Trajan*; whose happy times yield a more safe and plentiful Harvest of matter; where a Man may Judge without Awe, and Speak without Danger.

I. The Work I have undertaken is replenish'd with great variety of Events; bloody Battles, dangerous Seditions, Peace it self deform'd with Cruelty: Four Emperors dead by Violence: Three Civil Wars: Foreign many more: sometimes both together. Good Success in the East, bad in the West: *Illyria* unquiet: *Gaul* wavering: *Britain* though all subdu'd, yet not all retain'd in Subjection. Invasions of the *Sarmatian* and *Suevian* People. The *Dacians* giving and receiving great overthrows. The *Parthians* dispos'd to Hostility, deceiv'd by a Counterfeit *Nero*; while *Italy* it self groan'd under many heavy Afflictions, some without Example, others such as had not happen'd of a long time before. Towns Plunder'd and dispeopl'd. The most fruitful Country of *Campania* laid wast. *Rome* burnt,

burnt, ancient Temples laid in Ashes, and the Capitol consum'd by flames kindled by the Citizens themselves. Holy things prophan'd. Infamous Adulteries. Islands peopled by Banishments. The Rocks besmear'd with blood, while yet more barbarous cruelty rag'd within the City. Wealth or Nobility were become Criminal. Dignities and Offices of Trust equally dangerous to receive or refuse, and Virtue the ready way to ruin. The abominable Arts of Informers were not more execrable than the recompence of their Crimes; some reap'd as Spoils Pontifical and Consular Honours, and the best Preferments were the reward of the vilest Actions; Ravage and Confusion Reigning every where without distinction: Slaves out of fear or hatred accus'd their Masters; and the enfranchis'd Man his Patron; and where Enmity was wanting, one Friend betrayed another. Howbeit the Age was not utterly abandon'd to Infamy; but yielded some Examples of Virtue: Wives and Mothers were found who chose Banishment with their Husbands and Children: some Truth was found in Friends: some Trust in Relations: some Bond-men the Rack could not remove from their Fidelity, and some great Men gave proof of their Magnanimity by their Fortitude in Torments, such as might be parallel'd with the Antient *Roman* Vertue.

Over and above these Disorders and Revolutions in human Affairs, many Prodigies were seen in Heaven and Earth; dreadful threatnings by Thunder, and presages plain or obscure of Good and Evil. In short, the unspeakable Calamities under which the *Roman* State labour'd, were most pregnant signs *that the Gods are rather dispos'd to punish our Sins than redress our Miseries.* But my purpose, 'ere I begin my Work, is to recount first the posture of Affairs in the City; how the Armies stood affected; the State of the Provinces abroad, and what there was Sick or Sound in the Body Politick; by which Method will best be discern'd the
 Springs

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Springs and Causes of things; for as to Events, they are for the most part in the power of Fortune.

2. The News of Nero's death was at first receiv'd with unspeakable joy; but the People were soon observ'd to be variously affected: The Senate, Citizens and Soldiers at home, and the Legions and their Leaders abroad had discover'd a secret of State, that an Emperor might be made otherwise than by the Senate and People of Rome. Nevertheless that Body seem'd pleas'd with an appearance at least of their Liberty reviv'd; which they forthwith put in practise, treating their new Prince (being absent) with a freedom that was not customary. The Nobility distinguish'd themselves, by the manner of their joy; the next degree of the People, such as had any spark of Honour left, and such as had contracted Allyances with Families of Note, and the Retainers and Freedmen of those who had been proscrib'd and were in Exile, conceiv'd hopes; while the baser sort, bred to the Race and nourish'd in the Theaters: Bondmen, and those who having squander'd their Fortunes had liv'd on the dissolutions of Nero's Court, droop'd and listen'd after Novelties; and the *Prætorians*, who for so many Descents had plighted their Faith to the Family of the *Cæsars*, and had sworn Allegiance to Nero, were wrought rather by the Arts of others, than of their own motion to desert him. These when they came to despair of the *Donatixæ* promised them in Galba's name, and being without prospect now of bettering their Fortunes so much by Peace as War, and loosing the thanks too that were due to the merit of first proclaiming the Prince (wherein they were prevented by the Legions:) upon these, and the like motives, prone of themselves to change, they were won by *Nymphidius Sabinus* their Captain, to take part with him, who by Treasonable practices, aspir'd to the Empire: and though the Author perish'd, and the Treason was nip'd in the bud; yet

yet many of the Criminals surviv'd, who through the Conscience of their guilt, hated him whom they had offended. Furthermore Seditious whispers were spread, staining *Galba* with Avarice, and contemning his old Age: his strict observance of Military Rules, which had gain'd him Reputation in better times, was now irksom to them, who hating the antient Discipline, and being softned by fourteen years service under *Nero*, had learn'd to love their Prince, no less, for his Vices, than they had reverenc'd them heretofore for their Vertue. It happen'd too that *Galba* had unwarily utter'd a Speech, which though becomming enough the Dignity of the State, was not so safe for him, in regard the rest of his Conduct did not answer the saying, namely. *That he Listed Soldiers by the Musters, not Bought them in the Market.* He had two Favourites, *Titus Vinus*, and *Cornelius Laco*, the one the most wicked, the other the weakest Man alive; who by infamous Practices, and a shallow Administration, contracting hatred and contempt, hasten'd the Fate of their feeble old Master. His journey to the City was slow, and Tragical, during which *Cingonius Varro* Consul Elect, and *Petronius Turpilianus* who had been Consul, were by his order put to death: *Cingonius*, as having been a Complice with *Nymphidius*; the other as one of *Nero's* Confidents; these though no body could gainsay the Merit of their punishment, yet perishing without form of Law dyed as innocent. His Entry into *Rome*, where so many thousand of unarm'd Soldiers were Sacrific'd to his displeasure, was ominous; and detested even by the Executioners. The City was crowded with Extraordinary Soldiers; for *Galba* brought the *Spanish* Legion with him, and found another there, Compos'd by *Nero* out of the Naval Troops; over and above these were many Detachments out of the *Britanick*, *German*, and *Illyrian* Legions, which *Nero* had chosen to march, and advance to the *Caspian* Mountains, in order

der to the War he had meditated against the *Albans*; but were by him remanded back to serve against *Vindex*; All this gave Subject enough for innovation; and though there was no Project form'd in favour of any one, yet matters seem'd prepared to further the attempt of any new Adventurer.

It chanc'd that the News of *Clodius Macer*, and *Fonteius Capito's* death arriv'd at one and the same time: *Macer*, there was no doubt, had attempted to trouble Affairs in *Africk*, and was for that reason cut off by the Procurator *Trebonius Garucianus*, with the allowance of *Galba*; but *Capito's* attempt of the like Nature in *Germany*, was by the Lieutenants of the Legions *Cornelius Aquinus*, and *Fabius Valens*, punish'd without Warrant: Some there were; who acquitted *Capito* of the Treason, though for his Extortions and corrupt Manners otherwise very infamous; but it was suspected that the Lieutenants who had open'd their Treasonable purposes against *Galba* to him, of whom growing afterwards suspicious, they took the safest course for themselves, by turning the Accusation against him whom they kill'd for those Crimes whereof themselves were the Authors; while *Galba* through weakness or caution, seeing what was done could not be redress'd, seem'd to approve the Action by not making inquisition about it. But these Executions pass'd not without severe Comments, as it always happens to Princes fallen into obloquy; whose Actions good and evil are misinterpreted.

Furthermore, *Galba's* Freed Men by their overgrown greatness came at length to Traffick and make publick Sale of every thing, and even his Bondmen greedy of present gain made their Markets, and improv'd to their best profit the short space their old Master had to live. And though the misgovernment of of the new and old Courts differ'd but little, yet their errors were differently understood; *Galba's* Years
compared

compar'd with *Nero's* flourishing Youth gave subject of Contempt, when the Vulgar (as their manner is to make comparison of the Beauty and Majestick Port of their Princes) consider'd them together.

Thus were matters diversify'd, and in this doubtful State were the Peoples minds in the City.

3. As to the Provinces abroad; in *Spain Cluvius Rufus* was President; who was a good Orator, and well enough qualify'd to Govern in times of Peace, but no Soldier.

The People of *Gallia* over and above the memory of *Vindex* were confirm'd in the Interests of *Galba* by their having been by him newly made Citizens of *Rome*: and eas'd of part of the burthen of their Taxes. But divers Cities which border'd on the *German* Camps having been not only refus'd the like Priviledges, but depriv'd some of them even of part of the Territory they possess'd, stomach'd at their own Hardships, and the partial Favours to their Neighbours.

The *German* Soldiery (a dangerous Symptom in great Armies) were become unruly by their late Victory; and being conscious of having in some degree taken part with the adverse side, stood perplex'd, and were slow and doubtful in their defection from *Nero*: nor was *Virginus* hasty to declare for *Galba*. Whether he himself aspir'd to the Dignity, or not, was uncertain; but that the Army press'd him to accept it is not question'd. The manner of *Fonteus Capito's* Punishment too they publicly disapprov'd; though they dislik'd the Man. But in short they wanted only a Head: *Virginus* being absent; sent for away under colour of Friendship, whom when they found to be detain'd, and his Proceedings question'd, they inferr'd their own danger from his usage.

The Army in *Upper Germany* slighted their Officer *Hordionius Flaccus*, a Lieutenant General; who being old, crazy, and a Coward, lost his Authority, and

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wanting

wanting skill to hold the Reins, and rule a more governable Militia, (these being already in Sedition) took the bit in their Teeth and acted with so much the greater insolence.

The Legions of *Lower Germany* were without a Lieutenant till *Galba* dispatch'd *Vitellius* to command them; Son to that *Vitellius* who had been Censor, and thrice Consul; which was thought sufficient. The Army in *Britain* preserv'd their Obedience; which of all the Legions during the Civil Dissentions, were contain'd in best order; either because they were remote and sever'd from the rest by the Sea; or (being kept constantly in Action against the Enemy) the malignity of the humour was otherwise diverted. *Ilyria* also was quiet; though the Legions that were by *Nero's* order drawn thence into *Italy*, while they loiter'd there, had made an offer of their Aid to *Virginus*; but the Armies being kept at a distance (a safe method to preserve the Soldiers in Obedience) they could not so easily joyn in Council or Action.

In the East all was yet in repose: *Licinius Mutianus* govern'd in *Syria* with four Legions; a Man memorable in the course both of good and evil Fortune: in his Youth his Vanity led him into the Familiarity of great Men, whereby wasting his Fortune, and falling into the displeasure of *Claudius*, he withdrew from the City, and retiring into *Asia* lived there as near the State of Banishment, as he was afterwards to that of an Emperor: he was a Man strangely compounded; Industry and Dissolution; Pride and Courtesie; good and evil Qualities ruled in him by turns; but for the most part towards those under him, near him, and his Associates in Command he preserv'd a perfect good Intelligence; and in short was a Man who seem'd fram'd rather to transfer the Empire to another than Acquire it for himself.

The War in *Judea* was Conducted by *Flavius Vespasianus* at the Head of three Legions; chosen to that charge by *Nero*.

Flavius manifestly wish'd well to *Galba*, in proof whereof he had dispatch'd his Son *Titus* to Complement him with assurance of his Allegiance, as will appear elsewhere. The Event convinc'd all Men that the Sovereignty was darkly decreed; and by Signs and Oracles pre-ordain'd to him and his Line.

Egypt and the Militia of that Province had from *Augustus's* time been govern'd by Gentlemen of *Rome*, who in Kingly sort, with a high Hand rul'd that restless Nation; for the Country being hard of Access, fruitful of Grain, and the People Unconstant, and Seditious through Wantonness and Superstition; Ignorant of the Laws, and with difficulty recogniz'd any sort of Magistrate: That kind of Government was therefore concluded safest to bridle them. Here *Tiberius Alexander* a Native of the Country was Governor.

In *Africa* (*Claudius Macer* being slain) the Legions seem'd dispos'd to yield Obedience to any Prince that should be chosen; having before made tryal of a meaner Master.

Both the *Mauritania's*, *Rætia*, *Noricum*, *Thracia*, and the other Provinces that were rul'd by Procurators, were influenc'd by the nearest Armies; Acting for or against those who aspir'd to the Sovereignty as they were byas'd by the most powerful of their Neighbours; while the unarm'd Provinces, and chiefly *Italy* lay expos'd, and crouching to receive the Yoak, and be the Prize of the Victor.

4. In this posture were the Affairs of the *Roman* Empire when *Servius Galba* the second time Consul, and *Titus Vinus* began the year of their Magistracy; which proving the last to themselves, wanted but little to give a period to the Common-wealth.

About the beginning of *January* came News from *Pompeius Propinquus*, Procurator in *Belgia*, that the Army of *Upper Germany* without Conscience of their Oath, or regard to Discipline had demanded another Emperor; and to the end their Sedition might be taken in better part, had referr'd the Election to the Senate and People of *Rome*. This hasten'd *Galba's* determination about the Adoption, whereof he had before meditated and secretly advis'd with some about him; many were in Nomination, it being for a while the current Subject of Discourse in the City; not so much out of soundness of Judgment and Affection to the Common-wealth, as through a licentious Custom of canvassing Publick Matters; *Galba* being now crazy and broken with Years. Many too out of Interest, Dependance or Inclination whisper'd their wishes of this or that Man's Succession to the Dignity?

Vinius now swell'd with Pride and Power, was grown into mortal hatred of the People; *Galba's* Weakness nourishing the Avarice of those about him; who were become insatiable from the facility of accumulating; offending with equal profit and impunity.

The Authority of the Prince was in the Possession of *Titus Vinius* the Consul; *Cornelius Laco* Captain of the *Prætorians*, and *Icelus* his Freed-man; who sharing Equal favour with the others was now made a Gentleman, and priviledg'd to wear Gold Rings, and had taken the name of *Marcianns*.

These three otherwise disagreeing, and drawing three several ways in matters of lesser Moment; were in their deliberations about the Succession divided into two Factions only: *Vinius* favouring *Marcus Otbo*, *Laco* and *Icelus* not so much agreeing in the Interests of any one, as in the Choice of any other: nor was *Galba* Ignorant of the Cause of *Vinius's* partiality for *Otbo*; it being rumor'd among the People (which lets nothing pass unlifted or uncensur'd) that *Otbo* having no
Wife,

Wife, and *Vinius* a Daughter a Widow, a Marriage had been agreed between them. Though it was probable enough that *Galba's* coldness to *Orbo* grew rather from a regard to the Publick good; for to what end had the Sovereignty been Translated from *Nero* if it should be conferr'd on him, who having been loosely Educated, spent his Youth licentiously and recommended himself to *Nero's* acceptance no otherwise than by the similitude of their Manners, was become chief Confident of his Lusts: to whose Trust he had deposited *Popeia* his beloved Mistress, till he should be able to compass the removal of his Wife *Octavia*: though afterwards, out of Jealousie of some undue Intercourse between them, he sent him to *Portugal* under colour of gracing him with the Lieutenancy of that Province; in which Trust having acquitted himself laudably, and coming early into *Galba's* Party, where Acting vigorously for the Revolution, and having lived munificently among the Soldiers during the War; the hope he had conceiv'd of the Adoption grew every day greater and greater; in prospect whereof he had won the Army for the most part to his Interest, while those who lik'd *Nero* could not but wish him well who resembl'd above all others their dead Prince. But *Galba* on the News of the Sedition in *Germany*, though he had yet received nothing well attested of *Vitellius's* proceedings, being anxious what best Remedy to apply to the Insolency of those Troops, having no reliance on the *Prætorians*; hastned the nomination of a Successor: as conceiving it the surest Means to restore and establish the Tranquility of the State. Wherefore deliberating with *Vinius* and *Laco*; calling to their Assistance *Marius Celsus*, Consul elect, and *Ducenius Geminus* the *Prætor*; after a short Discourse touching his own old Age, he ordered *Piso Licinianus* to be sent for; either of his own motion, or at *Laco's* instance; whom though he knew, and had con-

38 *The History of Cornelius Tacitus. Book I.*

tracted familiarity with him by Mediation and at the House of *Rubellius Plantus*, yet Artfully concealing that Intercourse, he seem'd to propound him as a meer Stranger, mov'd by the general good Report *Piso* had obtain'd; which gave so much the greater credit to his recommendation.

Piso was Son to *M. Crassus* and *Scribonia*, nobly Descended both ways: his Aspect was Grave, and of the Antient Stamp; though by Men of Boding minds, who Picture things in their worst likeness, was censur'd as too Austere; but these Qualities which gave doubt to some were the chief Motive of his Choice who was about to Adopt him.

5. *Galba* taking *Piso* by the Hand, is said thus to have spoke.

Were I to adopt you as a private Man and as the Law requires, publicly in presence of the Priests and proper Magistrates; it would add to the Honour of my Family to adorn it with the Progeny of Pompey and M. Crassus; as it would be no less glory for you, to join yours with the Nobility of the Sulpician and Lutatian Houses. But since by the Gods decree, and the general Voice, I was call'd to the Empire; I have thought fit without your seeking; incited by your Vertue, and in duty to the Commonwealth, to confer on you the Dignity of Prince; an Honor to which our Ancestors aspir'd by Arms, and which I by Martial toils acquir'd: and herein I follow the precedent of Augustus, who first chose Marcellus his Nephew; next Agrippa, his Son in Law; then his Daughters Sons, and lastly took his Wifes Son Tiberius Nero into the Adoption. But Augustus sought a Successor in his Family, I in the Commonwealth; not that I was destitute among my Kindred and Companions in Arms; but as I accepted not the Dignity through Ambition, so shall neither Ambition nor Interest influence my Choice, which passing by Relations both of mine and yours, is determin'd in you. You have a Brother in blood equal, in birth before you; and one
of

of whose merit I should make no question, were not you the more worthy; your years have carried you past the danger of unbridl'd Youth, and your behaviour has been such as to need no Apology. *Hiberto Fortune* has been against you, but *Adversity* is born with *Constancy*, while *Felicity* corrupts the *Manners*; the peril and proof of *Vertue* is *Prosperity*. I make no doubt but you for your part will retain your former *Truth*, *Friendship*, *Freedom*; the noblest *Ornaments* of the mind; but others will not keep to that rule with you in this change of your Condition:

Flattery will assault you with glozing Speech, for private ends, the bane of simple *Truth* and honest *Meaning*. We two converse together here with freedom, and without disguise; while others talk rather to Our *Fortune* than to Us. To utter wholesome Counsel to a Prince is difficult, while flattering Arts are easie. Were it possible this stupendous frame of the Empire could subsist and be otherwise rul'd than by a single Hand to hold the Ballance, I should think it my greatest glory to be the means of restoring the *Liberty* of the *Commonwealth*; but since that cannot now be, and my age renders me no otherwise of Use, the remaining good I can confer to the State is to appoint an able Successor, while your part must be to approve my Choice by the wisdom of your Conduct.

Under *Tiberius*, *Caius* and *Claudius*, the Sovereignty seem'd entail'd in one Family: the Government becoming now *Elective* will in a sort revive the *Antient Liberty*; and since the *Julian* and *Claudian Race* are extinct, *Adoption* will direct us to the most worthy.

Descent from Princely Ancestors is a casual Honour; and no other than the Work of Chance; but in *Adoptions* Judgment presides, and seldom is deceiv'd; wherein would we follow the surest Guide, the Publick Voice will point us out the best.

Let *Nero's* fate instruct you; whose descent from so many *Cæsars* could not shield him from the punishment due to his cruelties and enormous life. It was not *Vindex*

with a naked Province, nor was it I with a single Legion that debron'd him, who was the first Example of a Prince depos'd by publick Sentence. And even we who succeed not by right of Inheritance, but by Military desert and opinion of our Vertue, when we have done our best shall not escape detraction.

Nor should you be discourag'd if in this tempestuous State of the World, a few Legions are become unsettl'd in their Duty: for I my self at first found not all things to my wish. But no sooner shall this Adoption be made publick when I shall cease to appear old; the single Exception now against me.

Somewhere are no doubt bad enough to miss and wish for Nero's days; our care must be left good Men wish it too. Further to admonish you would now be unseasonable; my purpose being fulfill'd if I have succeeded in my Choice. The surest and shortest way to be in the right in your deliberations about Good and Evil, is to determine by what you would praise or dispraise in another Princes Conduct.

Remember too that it is not with us as with other Nations where one Family Rules, and all the rest are Vassals; but here you are to govern a People, who will not bear to be intirely Free or Subject.

To this purpose was Galba's Speech to Piso, when he Adopted him, while the Court treated him as a Prince already Created; in whom no Emotion or surprise of Joy was scen either during the Solemnity or after, when every Eye was fix'd on him. His reply to his Father and Sovereign was full of Reverence, making mention of himself with Modesty. In all his other Deportment their appear'd a firmness and equality of Mind, bespeaking him rather able to discharge than ambitious to obtain the Dignity.

6. The next Debate was in what manner to publish the Adoption; whether to pronounce it first in the Senate before the People, or in the Camp; but in
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Complement to the Soldiers the Camp was prefer'd: for while it was not held decent to purchase their Affection by Money or soothing Arts, yet to conciliate their good Will by fair and lawful means was thought but necessary.

In the interim publick Curiosity, eager after News, had besieg'd the Palace, which was increas'd by the constrain'd Gestures of those who were in the Secret.

The tenth of *January* prov'd Tempestuous with great Thunder and Lightning; which of old was cause sufficient to dissolve Assemblies, but that prevented not *Galba's* going to the Camp, as either having no Faith in Predictions, or believing that what was decreed, though foretold, was inevitable.

There with brevity and Majesty he declar'd his Adoption of *Piso* to the Soldiers; telling them he proceeded by the Example of *Augustus*, and according to Military use, where every Man has liberty to chuse his Companion; and lest the *German* Troubles shou'd be deem'd greater by his silence therein; he told them that the 4. and 18. Legions (Corrupted by a few Seditious Officers) were become unquiet; but that having offended only in words they would be soon brought to Obedience: and so concluded, neither by Speech or Largess courting or alluring them. Nevertheless the Officers and Soldiers who were near him express'd themselves dutifully and chearfully; the rest were sad and silent, as having now lost their Donative in War, and despairing to recover the Custom they had usurp'd of claiming it on these occasions.

Most certain it is that by the least mark of his Liberality, in that Conjuncture, the griping old Man had won their hearts; but this narrowness undid him; the Rigour practic'd in the ancient Discipline being now worn out of use.

From

From the Camp *Galba* went to the Senate, where his Speech was as short, and no better polish'd than that to the Soldiers.

Piso's Oration was Courteous and well receiv'd; many of the Senators who liked the Man, appearing forward in the Expressions of their Duty: others, not so well affected, more coldly; but in a word the majority made their Court more out of regard to themselves, than respect to the Common-Wealth.

Other Publick Speech, or Action of *Piso's*, there was none during the short space between his Adoption and his Death.

The News of the Troubles in *Germany* increasing, and the People being more prone to credit evil tydings than good; Ambassadors were decreed by the Senate to be dispatch'd to the Armies there. It was also secretly debated whether *Piso* also should not go; he to personate the Dignity of the Emperor, they to represent the Authority of the Senate; with whom also it was thought adviseable that *Laco* might be sent; but he being of another mind got to be excus'd, and even the Ambassadors themselves (who were left to *Galba's* choice) by a shameful diffidence and inconstancy, were nominated and rejected: now this Man then another being appointed, each resolving or excusing, as hope or fear prevail'd, and their respective private Ends suggested.

The next care was for Money, and to those who weigh'd things rightly, it seem'd but just to adjudge such to refund who had made their Markets, and been the cause of the present Poverty of the State,

Nero had wastfully spent and lavishly given away above two thousand Millions of Sesterces: those to whom he had been thus prodigal were by *Galba* call'd to account, and condemn'd to make Restitution of all but a Tenth part of what had been given them; but these Wretches had not the Tythe left of what they had receiv'd; having (as they had done their own before) with

with the like profusion squander'd that of others: nothing that was monies worth resting to distraign but the Implements and Furniture of a voluptuous Trade.

Thirty Gentlemen were chosen to that Employment, an Office strange and vexatious through the number and intricacy of Suits. Auctions were proclaim'd every where, and the Streets throng'd and disquieted with the confluence and contentions of Officers, Buyers and Sellers: while nevertheless some pleasure was gather'd to behold those now as miserable to whom Nero had given, as those from whom he had taken.

About the same time some Tribunes were remov'd; *Antonius Taurus*, and *Antonius Naso* of the *Prætorians*, *Emilius Pæscensis* of the City Militia, and *Julius Fronto* of the Night Watch; but this Artifice had no other Fruit than the putting the rest on their Guard, who conscious of their being equally suspected discern'd that 'twas rather out of Caution than good-will that they were not all at once Cashier'd.

7: The Succession being settl'd, and *Otho's* ambitious hopes blasted, his thoughts were now turn'd wholly upon troubling the State. The Luxury of his Life past had been too great for a Prince, while his Fortune was now sunk too low to support that of a private Man. His mind swelling with indignation against *Galba*, and festering with Envy towards *Piso*; feigning or fearing danger he found Motives of his purpose out of these kind of reflections.

That he had been heretofore the object of Nero's Jealousie; but that he was not now to hope for an easie Exile by trusts of Honour abroad.

That he who has once aspir'd to the Throne shall be always suspected, fear'd and hated of him in Possession. That this had now lost him Galba's confidence, and wou'd ruin him with the Young Prince, who being fierce by nature, was become more sower and hardn'd by the severities of a tedious Exile. That the more imminent the Danger, so much
the

the greater was the Motive vigorously to pursue his Ends now while the old Trunk was withering, and before the young Plant had struck root: which was a kind of interval that yielded the fairest hopes of Success.

That to hasten boldly into Action was safest where delay increas'd the Danger. That Death was the common lot; and distinguish'd Men only to Posterity by the glory or oblivion of their Deeds. And that in a word since the Guilty and the Innocent had one and the same Destiny, it became the Character of a Great Man rather to perish daring Death than fearing it.

Otho was more Effeminate in Body than Mind, wherefore his most familiar Domesticks corrupted by the sensuality of a riotous life assail'd his weaker part by renewing the remembrance of Nero's Court; the Magnificence and Delicacies of those days, the multiplicity of Wives and Mistresses, and the height of Luxury (his own darling Vice) which was not attainable but with the Empire; was all within his reach, would be but appear worthy by attempting it; and which merely through his Sloth would be in Possession of another.

They further confirm'd him by what the Astrologers had foretold; that the Stars bodied Revolutions at hand, and that by Otho's Nativity, that year was Calculated to be more than ordinary propitious to him.

These Fortune-Tellers are a Race of Vermin false and treacherous to great and small, instilling vain hopes in curious minds; who in Rome shall always be forbidden, and always retain'd. With many of these Wretches *Popæa* was wont to hold secret intelligence about her Marriage matters; vile and pernicious Tools in the Hands of Princes.

Ptolomy one of that Profession had attended *Otho* into Portugal, and having won his Confidence by foretelling he should survive *Nero*, and (comparing *Galba's* Age with his Youth, confirm'd too in his conjecture by the rumour that then prevail'd) had promis'd him

(as

(as from the Stars) his Succession to the Empire. While *Osbo* believ'd no less, and that his Exaltation was decreed in Heaven. *Men oft confiding most in Means*, wherein they least conceive *the Manner*. Nor did *Ptolomy* more urge him to proceed, than he himself was willing to advance; so easily in Crimes our Wishes hast to Action.

It is not agreed, whether his Conspiracy was new, and but just then conceiv'd, or of a longer date; but this is certain, that he had long secretly practis'd on the Soldiers, either to insure or smoothe his Passage to the Throne. In their March in their Incampments, on the Guard and in their Quarters, he still found means to endear himself to them. Old Soldiers whom he had known he wou'd call by their Names, treating them with familiar Appellations, as having serv'd together under *Nero*. With some he wou'd renew former Acquaintance, use kind Questions, as one concern'd for their Welfare; helping them by his Favour, and succouring them by his Liberality; while still by secret Insinuations he sail'd not by doubtful Words to glance at *Galba's* Weakness; the surest way to sow Sedition and shake the Soldiers Duty, who were already but too well prepar'd for bad Impressions.

Their tedious Journeys, short Provisions, and strict Discipline, was now irksom to them, who heretofore were wont to be waisted at their ease through the Bayes, and along the Coast of *Campania*, visiting the *Achayan* Cities in their passage to and fro; which Custom being now chang'd into long laborious Marches over the *Alpes* and *Pyreneans*, laden with Arms and Lumber, was held intolerable.

The Soldiers Minds kindl'd by these Severities, Fuel was ministr'd to the Flame by *Mevius Pudens*, one of *Tigellinus's* Confidants; who artfully working on the Inconstancy of some and the Poverty of others (who were seditiously dispos'd) proceeded at length so far, that

that as often as *Otho* feasted *Galba*; under colour of doing him Honour, he distributed to each Soldier of the Regiment that was at that time on duty, the Sum of 100 Sesterces, which bearing the shew of a publick Largess, *Otho* increas'd by secret Liberalities to others; growing at length so bare-fac'd in these Practices that *Cocceius Proculus*, one of the Guard of the Emperour's Person, having a Law-Suit with a Neighbour of his about the Boundaries of certain Grounds, *Otho* made a purchase of the whole, and frankly bestow'd it on him; while *Laco*, their stupid Captain, unable to penetrate secret Arts, was blind even to those open Practices which every body else discern'd.

Onomastus, a Freed Man of *Otho*'s, was first in the Secret, and his chief Instrument in the Treason; who having gain'd two for his purpose, *Barbicus Proculus*, a Sergeant of the Guard, and *Vesurius* his Comerade, he brought them to the speech of his Master; who sifting and finding them secret and determin'd, open'd his Mind to them, and after a liberal Earnest of his Bounty, and profuse Assurances of farther Reward, and enabling them with a Sum besides to purchase others to their Party, he dismiss'd them.

Thus did two private Soldiers undertake to transfer the Roman Empire, and succeeded in their Attempt.

These being Men of Sagacity, admitted but a few into the main Secret, but artfully defus'd the Poyson. The wavering were won with ease; the principal of those who had been preferr'd to Posts in the Army by *Nymphidius*, being told they liv'd suspected by the Government, were prepar'd by fear, and the common sort by revenge, for the loss of their Donative, whereof they now despair'd; some too were gain'd by hopes of seeing *Nero*'s days again.

In a word, the prospect of Success was so much the more promising, by how much the Army was generally grown disaffected through the apprehensions they

were

were in of *Galba's* purpose, to renew the rigor of ancient Discipline. The Infection tainting by degrees, even the Legions and Auxiliaries, who were prepar'd for Sedition by the Example of the Troops in *Germany*.

Matters being thus ripen'd for Action, what through the eagerness of the Guilty, and the indifference of the Innocent; a Resolution was form'd, that on the 14th. of *January*, as *Otho* shou'd be returning home from Supper, they wou'd take him up and proclaim him; from which they were with-held, only by reflecting on the danger of doing it by night, which was subject to more Chances and Mistakes than by day; the Soldiers Quarters too being remote and dispers'd about the City, and Men being then heated and disorder'd with Drink, wou'd not go so regularly to work. So that 'twas not deferr'd out of compassion to the Commonwealth (which in cold Blood they were determin'd to pollute with the Murder of their Prince;) but left by Mistake in the hurry of Action some other instead of *Otho* shou'd be presented for Emperour to the *German* and *Hungarian* Troops, who were for the most part ignorant who it was that shou'd be chosen.

Many pregnant Signs were observ'd of the approaching Danger, which were suppress'd by the Vigilance of the Conspirators; some even in the hearing of *Galba* were ridicul'd by *Laco* himself; a worthless Officer, ignorant in the Duties of his Charge, deaf to all good Counsel, abounding in his own Opinions, and an open Enemy to Men of Merit.

8. On the 15th. of *January*, while *Galba* was sacrificing in the Temple of *Apollo*, *Umbricius* the Priest told him the Entrails menac'd Danger from a Conspiracy of some about him; which *Otho*, being by, hearing, took for no ill Omen to himself.

Upon this came *Onomastus* to let his Master know, that his Surveyor and Workmen were come to the place

place appointed, where they waited his pleasure; which was, it seems, the Signal concerted between them, that all was ripe for Execution.

Otho excus'd his sudden departure to those who enquir'd the cause, by telling them, He was purchasing certain Tenements, which suspecting not to be very sound, he had order'd Workmen to meet him on that Affair; so guided by his Servant, passing by *Tiberius's* Palace to the *Velabrum*, and thence to the gilt Milstone near the Temple of *Saturn*; he was there met by Three and Twenty Soldiers only of the Guard, who proclaim'd him Emperour, where terrifi'd at the small appearance (in comparison of those who had engag'd to meet him) he was taken into a Chair, and with drawn Swords hurri'd away.

As they went they were joyn'd by about as many more; some Complices, others led by Curiosity only; those with Acclamations, these silently and cautiously, as attending the Event.

Julius Martialis was the Tribune, commanding that day in the Camp; who either through Astonishment at a Treason so great (or perhaps fearing the majority of the Camp to have been infected) wanted Courage to oppose the Torrent; by which means he became suspected to have been privy to the Conspiracy.

The rest of the Officers prefer'd their Safety to their Duty; and Mens Minds in general were so doubtfully dispos'd, that though but few were engag'd in the Revolution, yet many wish'd it, and none oppos'd it.

9. *Galba* in the mean time (ignorant of what had pass'd) was busi'd in his Devotions, soliciting the Gods in favour of anothers Empire; when News was brought him that a certain Senatour (whom they knew not presently to be *Otho*) was taken up and carry'd by the Soldiers to the Camp. And now People resorting from all Quarters, and occasionally arriving
where

where he was; some out of Fear augmented, others out of Flattery made the Danger less.

Their first Consultation in this exigent was, to found the Fidelity of the Cohort that had the Guard; but this was not thought fit to be done by *Galba*, whose Authority was to be reserv'd; wherefore *Piso* was chosen for that Essay, who ordering the Soldiers to attend him at the Palace Stairs, thus spake to them.

It is but Six Days Fellow Soldiers since my Adoption, which Honour (as doubtful of the event) was by me neither sought nor avoided, the good or evil Consequence whereof to the Publick or our Family is now in you to determine.

I have no Fears for my self, having been so long train'd under the Frown of Fortune, that I have learn'd to suspect her Smiles.

The Care which possesses me is for my Father, the Senate, and the Commonwealth, lest we shou'd be driven this day (a hard Choice for good Men) either to destroy others, or perish our selves.

It was our Consolation in the late Commotions, that the City was clean from Blood, and the Scene compos'd without Violence; and it was believ'd that the Adoption wou'd give a period to all Discord about the Succession.

*There is no occasion I think for me to mind you either of my Nobility or Manners; or to put my self into competition with *Otho*; being in no fear that his effeminate Life shou'd recommend him to the Empire, whose expensive Vices were a Burthen to it, while a private Man.*

Some Men may mistake the Vice of Profusion for the Virtue of Liberality; in the one I can grant he may excel, in the other he is ignorant.

Wou'd you know the Motives of his Ambition, 'tis to possess an unlimited Power, to revel in Pleasure, to be Master of your Women and your Fortunes, and be abandon'd without controul or Rival to a voluptuous Life; for this he holds to be the supreme Prerogative of Princes, whersof the Pleasure shall be his alone; the Infamy be shed on all.

No Man ever exercis'd Power to good Ends, who by bad Means acquir'd it. Galba by Suffrage of the Universe attain'd the Empire, and he by your consent adopted me. If the publick Good, and the Safety of the Senate and People shou'd seem to have no weight, yet for your own Honour, Fellow-Soldiers, let it not be said that a few dissolute Wretches shou'd be able to unsettle the Government.

The Legions abroad indeed have now and then been mutinous, and disobey'd their Generals; but you the Prætorians were never blemish'd with Sedition yet.

As for Nero, he deserted you, not you him. Shall Twenty or Thirty Fugitives (to whom the meanest Officer wou'd disdain to owe his Election) have Power to dispose of the Empire? The permitting such an Example is to share the Crime; and the Provinces will soon in like licentious manner copy after you; and tho the burden of these Treasons may be born by the State, the Danger of the War will be yours. Nor, in a word, will your share of Profit, by deserting and betraying your Prince, be greater, than by defending and preserving him; your Donative being as certain from us for your Faith, as from others for your Disloyalty.

Hereupon those of the Guard of the Prince's Person withdrawing, the rest of the Cohorts upon Duty neither presently slighting, nor readily obeying their Orders, made shew of preparing their Ensigns, which seem'd done rather out of Fear than Good will; as it happens for the most part in the uncertainty of Tumults; and as it was afterwards conjectur'd, out of design only to hide for the present their Disaffection.

Celsus Marius was also dispatch'd to the chief of the *Illyrian* Troops in the Cloisters of *Vipsanius*. *Amulius Serenus* and *Domitianus Sabinus*, Centurions of the first Order, were commanded to assemble the *German* Soldiers, who were quarter'd near the Temple of Liberty. The Marine Legion they could not confide in, as having been provok'd by the slaughter of so many
of

of their Companions on *Galba's* entry into the City: *Cerius Severus*, *Subrius Dexter*, and *Pompeius Longinus*, Tribunes, were dispatch'd to the Prætorian Camp, to essay the Minds of the Soldiers, and labour to reduce them to their Duty, e'er the Sedition should spread farther.

The two first were roughly treated by the Soldiers, and silenc'd by Menaces, but *Longinus* they disarm'd and arrested, as not coming to them in his Post, and according to the Rules of Discipline, but by *Galba's* private order, to whom he was known to be most faithful, and therefore had so much the worse reception of Rebels.

The Marine Regiment forthwith joyn'd those of the Guard, and the *Illyrians* (to whom *Celsus* was sent) answer'd him with the points of their Javelins. The German Troops stood a while doubtful; who having been sent by *Nero* to *Alexandria*, and but lately landed, weak and sickly with a long Voyage, were well enough dispos'd to continue in their Faith to *Galba*, out of gratitude to his Humanity toward them in their sickness.

And now the Palace was fill'd with a mixt Crowd of People, Bond and Free, jarring with the Discord of confus'd Clamours; some demanding as in the Race and Theatres the Life of *Orbs*; others sentencing the Conspiratours to perpetual Banishment: Vain and trustless Breath of the Multitude, which on the self-same Day wou'd with as loud a Cry revoke their Wishes! But such is the Force of Custom, and Frailty of Humane Nature, to flatter and adore the Prince in power with Pomp of vain Applause and fruitless Acclamations.

10. *Galba* in the mean while was to seek, and stood wavering betwixt two Opinions. *Titus Vinus* counsel'd his remaining in the Palace. That the Slaves and Rabble might be forthwith arm'd to make a present

stand; that all the Avenues might be fortify'd, and that the Prince shou'd not expose his Person to a seditious enrag'd Multitude. That time might bring the bad to a better mind, and give good Men opportunity to express their Loyalty. That wicked Counsels only requir'd to be impetuous, and succeeded best by Precipitation, while wholsom Advice ripen'd into Safety by Delay. That it was then time to advance, when they shou'd be able to see before them; and that the bazard of their best Stake was to be reserv'd to the last. That it would be always in their power to advance and meet the Danger; but in the choice of others to retire, in case there shou'd be cause.

Others press'd Speed, and plac'd their Safety in a bold encountring the Sedition while weak, doubtful, and not gather'd to a Head. That Otho wou'd be terrify'd by a brave appearance of Opposition, as one conscious of his base withdrawing as he did by stealth, and being joyn'd and proclaim'd by so small a Party, surrounded by a suspected Crowd of others ignorant for the most part of his bad Purpose.

That therefore all irresolution was unsafe, and wou'd give Otho leisure to recollect his Thoughts, and personate the Prince with more Assurance and Effect. That by delay the Camp wou'd grow united, and then what hopes remain'd to break them? Who marching on with Fury, wou'd invade the Capitol, while Galba and his trusty Friends shou'd only have the Prospect from the Palace, there inclos'd and barricado'd as it were to abide a Siege. That such was the nature of their present Strength and Succours, compos'd for the most part of Slaves, and Men unus'd to Arms, that no Effect cou'd be hop'd but from their Rage, and the first motion of their Disdain, which once cooling, wou'd languish into Cowardize. That, in a word, the safest and much the bravest course was, (that if they were decre'd to dye) boldly to meet their Fate; which wou'd add to Otho's Guilt and their Glory.

Vinius did not approve this last Counsel, but *Laco* angrily persisted in his Opinion; *Icelus* also taking part in his Obstinacy; who therein gratify'd his Hatred to *Vinius* at the expence of the Publick. So *Galba* follow'd that Advice which had the appearance of most honourable.

But it was first agreed, that *Piso* shou'd try the Camp; whose Youth, his new Character and Popularity 'twas thought might do much; he too being an Enemy to *Vinius*; or perhaps rather through Malice of others, wish'd and reported to be so.

Piso was no sooner departed, when a Rumour obtain'd, that *Orbo* was slain in the Camp; this Report (as Lyes by telling do) gather'd Circumstances of some Peoples having been present at his Death; which through the Hopes of others, and the Indifferency of many, came at length to be believ'd.

Many suspected this Report to have been cunningly broach'd by *Orbo*'s Party, who secretly mixing with the Crowd, had industriously spread the false good News, to allure *Galba* from his strength.

And now not only were the Rabble seen to rejoyce, but every Rank with loud Applause proclaim'd their Approbation; Gentlemen and Senators having lost their Fear, laid their Disguise aside, and rushing in with Violence, forc'd their passage to the Emperor, to whom, with Protestations of Duty, they lamented their Disappointment, that others had robb'd them of the Honour of a noble and just Revenge.

But these are Marks of Coward-Minds (as afterwards appear'd) in this sort to exceed in loud and boasting Speech when Danger is away.

Thus while the Rumour was affirm'd for truth by all, and known for such by none; *Galba* (taking assurance from other Mens Confidence) arm'd himself to go out, but unable through the Infirmities of Age to sustain the pressing of so great a Crowd, he was taken

ken into a Chair, and not being yet out of the Palace, *Julius Atticus*, one of the Guard of his Body, met him, who, with his naked Sword all bloody held aloft, proclaim'd aloud, that he had slaughter'd *Otho*. *By whose Order, Fellow-Soldier, said the Prince? Wonderful force of Virtue, to restrain a licentious Soldier's Insolence, whom neither fear of present Death appal'd, nor flattering Arts cou'd move!*

11. While Matters pass'd thus at Court, the Soldiers in the Camp became united, and with such eager Zeal took part with *Otho*, that not content in order, rank, and file to make a Guard, they made a Ring, enclosing with their Ensigns the Tribunal where he was, and where but now the Emperour's golden Statue stood; the Tribunes and Centurions not being suffer'd so much as to approach him, the common sort yet doubting of their Officers Fidelity.

The Camp rang with resounding Ecchos of the clamorous Soldiers, embracing and exhorting each his Fellow to be faithful; no whispering Voice of flattering Sycophants was heard, but as they throng'd to do their Duty to the new Prince, they were receiv'd and embrac'd in their Armour, administering themselves the Oath; now recommending the Soldier to the Emperour, then the Emperour to the Soldier; while *Otho* was not backward on his part, courting them with loving Looks and servile Bows, not grudging thus to stoop, so he might reach the Empire.

And now the Marine Legion having taken the Oath, and being well assur'd of Strength sufficient for his purpose, he resolv'd to speak to them in publick, so to incite in common those whom apart he had before engag'd: So mounting on the Rampier of the Camp, his Oration was after this manner:

Under what Character I stand here before you, Fellow-Soldiers, I cannot yet determin; a private Name, I think, I may disdain, since you have call'd me otherwise; and yet
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the Title you have given me will be doubtful while others hold the Empire; what you your selves may be held, whether Traytors or Loyal Subjects, cannot be decided, till it be known whether he whom you have prefer'd be a Rebel or a Prince.

Our joynt Destruction is decreed, you are assur'd; most certain then it is, that we must joyntly perish or be safe together: Nor can we expect from Galba's dotting Levity, other than that he has already promis'd and vow'd us all the Victims of his Anger. Horror seizes me at the bare reflection of his bloody Entry; when in the City's view (a glorious Triumph) he decimated so many suppliant Wretches, to whom but just before he had promis'd his Protection. These were the Auspices of his Access to the Throne; what other memorable Acts adorn'd his Reign, may be remember'd in the slaughter of Obultronus Sabinus and Cornelius Marcellus in Spain, of Betuus Chilo in France, of Fonteius Capito in Germany, of Clodius Macer in Affrick, of Cingonius in his Journey, of Turpilianus here in the City, and Nymphidius in the Camp. In a word, what Province, or what corner of the Empire has not been stain'd with his bloody Executions? Which he exulting stiles Correcting of the State, calling those Courses wholsom Remedies, which all Mankind besides abominate, as execrable Barbarities: Thus falsifying the Names of things, Cruelty he stiles Severity, Avarice Parsimony, and the intolerable Inhumanities practis'd on you the Soldiers, he calls Reformation of Discipline. It is but Seven Months since Nero's Death, in which short space Icelus has purloin'd more publick Treasure, than Policletus and the whole Tribe of that Prince's Minions in so many Years. And for Titus Vinius, shou'd he have had the Dignity to himself, he had reign'd a lighter Burthen to the State; for what are we other than his Vassals now, strip'd and revil'd like Foreigners, whose Wealth alone would suffice for that Donative wherewith you are daily upbraided, and which never will be paid?

And to the end no Prospect may be left of better Times, how provident has Galba been for the Succession? calling a Man from Banishment to be Prince, for no appearing cause, but his likeness to himself in Avarice and Cruelty.

Nor can you, Fellow-Soldiers, but remember, how that tempestuous Day the Gods declar'd their Anger at the Adoption.

The Senate and People are of our mind, and only hope their Redemption from your Courage, without whose Aid and Virtue all Counsel wou'd be vain.

I lead you not to fight; all who having Arms being rang'd on our side. The naked Cohort on the Guard with Galba may detain him for us, never will offer to defend him, but will no sooner behold you and see my promis'd Signal, when the strife will be only who shall advance foremost in our Cause. To conclude, there is no leisure now for Words where all the Glory is reserv'd for Action.

After his Speech *Otho* commanded the Magazins to be thrown open; where the Soldiers in confus'd manner rushing in, contrary to Military Rule, took what Arms came next to hand: the Legionaries, Prætorians and Auxiliaries (who are distinguish'd both by Ensigns, Arms and Armor) were now promiscuously confounded. The Tribunes and Centurions Exhortations were in vain: each Soldier was become an Officer to himself, where the most Seditious grew but so much the more inrag'd by the relenting signs they saw in others better minded.

12. *Piso* discourag'd by the Clamours of the mutinous Camp (the noise whereof was now heard to the City) was return'd back to *Galba*; who by this time had almost reach'd the Market-Place, where *Marinus Celsus* met him, returning with a bad account of Affairs.

Whereupon some advis'd his returning to the Palace; others his retiring to the Capitol, or to fortifie himself in the place of Assemblies; but their confus'd Voices
were

were spent for the most part in Contradictions one of another; and (as it always chances in hasty and distracted Councils) that Advice seems best where the Occasion is already lost. 'Tis said that *Laco* without *Galba's* privity had determin'd to kill *Vinius*, either to allay perhaps by his death the ferment of the inrag'd Soldiers, or else believing him in the Conspiracy with *Otho*, or in revenge out of the hatred he bore him. But neither time nor place sort'd to his purpose, being doubtful too when once the Sword of Rage was drawn, how the bloody Scene might finish: other Accidents too prevented him, as frequent and boding Messages, desertion of Friends, and dejection of Mind in those who had so loud and lately made Ostentation of their Courage and Fidelity.

In the mean time *Galba* was hurry'd to and fro, as on the Waves of the fluctuating Crowd; with nothing in his view but the prospect of Temples and publick places throng'd with Spectators, who with astonish'd Looks and listening Ears express'd at once their terror and attention. No clamorous Noise (as in great tumults) was observ'd, nor yet a thorow Silence; but such a murmuring interdiction as is observ'd to be the first effect of some portentous Passion.

On the other side *Otho* receiving News that the City was in Arms to oppose him; order'd his Troops to march to the Incounter and prevent them; so with Military fury they now advance to the Charge, as against some formidable Enemy; to dispossess *Paccorus* or *Vologeses*, and the House of the *Arsacides* of their ancient Dominion: not as to the Slaughter of their old unguarded Emperor; so piercing the Crowd with their Horse, trampling People and Senators under foot; with brandish'd Arms and rapid violence they possess'd the Market-place: aw'd neither by the Veneration of the Capitol, or Religion of the Temples overlooking them; nor had the respect of past and future

future Princes power to restrain their guilt; nor the certainty of revenge by the next immediate Successor.

And now the Ensign bearer (said to be *Atilius Virgilius*) who had the guard of the Emperor, seeing the Troops approach snatch'd *Galba's* Image off, and cast it on the ground; by which sign it became manifest that the Soldiers were generally inclin'd to *Otho*. Hereupon the People fly, the Soldiers with drawn Swords menacing those who seem slow to avoid the place.

At length hard by *Curtius Lake*, those who carry'd his Chair being tyr'd and terrifi'd, *Galba* was overturn'd and left grovling on the ground.

His last words are variously reported, as Love or Hatred might be thought to dictate. Some that he demanded what ill he had deserv'd, and with submission pray'd but space to pay their promis'd Donative; but most affirm that he boldly offer'd them his Neck, and bad the Murderers strike if so the safety of the State requir'd.

But what import'd it to them what he might say or do. 'Tis not agreed who gave him the first Stroke; some say *Terentius Ervotatus*, others *Lecanius*; but most acord in *Camurius*, a Soldier of the 15. Legion, who strook him through the Throat. Afterwards (his body being arm'd) they dismembr'd him of Arms and Legs; barbarously piercing the lifeless Trunck in sundry places.

Their fury next was bent on *Titus Vinus*, of whom it is doubtfully reported whether (interdicted by Terror) he silently receiv'd the Stroke; or as some say cry'd out that *Otho* had forbad his death; which possibly he might feign through fear, or (to judge by his infamous Character) he might with some assurance say it, as being an Accomplice in that Rebellion whereof himself had been a chief cause. He was kill'd near the Temple of *Divus Julius*; falling first by a wound in the Knee, and then was dispatch'd by *Julius Carus* a Legionary Soldier.

One memorable vertuous Man the Age produc'd on that occasion, *Sempronius Densus*, Centurion of a *Prætorian Cohort*; who being by *Galba* specially appointed to attend on *Piso*, when he saw the arm'd Ruffians near; with his drawn Sword advanc'd to meet them, and with Exprobrations of their wickedness, with Hand and Voice so far prevail'd as to give *Piso* (already wounded) space to fly their fury; who escaping to the Temple of *Vesta*, was by the Mercy of a publick Slave receiv'd and harbour'd in his Chamber: so not from any Reverence of the Goddess; but by hiding and being out of sight he a while defer'd his Fate; but by express command of *Otho* (who thirsted after his blood) he was pursu'd by *Sulpitius Florus* of the *British Cohort* (who had been newly by *Galba* made a Citizen) and *Staius Marcus* of the Guard; these two dragging him from his Sanctuary, Murder'd him at the Gate of the Temple. *Piso's* death was said to be above all others most grateful to *Otho*. His Head with Avaricious Eyes viewing and reviewing; either perhaps lost in the first Transports of his Success, or being now eas'd of the oppression of his Cares, he was seiz'd by that intemperate joy; or else it may be the memory of *Galba's* Majesty and the Friendship of *Titus Vinius* had fill'd his mind (tho cruel) with reluctant Images. While for *Piso's* death, his Enemy and Rival, he thought he had an honest licence to rejoyce.

The Heads of the dead being fix'd on Lances were carry'd among the Ensigns next the Standard of the Legion, the Soldiers stretching out their bloody Hands with Exultation: some as Actors, some as present, and most with Truth, or falshood boasting of the deed as memorable and meritorious.

Vitellius discovering afterwards about 120 Petitions for rewards of notable Services perform'd on that occasion, commanded them to be all sought out and sentenc'd to death: not in honour of *Galba*, but through Custom

Custom of Princes, *thereby insuring their own Safety by seeming to revenge the Injuries acted against their Predecessors.*

13. And now behold the change both in People and Senate, all promiscuously hastning to the Camp; crowding and vying who should be first; defaming *Galba*, extolling the Justice of the Soldiers, crowching to *Otho*, where those who at the bottom bore him least Love feign'd most Devotion. Nor was he cold to their Addresses, calming both by Voice and Gesture the rage of the covetous Soldier, who with loud Clamours call'd for Justice on *Marcus Celsus* the Consul Elect, who had been a fast and faithful Friend to *Galba* to the last: but such Vertue was to them a Crime whereof they wou'd have no Man guilty with impunity.

These Actions plainly evidenc'd their intention to be no other than to Sacrifice the best and wealthiest Citizens to their wicked Avarice.

But *Otho* soon perceiv'd that Crimes are acted with much less Authority than restrain'd; wherefore feigning personal Indignation to *Celsus*, he was sav'd from present Violence by being hurry'd to Prison, as it were to be reserv'd for more deliberate punishment, and so rescu'd from the danger that so nearly threatn'd him.

The Soldiers now acted all things at discretion; *Placius Firmus* and *Licinius Proculus* they made Captains of the Guard: the one but lately a private Soldier, who at that time had the Night Watch, but in *Galba's* Prosperity was a profess'd Creature of *Otho's*; the other also much suspected to have been privy to, and a promoter of his design.

The Prætorship of the City was given to *Flavius Sabinus*; wherein they follow'd *Nero's* Judgment, in whose Reign he held the same Trust: many likewise meant their Court to his Brother *Vespasian* by their good Offices to him.

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The Soldiers likewise demanded the remission of the Centurions Fees for Vacations ; which was a purchasing Exemption from Military Duty, and was grown to a Perquisite yearly exacted from the ordinary Soldier, whereby a certain number of each Company had a Furlo to ramble and saunter about at their pleasure : some in the Camp, some more at large pursuing their licentious humour ; and while the Centurions Stipend was pay'd, little regard was had how the Mony was got, or how they demean'd themselves ; who by Vice, Robberies, and servile Employments were compell'd to redeem their Ease, which of Military right was their due. Insomuch that when any Soldier was observ'd to have Mony, he was sure to be harass'd, beaten, and put upon harder Duty than ordinary, till he had so purchas'd his Exemption ; who at length impoverish'd with these kind of Exactions, and become lazy and vicious through Idleness and want of Exercise, return'd to their Companies, instead of rich and able ; poor, listless, and unfit for Service : from whence grew Discord and Corruption of Discipline, and in the end civil Dissention. But *Otho* unwilling to gratifie the Soldier at the expence of the Centurions Love, bound both Parties to him by taking off the Imposition from the one, and paying the other out of the Publick Revenue ; wherein he did well, and that Act became a President to good Princes, who establish'd it among the Rules of future Discipline.

Laco, Captain of the *Prætorians*, under colour of Banishment to a certain Island, was way-lay'd and kill'd by *Evocatus* by order of *Otho* ; but *Icelus* as a Freedman receiv'd publick Sentence and Execution.

14. The Day thus criminally Employ'd, ended more wickedly in Publick Rejoycings.

The *Prætor* call'd a Senate while the other Magistrates vy'd in their submissions to *Otho*. The Senators hasten'd to the House, where they decre'd him Tribu-
nitial

initial Authority; the Title of *Augustus*, and all other Imperial Dignities; labouring as for life, by all possible Arts, to compass an Oblivion of their former ill treatment of him; whereof he gave no present signs of resentment, and which perhaps he was resolv'd to Pardon, or else reserv'd his anger to a fitter occasion, which his short Reign gave him not leisure to Execute.

Otho was first carry'd to the Capitol, and from thence to the Palace, through the heaps of the dead; to whom he permitted decent Sepulture.

To *Piso's* Body, his Wife *Verania* and his Brother *Scribonius* did the last Offices. *Titus Vinus*, his Daughter *Crispina* took the care of, after they had redeem'd their Heads from the Murderers; who had purposely reserv'd them to be purchas'd at a price.

Piso had just compleated the Age of thirty one Years, a Man of better Fame than Fortune: two of his Brothers dy'd of Violent Deaths before him; *Magnus* by Sentence of *Claudius*; *Crassus* by *Nero*. Himself having been long in Exile, was by an hasty Adoption hurry'd in four days to his Fate; seeming to have been preferr'd only to his Brothers that he might have the preference in the manner of his death.

Titus Vinus had liv'd seven and forty years with great diversity of manners; his Father was of a *Prætorian* Family; his Grandfather by the Mother was of the number of the Proscrib'd; his first behaviour in the Army was scandalous. *Calvinus Sabinus's* Wife (while he was Lieutenant General) in a wanton Curiosity habited like a Soldier, rambling one Night about the Camp, where entertaining the Soldiers, and visiting the Watch, coming to the main Guard was there violated, and as the report went, by this *Titus Vinus*: upon which Accusation he was Imprison'd by the Emperor *Cajus*; from whence, by change of the Times, being enlarg'd, he pass'd through the degrees of Trust and Preferment with-

without blemish to the Prætorship; and so to the Command of a Legion, though 'twas his chance even then to be suspected of a low Action for a Man of his Sort, such as the purloining a golden Goblet from *Claudius's* Table, for which he was disgracefully treated the next day; being by the Emperors Order purposely serv'd in an earthen Cup. Howbeit rising afterwards to the Proconsulship of *Gallia Narbonensis*, he discharg'd that Trust with Reputation, and at length by *Galba's* favour mounted to the Precipice from which he fell. He was bold and enterprizing, of a mind equally turn'd for good and evil: his last Will became void through his great Wealth. But *Piso's* Testament was ratify'd by his Poverty.

Galba's Body lying long neglected, the Subject of secret scorn and pastime, at length had sorry Sepulture in his own private Gardens by *Argius* his Bondman, one in chief trust about him; his Head fix'd on a Pike (after it had been despitefully us'd by the *Rakebelly* Camp Boys) was found the next day mangl'd and disfigur'd near the Sepulcher of *Patrobius* a Freed-man of *Nero's*, who by his order had been put to death, and so was gather'd to the Body, already burnt.

This end had *Servius Galba* in the seventy third year of his Age; who had prosperously surviv'd five Emperors; a happier Subject than a Prince. His Nobility was Ancient, his Possessions great, his Endowments of mind but moderate; rather not Vicious than distinguish'd by his Vertues: not careless of Reputation, which he would neither Buy nor Sell; not covetous after others Riches, of his own Frugal, and of the Publick Treasure a very Miser: As to his Friends and Freed-men, if they chanc'd to be good he rather suffer'd than approv'd them; if bad he conniv'd at their Faults to a Scandal. But his Eminent Birth and Fortune, and the Iniquity of the Age cover'd and dignify'd many of his frailties with the name of Wisdom.

In

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In his younger days he had acquir'd a good Reputation in the Army during the *German Wars*; afterwards he govern'd in *Africk* with Proconsular Authority, which Office he discharg'd with great Moderation. Grown old he had the like Command in the hither *Spain*, wherein he acquitted himself with equal Honour; always appearing something more than a private Man while a Subject, and generally deem'd qualify'd for the Sovereignty till he attain'd it.

15. The City still in terror at the late bloody Scene which was increas'd by the memory of *Otho's* past life, became surcharg'd anewby fresh alarms from *Vitellius*; the account of whose motions during *Galba's* life having been suppress'd, and nothing publicly known but the Sedition of the Troops in *Upper Germany*. But now coming to reflect on their present State. That the two most detested Men alive for Sloath, Incontinence and Prodigality, were as by fate chosen out for the destruction of the Common-wealth; not only the Senators, and those of prime Rank who shar'd in the Administration of the Publick; but the Commons, and all Orders to the lowest degree of the People, openly bewail'd the disastrous posture of their Affairs.

The Enjoyment of their present Repose purchas'd at the price of so much Wickedness vanish'd, and nothing now was presented to their view but the Records of former Evils, the fruit of civil Dissention; of *Rome* so often expos'd a Prey to her own Citizens. Italy impoverish'd, the Provinces plunder'd. The Hostilities of *Pharsalia*, *Philippy*, *Perusia* *Mutina*; memorable instances of publick Calamities.

The World they said was shaken even when virtuous Men contended in Ambition; but *Cajus Cæsar* and *Augustus* when Conquerours left them the form of an Empire; as *Pompey* and *Brutus* would have restor'd the Common-wealth. But now for whom were they to visit the Temples? For *Otho* or *Vitellius*: all Supplications for them were

were sinful: Vows and Sacrifices abominable; of whose Contest this Judgment only could be made with certainty, that he of the Two who should succeed would be sure to become a worse Man by his Victory.

Some had hopes of relief from *Vespasian* and the Armies in the East; and though he was in better Esteem by much than either of the other, yet they fear'd new Hostilities, and new Calamities from new Disputes; nor was his Fame without some blemish, who prov'd to be the single Example of all the Princes before him who chang'd for the better.

16. We shall now recount the beginning and causes of *Vitellius's* Sedition.

After *Julius Vindex* and his Troops were cut off, the Army was become insolent by Success and Plunder; as having with little toil and hazard obtain'd a most profitable Victory, whereby they grew more and more desirous of Action and Fighting; preferring Free-booty and the reward of Violence to their Pay.

They had pass'd a tedious life in Pain and Poverty, through the inclemency of the Country where they had serv'd, and the severity of the Discipline they were under; which in times of Peace being rigorously exacted, is in Civil Hostilities quite dissolv'd; the worst and most criminal violation of Order passing then with impunity. Men, Horses, and Provisions of War they had enough and to spare; but there had been little or no intercourse between the Armies till the late troubles, so that their knowledge one of another seldom went beyond their respective Troops or Companies; the Armies being divided by Detachments and spread about the Provinces.

But the Legions having been drawn together to March against *Vindex*, and coming to a knowledge of their strength by their Success against the Forces of *Gallia*; they treated the *Gauls* no more now as Friends

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and Confederates, but as Enemies and Vanquish'd;
seeking new occasions of Strife and Hostility.

That Tract of *Gallia* which borders on the *Rhine* had sided with the *German* Troops, and advanc'd with the foremost against the the *Galbians* as they call'd them, (the name of *Vindex* being now extinct) wherefore new causes of quarrel were suggested against the *Hedui*, and *Sequani*, and other opulent Towns; the Soldiers Minds being now possess'd with nothing but Spoil and Depredation: not but that next after their own Avarice and Presumption (prevailing Vices among those who overween of their Strength) they had some colour of provocation from the vanity of those of *Gallia*, who had in a sort of Triumph boasted that *Galba* in contempt of the Army had remitted a fourth part of their Taxes, and generally honour'd them with the freedom of the City.

Furthermore, it was craftily whisper'd, and as foolishly believ'd, that the Legions were by *Galba* sentenc'd to be decimated, and the ablest Officers to lose their Employments. From all parts were spread terrifying rumours; and from *Rome* it self was said to come ominous tydings. While the Colony of *Lyons* out of Affection and Loyalty to *Nero* was indeed the Mint for the most part of these Seditious Forgeries. But the Cause it self yielded Subject Matter enough for Fiction and the belief of every Fable, through their own Wickedness the consciousness of their Demerits and confidence of their Strength.

Aulus Vitellius coming about the beginning of *December* into the *Lower Germany*, made a diligent review of the standing Camps of the Legions there; in which Inquisition, some Officers with impartiality, and upon sound judgment he restor'd to their Places and Honours; but for the most part what he did was rather to cajole and win the Soldiers love; revoking with a shew of Justice what *Vontheius Capito* had done through

through Bribery; who had preferr'd and degraded many as private Lucre prevail'd: in which Affair *Vitellius* seem'd to transact matters with a Spirit somewhat above the Character of a bare Lieutenant General; albeit among Men in their right minds, he was justly deem'd but a slight Man. His Partisans however extoll'd his profusions of his own and others Fortunes as Beneficence and Liberality; varnishing those bad Acts by which he aspir'd to the Sovereignty with the name of Virtues.

As in either Army there were good and well dispos'd Men; so there were many of quite another sort, among whom were *Alienus Caccina* and *Fabius Valens*, both Lieutenants of Legions, Men equally bold and covetous. *Valens* had taken offence at *Galba's* not having sufficiently requited his Service (as he thought) in discovering *Virginus's* suspicious Practices, and preventing *Capito's* Conspiracy; wherefore he urgently press'd *Vitellius* to the Enterprize, with incitements from the Honourable Character he had acquir'd: the Affection of the Army, the impotence of *Hordionius Flaccus*, who wanted Spirit to give the least impediment to their design. He assur'd him of the *British* Troops, and that the *German* Auxiliaries wou'd follow his Fortune: that the Obedience of the Provinces to *Galba* was wavering, who being old and unable to Govern, was at best but a precarious Prince, and not likely long to hold the Dignity: that therefore he had little else to do but to embrace the tenders Fortune made him.

He observ'd to him that *Virginus* from the obscurity of his Quality (whose Father had never born Office) had just cause of Diffidence; to whom to have invaded the Sovereignty would have been dangerous, while continuing in the state of a private Man he was sure to be safe. But that in *Vitellius* none of those impediments were found, whose Father had been Censor thrice,

Consul and Colleague with the Emperor ; which qualities the more they indanger'd his safety in a private Condition, the more they enabl'd him to aspire to the Throne.

But this Counsel wrought no present great effect on *Vitellius's* lumpish Mind, and rather warm'd his wishes than kindled his resolution.

In *Upper Germany* *Cacina* had gain'd great popularity among the Soldiers, who was young, beautiful, and of goodly port and Personage ; Covetous also, and prompt of Speech. He had been preferr'd by *Galba* to the Command of a Legion, for that while he was Treasurer of the Army in *Bætica* he came over with the foremost to his Party ; but shortly after being suspected of unclean Hands in the Execution of his Office, he was by the Emperors command prosecuted for purloining the Publick Treasure : which disgrace he resented so high as to resolve his revenge by troubling the State, and to heal his own Wounds by the smart of the Common-wealth.

Nor was the Army it self without Seeds of Dissension, which having been but a little before joyn'd to march in a Body against *Vindex* ; were not prevail'd with to declare for *Galba* till the death of *Nero* was ascertain'd, and were so backward in taking the Oath of Allegiance to him, that the Troops of *Lower Germany* were before-hand with them.

Furthermore, the *Treveri* and *Lingoni*, with other Towns that had felt *Galba's* Severity, situate near the standing Camps, had by that means familiar intercourse with the Soldiers, whom they corrupted and dispos'd to Sedition ; and having before broken the Ice for *Virginus*, were become the likelier to accept the Terms of any the next Bidder.

The *Lingoni* according to their Custom had sent Presents to the Legions ; and Messages of Friendship and Hospitality were interchang'd between them ; their Agents

gents (as they were instructed) went in poor Equipage, and with pensive Countenances utter'd their grief and suspicions every where among the Soldiers. Sometimes resenting the injuries done to themselves; then the partial Honours conferr'd on their Neighbours: to which perceiving them to lend a willing Ear, they proceeded to bewail the hard condition of the Army it self; the contempt they suffer'd, and the danger they were in. This practice coming to the knowledge of *Hordionius Flaccus*, who perceiving that by these and the like Arts the Soldiers had been Corrupted; he commanded the Messengers to avoid the Camp, and to the end their departure might be less observ'd, order'd that that they should go by night; which gave occasion for more suspicion, and thereupon a rumour ran that they had been secretly made away; whereupon the Army began to murmur and reason among themselves, that it was high time to provide for their own Safety, lest the bravest and best Men among them, (and those who least approv'd the present Conduct of Affairs) shou'd share the like Fate, and in the Night at unawares be privily murder'd.

Upon this the Legions secretly combin'd and enter'd into Covenants for their common Safety, with whom the Auxiliaries also joyn'd, of whose Sincerity they were at first in some suspicion; and that with their Cohorts and Wings surrounding them they meant them no good: but they were soon found to be of another mind, coming heartily over to them. *Bad Men being more easily dispos'd to agree in projects of War and mischief, than the good to Concord for the ends of Peace.*

Howbeing at length the Troops of the *Lower Germany* were won with much ado to swear Allegiance to *Galba*; which they did the beginning of *January*, a few in the first Ranks perform'd the Ceremony with some faint signs of good will, the rest remain'd sullen and silent, looking as it were that some one bolder than

the rest would give them the Signal; *it being natural to begin with doubt what we afterwards pursue with violence.* But it appear'd that the Legions were diversly affected; the first and fifth were Rebelliously bent, and injuriously treated *Galba's* Images; the fifteenth and sixteenth were ripe enough for mischief, but express'd their minds rather in murmurs and menaces; hoping for others to lead the Example. In the upper Army the fourth and eighteenth Legions having had their Winter Quarters together: on the same day that others took the Oath, seiz'd on *Galba's* Images and broke them in pieces; the fourth in a rage, the other with more deliberation, but at length with equal spight.

And lest their proceedings shou'd be constru'd a total defection of Duty to the State; they caus'd the long Antiquated Oath of Allegiance to the Senate and People of *Rome* to be Administ'r'd.

In this Tumult not one Lieutenant or Tribune were found steady to *Galba's* Interest; but some (as is Customary in the like Seditions) rather furthering the Rebellion than otherwise; howbeit no body yet appear'd at their Head; nor publicly spake to them by way of Oration from the Tribunal, they having not as yet it seems resolv'd whom to prefer. In the mean while *Hordionius Flaccus* their Commander in chief (a slight and timorous Man) stood a silent Spectator of these Transactions; neither offering to restrain the bad, confirm the doubtful, or animate the dutiful.

Four Centurions only of the two and twentieth Legion; *Nonius Receptus*, *Donatus Valens*, *Romilius Marcellus* and *Calpurnius Repentinus*, were found forward to interpose in the Protection of *Galba's* Images: but by the fury of the enrag'd Soldiers were presently seiz'd and committed to custody: after which there appear'd not the least Spark of Loyalty to the Prince, or reluctance at the violation of their Oath; but (as it happens
in

in the like Tumults) the Seditious being more violent hurry'd the rest along.

On the same day at night the Standard-bearer of the fourth Legion brought the News to *Vitellius* at *Collen* (as he was feasting among his Friends) that the fourth and eighteenth Legions had broken the Images of *Galba*, and sworn Obedience to the Senate and People of *Rome*, which Oath being frivolous, and an Expedient only to serve a present turn, they concluded that the next best Step they could make was to embrace so fair an occasion, and offer them a Prince. Whereupon *Vitellius* dispatch'd his Orders to the Legions and Lieutenants of his own Province; letting them know that the Army in the upper Country had renounc'd their Obedience to *Galba*; and that there was but this choice left them, either to march and endeavour to reduce the Rebels by Battle; or if they were more dispos'd to Concord than Blood, they must determine on the Election of a new Emperor; there being less danger in making a Prince than in seeking one.

The first Legion, whose Camp was nearest, was commanded by *Fabius Valens*, who the following day at night (and the first of all others at the Head of the Legionary and Auxiliary Horse) enter'd *Collen*, and solemnly saluted *Vitellius* Emperor. The other Legions in the same Province hasting who shou'd be first to follow his Example. In the mean time the upper Army (Post-poning their specious Oath to the Senate and People of *Rome*) on the third of *January* came unanimously over, and it was plainly discern'd during the first two days that they had no thoughts of restoring the freedom of the Common-wealth.

The People of *Cullen*, *Trevers*, and the *Lingoni* were as forward as the Legions, offering supplies of Men, Horses, Arms and Mony, according to their respective Abilities to further the Design; and not only those of principal Note in the Camps and Colonies who had

wherewithal, but the meanest and lowest Ranks of the Soldiers and Militia, spurr'd with a covetous Ardour (in hopes of abundant recompence) contributed what little mony they had, and in defect thereof pawn'd their Trappings, and the Silver Ornaments of their Equipage to manifest their Affection to the Cause.

17. *Vitellius* expressing his approbation of the Soldiers chearfulness proceeded now to personate the Prince.

The Offices of Court which were wont to be executed by Freed-men he appointed to Gentlemen of Rome, and paid the Centurion's Vacation Fees out of the Publick Revenue. Many he yielded up to the Soldiers bloody demands, preserving some by imprisonment, with colour of reserving them for more solemn Punishment. *Pompeius Propinquus* was forthwith slain. *Julius Burdo*, Commander of the German Fleet was sav'd by a Wile, who had contracted the general hatred of the Army for having so eagerly pursu'd *Fonreius Capito's* life, for a Crime wherein he himself was so notoriously a Party. The Soldiers had retain'd a respectful memory for *Capito*, which edg'd their indignation, and in that fit of fury every Man openly wreak'd his revenge with impunity: while to preserve any one on whom their Malice was bent there, was need of Art and Subtilty; wherefore *Burdo* for the present being hurry'd to Prison: after the Victory, and when the Storm of rage was over he was enlarg'd: but *Crispinus* the Centurion was given up to Expiate for *Capito's* blood which he had shed, as being of less account with *Vitellius*, and more in the Soldiers hatred. *Julius Civilis*, a Man of great Authority among the *Batavians* was also preserv'd against the Soldiers attempts; lest by his death they should provoke that fierce People, and the rather for that there were at that time eight Cohorts of the same Nation quarter'd in the Territory of the *Lingoni*, being the Auxiliaries of the fourteenth Legion, who by reason of the Stirs at that time were seperated from

from the Body ; these were held of great moment in the balance of Affairs at that Conjunction.

The four Centurions we mention'd *Nonius, Donatus, Romilius* and *Calpurnius* ; were by *Vitellius's* order put to death ; as having been so notoriously guilty of fidelity to their Prince ; *which among Rebels is a most in-expiable Crime.*

Shortly after *Valerius Asiaticus* Lieutenant of *Belgica* came over to *Vitellius* who gave him his Daughter to Wife ; as did also *Fulius Blasus*, who was Governour of *Gallia Lugdunensis* with the *Italian* Legion, and the *Taurin* Horse who had their Quarters at *Lyons*. The *Rhoetian* Troops likewise hastn'd over.

In *Britain* all things went to their wish ; in which Province *Trebellius Maximus* was Lieutenant General, a Man hated and contemn'd by the Army for his Avarice ; against whom the Soldiers aversion was increas'd by the practices of *Roscius Caelius* Lieutenant of the twentieth Legion : their ancient Enmity being now by the Licence of Civil Dissention grown to a greater height : *Trebellius* accusing *Caelius* of Sedition and Dissolution of Discipline, and *Caelius* him of robbing and impoverishing the Legions ; thus the Discord of the Lieutenants spoil'd the Harmony of the Army which deserted *Trebellius* even to the Auxiliaries ; which in Cohorts and Wings went over to *Caelius* ; till at length slighted and terrifi'd, he was forc'd to withdraw and fly for refuge to *Vitellius* ; howbeit the Province though without a Head continu'd quiet ; the Lieutenants of the Legions alternately supplying that want ; *Caelius* however as being the most forward, bare most sway among them.

18. The *British* Troops having joyn'd *Vitellius* who now abounded in Men and Mony ; he modell'd his Forces into two Bodies of an Army, commanded by two distinct Generals ; who were order'd to march by different ways. *Fabius Valens* through *Gallia*, which People he was to allure by Civil treatment if they receiv'd

ceiv'd them amicably, but in case of opposition to use Hostility, and force his passage by the *Cottian Alps* into *Italy*. *Caccina* was to go a shorter cut and make his descent by the *Appenines*: The Forces under *Valens* consisted of forty thousand, Compos'd of pick'd Men out of the Upper Army; and the fifth Legion compleat. *Caccina's* Troops consisted of thirty thousand drawn out of the *Upper Germany*; the prime strength whereof was in the one and twentieth Legion; to both which Armies Auxiliaries of *Germans* were added, out of whom *Vitellius* who was to follow, Compos'd also another Army of reserve to sustain the whole.

It was marvellous to behold the difference between the Army and the Emperor. The Soldiers breath'd nothing but Action and Hostility: *Gallia* being terrifi'd at the appearance, and *Spain* in suspense; the inclemency of the Season was no impediment, nor any excuse understood which might avail in quiet times, Nothing was in their Mouths but the Invasion of *Italy*, and possessing the City; they said that in Civil Discord success consisted in Expedition, where Action was always safer than Deliberation. While on the other Hand, behold their stupid Commander anticipating the Character of Prince by Gluttony and Profusion; Drunk by Noon; listless and surcharg'd with excess: while the Soldiers fervour supply'd the Generals defect, and fill'd his place by mutual incitements to their duty; cherishing the bold, terrifying the backward, and when all things were in readiness they call aloud to sound a March, proclaiming *Vitellius* with the Title of *Germanicus*; for *Cesar* he forbade to be call'd even after the Victory.

19. On the first day of their Decampment the Army was saluted with an Auspicious sign; an Eagle sailing gently on before them as it were to guide them in their March, and though the Soldiers express'd their Joy in loud Acclamations the fearless Bird still held her course; info?

insomuch that all were confirm'd in the propitious token. They march'd peaceably through the Country of *Tryers*. But at *Divodurum* a Town of the *Mediomatrici*, though their Reception and Entertainment was Hospitable, yet a suddain distast took them which wrought with such violence that the unfortunate City was brought to the brink of destruction; not out of Lucre, and for the sake of Spoil: but through a causeless and unaccountable rage that seiz'd them, which was therefore so much the more difficult to appease: till at length after the death of four thousand of the Inhabitants *Valens* prevail'd on the unruly Soldiers to desist from farther Execution.

This Accident so terrify'd the People of *Gallia* that ever after, as the Army approach'd; whole Towns and Cities with their Magistrates hastn'd out in suppliant manner to receive them; the Women and Children making a Lane on their Knees as they march'd along, deprecating their danger as in times of Hostility, whereof nevertheless they knew no cause.

Valens coming to the City of the *Leuci*, receiv'd there the first News of *Galba's* death, and *Otho's* Election, whereat the Soldier seem'd but little mov'd, whose mind was now prepossess'd with War marching on and pursuing their point. The *French* on this News delay'd no longer to come over, and though the two Pretenders were equally in their hatred, yet their greater fear of *Vitellius* determin'd them for him.

They came next to the *Lingoni*, whose City was sure to them; where they were courteously entertain'd, and as gratefully behav'd themselves: but this tranquility was a little troubl'd through the misbehaviour of the *Batavian* Cohort, who (as we mention'd) having been seperated from the fourteenth Legion, *Fabius Valens* had rejoyn'd them to the Army under his command. A wrangling Contest of a few at first, was kindl'd by degrees into a quarrel between the *Batavians* and Legionaries:

gionaries; and the Soldiers taking part on either side, it had come to blood had not *Valens* seasonably interpos'd his Authority, and by punishing some reduc'd the *Batavians* to order, who were grown to forget their Duty.

The *Hedui* against whom the Army had conceiv'd some distast, prevented their purpose of ill treating them by supplying them punctually with Money and Arms, and over and above furnishing them with Provision at their own Expence: but what these did out of Fear, those of *Lyons* perform'd out of good will: howbeit they took with them the *Italian Legion*, and *Taurin* Horse, leaving only the Eighteenth Cohort with orders to remain in the standing Camp there.

Manlius Valens Lieutenant of the *Italian Legion*, who though a known well-wisher to *Vitellius*, was by the secret Practices of *Fabius* in no esteem with him; of whom however his Rival publickly spake well; that so unguarded he might wound him with more safety.

The old Feud betwixt the People of *Lyons* and *Viena* had been by the Civil Contentions reviv'd; and much mischief done and suffer'd on both sides; wherein they proceeded with such Rancor that it was visible the Party of *Galba* and *Nero* was not the single subject of their Quarrel. *Galba* in the mean time had wreak'd his Anger against *Lyons* by Mulcts and Confiscations, and on the other hand had confer'd Honours and Privileges on those of *Viena*, which at the bottom was the true cause of that aversion and distance of mind between these two People, whom a single River only otherwise separated.

On these motives those of *Lyons* secretly incens'd the Soldiers against their Enemies of *Viena*; declaring how they had laid Siege to their City, took part with *Vindex*, and of late had levy'd Forces for the service of *Galba*.

After

After they had thus laid a Foundation of Justice for the Armies indignation ; they suggested the profit they might gather from the Plunder of so opulent a People, and so from private instigations they proceeded to open persuasions and supplications that they would revenge so many outrages by exterminating a People, and razing a Town that had been the Seat of the *French War* ; where they wou'd find none but Foreigners and Enemies: pretending the while that themselves were a *Roman Colony* ; of a piece with the Army, and their Companions in Fortune, whom if the chance of War shou'd threaten with danger, they beseech'd not to desert and expose them a Prey to their mortal and merciless Enemies.

By these Arts they had so wrought on the Passions of the incens'd Soldiers ; that even their Officers despair'd of means to quench the flame: when opportunely for them the People of *Vienna* being aware of the danger came out of the Town in manner of a Procession, with Veils and Priestly Ornaments, and met the Army as they advanc'd prostrating themselves; embracing their Knees, and kissing the ground where they trod, implor'd their Compassion, and by this submission at length bent their stubborn minds to Mercy.

But *Valens* over and above being enabl'd to strengthen their persuasion by a Donative of three hundred Sesterces to a Man, was then patiently heard when he interpos'd his Authority for the preservation of the lives and safety of the *Viennois*; and then and not till then the Dignity and Antiquity of the Colony was consider'd and respected. Nevertheless they were sentenc'd to forfeit and deliver up all their publick Arms and Stores of War; every Man also as he was able supply'd the Soldier with Provision of Victuals.

The report went however that *Valen's* favour had been purchas'd at the price of a great sum of Mony; grounded perhaps on his having liv'd long in Poverty before,

before, and appearing rich on the sudden; which change of Fortune it seems he cou'd not hide; his vicious inclinations breaking out so much the more by how much he had liv'd so long in constraint; in so much that of a young Beggar he became an old Prodigal.

The Army now advanc'd by easie Marches through the Country of the *Allobroges* and the *Voconti*; the General bargaining and shamefully exacting Mony from the Magistrates of the Town, and the Proprietors of Lands where he pass'd, for their Exemption from the burthen of Quarters to the Army; all which was wrested from them in so menacing and rigorous a manner that *Lucus* a free Town of the *Voconti* was in danger of being burnt, till they appeas'd him with a Bribe; but where Mony was not found they were entertained and carv'd out their own satisfaction by Adulteries and Violations of their Women, and the like Abominations; in this sort marching on they came to the foot of the *Alpes*.

20. The other Army shed more Blood, and took more Plunder in their march.

The *Helvetians* were a Nation of *Gallia* anciently in Reputation for Arms, and only on the Stock of past Honour were in present esteem. This People having heard nothing of *Galba's* death refus'd submission to *Vitellius*, and by that means incens'd the turbulent spirit of *Cæcina* against them. Their first Hostilities sprang from the Rapine of the one and twentieth Legion, who had robb'd the *Helvetians* of a sum of Mony which they had sent to pay a certain Garrison of a Fortrefs, which they had long held, Mann'd and Victual'd at their own Expence.

Being thus provok'd they first hinder'd the intercourse that was kept betwixt the *German* Army and the Troops of *Pannonia*: then they seiz'd a Centurion and certain Soldiers; committing them to Custody, while

Cæcina

Cæcina who thirsted after occasions of War, and more hasty to punish than expostulate, advanc'd with his Camp to reckon with them; and waſting the Country, plunder'd a populous place, which by reason of the Medicinal Waters found there, was by long Peace enrich'd and beautify'd with buildings in manner of a free Town.

Orders were likewise sent to the *Rætian* Auxiliaries to attack the *Helvetians* in the Reer in case they shou'd make Head against the Legionaries. But that People who were boasters while danger was at a distance, were terrifi'd now when it approach'd them. On the first tumult they made choice of *Claudius Severus* for their Leader; but ignorant in the use of their Arms, and utterly destitute of Military knowledge; and being without Council to deliberate and direct them for the best; they no sooner came in cool blood to reflect on their present state, when they saw it was in vain to offer Battle to such a Body of a Veterane Army; and to abide a Siege (defended only by old and ruinous Rampiers) they concluded equally dangerous.

Cæcina on the one side was drawn up against them with a formidable Army; on the other were the *Rætian* Wings and Cohorts; with the Flower of that People, lusty and train'd to Arms; so that in a word the *Helvetians* being surrounded with Enemies, killing, burning, and spoiling, their order being soon broken, threw down their Arms and in confusion fled for refuge to the Mountain *Vogesus*, whither being pursu'd by a *Thracian* Cohort they were dislodg'd and beaten down into the Plains, and by the *Germans* and *Rætians* follow'd into Woods and Coverts, and for the most part put to the Sword: many thousand being slain, and many sold into Bondage.

After these cruel devastations the Army march'd in order of Battle against *Aventicum* the chief City of the *Helvetians*; which place they summon'd by Messengers
sent

sent before, to yield themselves up to Discretion; to which Terms they submitted, whereupon *Julius Alpinus* a principal Citizen was by *Caccina* sentenc'd to death, as having been a prime Incendiary: the rest being reserv'd and left to *Vitellius's* Mercy, to whom the *Helvetians* forthwith dispatch'd Ambassadors.

It was hard to distinguish whether the Emperor or the Army were hardest to appease; the Soldiers cry'd aloud to have the City destroy'd, terrifying the Ambassadors after their insolent manner, with their Fists and their Arms pointed at their Faces; while *Vitellius* both by speech and gesture spar'd no Menaces, till *Claudius Cossus* one of the Deputies who was held a good Orator artfully hiding his ability by a seeming terrour (and therefore so much the more likely to prevail) wrought the angry Soldiers to relent; so liable are the fickle multitude to change, and on the sudden fall to pity from the height of rage; so that in short the Eloquence of their Tears only prevail'd, and had power to impetrate a more merciful Sentence than they expected, and in the end a remission of their fault in the preservation of their City.

Caccina after a short stay in *Helvetia* (where he attended Orders to pass the Mountains) receiv'd the welcome News from *Italy* that the *Syllan* Troops (who were quarter'd about the *Po*) had sworn Allegiance to *Vitellius*, under whom it seems they had serv'd during his Proconsulship of *Africa*, who being call'd from thence by *Nero*, in order to their passing into *Egypt*, were detain'd in *Italy* on the occasion of the Conspiracy of *Vindex*. They were wrought over to *Vitellius* by the persuasion of the *Decurians* whose affection he had gain'd; but they had little knowledge of *Otho*: wherefore they extoll'd the strength of the approaching Legions, and spake great things of the *German* Army, and as an earnest of their Fidelity to the new Prince they won to his obedience the strongest Free Towns from

from beyond the *Po*; *Milan*, *Novara*, *Eperoda* and *Ver-cels*: the news whereof they dispatch'd to *Cacina*, and forasmuch as that single Wing was not a Body of strength sufficient to guard so large a Territory, he order'd them a Reinforcement of *British*, *French* and *Portugal* Cohorts; with the *German* Ensigns and the *Petrinian* Wing; himself with the Body of the Army halting a while as in some doubt whether it were not best to direct his Course, and bend his March towards *Noricum* by the *Rætian* Mountains, and attack the Procurator *Petronius*, who had declar'd for *Otho*; rais'd the Militia of the Country, and broken down the Bridges; but on reflection that by that course he shou'd endanger those Troops he had sent before; and that to be Master of *Italy* wou'd give greater Credit to their Arms, and being assur'd that *Noricum* wou'd follow the Fortune of the Conqueror: he therefore determin'd to pursue his first purpose; so with his heavy arm'd Legionaries he mounted and march'd through the Winter Snows of the *Apennines*.

21. During these Transactions *Otho* (contrary to the Opinion the World had conceiv'd of him) dissembling his Manners apply'd himself to business with all appearing diligence; conducting Affairs with due regard to the Dignity of the Empire: but this fluctuation betwixt Vice and Vertue did but so much the more increase the Peoples Jealousie.

First he commanded *Marius Celsus* Consul Elect (whom he had artfully preserv'd from the Soldiers rage by committing him to Prison) to be brought before him in the Capitol; hoping by remitting the Offence of so eminent a Man (greatly in the Indignation of his Party) to purchase thereby an opinion of his humanity. *Celsus* with an honest assurance confess'd the accusation of his Fidelity to *Galba*; not forgetting to insinuate the utility of merciful Examples to Princes; whereupon *Otho* rather admitting his Defence as vertuous, than remitting the fault; forgave him and took him

into his bosom, giving him a Principal Command in the ensuing War; which he chose rather to do than to treat him coldly and suspiciously as a pardon'd Enemy, and as if the Sore were but just skin'd over; so that *Celsus* fatally adhering to the losing side unhappily persever'd in his integrity also to *Otbo*. The preservation of so worthy a Man had its effect; conciliated the goodwill of the prime Citizens: was approv'd by the Multitude, and gave no displeasure to the Soldiers, who in cold Blood cou'd not but value that Vertue which before had so much provok'd their Anger.

But the People conceiv'd equal Joy from different Causes on the occasion of *Tigellinus's* death. *Sophonius Tigellinus* was obscurely born, had been corrupted in his Youth, and lead an abominable life to the last: he had risen by Military Trusts to the command of the *Prætorians*, and had other profitable Preferments due only to vertuous Actions; but attain'd by him by vicious means, as finding it the nearest way.

His behaviour in his Employments was Insolent, Cruel, and Avaritious; advancing in wickedness as he grew in years; debauching *Nero* to all manner of mischief; acting some Villanies unknown to him, and at length traiterously forsook him: so that both Friends and Foes of that Prince were equally importunate he shou'd be made an Example. In *Galba's* Reign he was shelter'd by *Titus Vinus's* Authority on pretence of Gratitude for his having preserv'd his Daughter (which was true) but not done from any motive of Vertue, or tenderness in him who had Murder'd so many; but out of foresight, to lay in a stock of Interest for a time of Need: For wicked Men diffident of the duration of their Fortune, having an Eye to their future safety contract friendships, and confer benefits on such as they think may shield them from the danger of the Publick Hatred; whereby it comes to pass that Men heed more how to be safe in their Persons, than innocent in their Lives. But at this time he chanc'd to fare the worse for *Vinus's* friendship,

ship, the infamy and odium of both now centering in him. Infomuch that the People crowding to the Palace and places of Assembly; and (where the multitude are most in their Element) to the Theatres and Publick Places; never ceas'd their Clamours till they had obtain'd a Warrant for *Tigellinus's* death, which was sent him to *Sinnessa* where he was solacing himself at the Baths, dissolv'd in Sensuality, in Dalliance, and dishonest Embraces of his Women; who after some cowardly delays at length cut his Throat, dying as basely as he had badly liv'd.

About the same time *Galvia Crispinella* was requir'd also to punishment; whose Escape was with great Art and Difficulty compass'd at the cost of some obloquy to the Prince. She had been one of *Nero's* Tutoresses in his abominable pleasures; on whose death she embark'd for *Africk* with design of inciting *Clodius Macer* to a War, where she did her utmost to famish the City: She was afterwards a Consul's Wife, and liv'd in general good liking and esteem during the lives of *Galba*, *Otho* and *Vitellius*; and by reason of her great Possessions, and being without Children to inherit, (*a sure defence in all Revolutions*) continu'd after them in Safety and Tranquility.

22. While matters pass'd as we have recounted, *Otho* and *Vitellius* were in Treaty about who shou'd be Sovereign; *Otho* by weak and womanish Arguments labour'd to convince *Vitellius* that his safest course was to accept of Money, favour and a quiet retirement wherein to spend his days in pleasure and repose: *Vitellius* amusing him with the like trifling persuasions. The beginning of their Negotiation was in mild and temperate Language, dress'd with undecent dissimulation on both sides; till at length they came to reviling Terms, defaming each other with their vicious Manners and guilty Practices, wherein neither was in the wrong.

Galba had order'd Deputies to be sent to the German Armies, and the Italian Troops that remain'd at *Lyons*

which Commission *Otho* revok'd sending others as from the Senate in their stead; which Deputies were easily persuaded to remain with *Vitellius* and proceed no farther; the Guard too (which *Otho* out of ostentation had assign'd them) was requir'd to depart, and was dismiss'd without leave to have any intercourse with the Legionaries. On the other hand *Fabius Valens* dispatch'd Letters from the German Army to the *Prætorians* and City Cohorts, magnifying their strength, and making them offers of friendship; reproving with all their haste conferring the Dignity on *Otho*; which *Vitellius* had so long before rightfully possess'd.

Thus were the *Prætorians* doubly tempted with threats and promises, and though they saw peril in War, and assur'd safety by resting quiet; nevertheless they stood firm to *Otho*.

They form'd Conspiracies also against one another's lives, *Otho* privily sent Assassines into Germany against *Vitellius*, nor was *Vitellius* behind hand with him in the like attempts; but both were frustrated: *Vitellius's* Ruffians escap'd punishment by passing undiscover'd in a populous City amidst so great a confluence of Strangers: But *Otho's* Men mixing among such as had knowledge one of another were soon detected as Strangers. Furthermore *Vitellius* sent Letters to *Titianus* *Otho's* Brother, threatening revenge on him and his Son, in case of any Violence offer'd to his Mother and Family; by which means both were preserv'd, though perhaps while *Otho* liv'd, out of fear only; but *Vitellius* coming to be Conqueror manifestly acquir'd the fame of greater Clemency.

The first News that gave *Otho* Incouragement from abroad was from *Illyria*; which intimated that the Legions of *Dalmatia*, *Pannonia* and *Myisia* had taken the Oath of Obedience to him; the like rumour ran of *Spain*; upon which occasion *Cluvius Rufus* was by publick Edict Solemnly prais'd; tho soon after it was known that *Spain* had taken part with *Vitellius*.

Aquitain

Aquittain also after their Oath taken to *Otho*, at the instance of *Julius Cordus* continu'd not long in their duty. *Faith and Affection* were extinguish'd, while *Force and Fear* rul'd every where.

The Province of *Narbon* was terrify'd into *Vitellius's* Party as being nearer and thought the stronger.

The remote Provinces, and all the Armies sever'd by the Sea sware to *Otho*; not out of Zeal, but from the reputation of the City and Senate; which won great credit to his Cause; and forasmuch too, as that they were prepossess'd in his favour; he having been first in nomination.

In *Palestine* the Army under *Vespasian* declar'd also for him, as did the Legions in *Syria* under *Mutianus*. *Egypt* and the adjoining Provinces were of the same mind; *Africk* also and *Carthage* (the first and most forward of all the Cities) prevented even the Authority of the Proconsul *Vipsanius Apronianus*; in their rejoycings. *Crescens* a Freed man of *Nero's* (who in those dissolute times bear sway) solemnly entertaining the people on the occasion of a new Emperor; wherein they proceeded in a hasty and tumultuous manner. By the example of *Carthage* the rest of the Cities swore Obedience to *Otho*.

23 In this distraction of the Armies and Provinces, it was become evident that *Vitellius* had now no way left to Establish himself but by Arms.

Otho in the mean time acted the Sovereign, as in times of the profoundest Tranquility; doing some things becoming enough the honour of the State; but for the most part slightly and without deliberation. First, he declared himself and *Titianus* his Brother joynt Consuls till the Kalends of *March*. The next two Months were allotted to *Virginus* in Complement to the *German* Army; joyning with him *Poppeius Vapiscus*, in shew out of old intimacy; but thought rather done to oblige the *Viennois*. The rest of the Consuls as they stood nominated by *Nero* and *Galba* remain'd

unalter'd; *Cælius* and *Flavius Sabinus* till July; *Arius*, *Antonius*, and *Marcus Celsus* till September, which was confirm'd to them by *Vitellius* after the decision.

The Pontifical Dignities and Augures, *Otho* confer'd on Men of years and such as had been graduated in publick Trusts; thereby to compleat their course of honor.

The young Nobility newly return'd out of Exile he was mindful of; gratifying them with their Grandfathers and Fathers Stations among the Priests. *Cadius Rufus*, *Pedius Blæsus* and *Sevinus Promptinus*, who had been sentenc'd in *Claudius* and *Nero's* time for Bribery and Oppression of the Provinces, were restor'd to their rank in the Senate; their pardon containing other names of their Crimes colouring the true cause with shew of treasonable attempts against the Prince, whose Infamy had now weaken'd the force of those Laws that were made for their preservation. By the like Arts of benevolence he allur'd the Cities and Provinces to his obedience; supplying the Colonies of *Hyspalienses* and *Emeritences* with a recruit of Families; giving the *Lingoni* the freedom of the City, bestowing on the Province of *Bætica* as a free Bounty all the *Moorish* Towns in their Neighborhood. Enlarging the privileges of *Capadocia* and *Africk*, more for present ostentation than with design of ratifying them.

Amidst these Resolutions which necessity inforc'd, and the Pressures of publick Cares excus'd; *Otho* forgot not old Love; ordering by Decree of the Senate that the Statues of *Poppæa* shou'd be erected anew. It was also rumour'd that he had determin'd to celebrate the memory of *Nero*; thereby to ingage the multitude, who on some occasions had adventur'd to expose that Prince's Statues; and on certain others the People and Soldiers also in their acclamations (meaning thereby greater honour to *Otho*) joyn'd their Names; which he wink'd at; either afraid to refuse, or asham'd to approve it.

24. Domestick Hostilities had now so fill'd Mens minds that Foreign Affairs lay neglected; from whence
grew

grew the boldness of the *Roxolani*, a Nation of *Sarmatia*; who the preceeding Winter having cut off two Cohorts; adventur'd to make an Incurfion into *Mesia*; and taking assurance from their late Success drew together to the number of Nine thousand Horse; but being more intent on Ravage than prepar'd for Battle, were surpriz'd and attack'd by the Third Legion with the Auxiliaries carelessly scatter'd about the Country; the *Romans* came fresh and prepar'd to the Encounter, meeting them loaden with Booty, and their Horses out of Heart; tir'd with their Burthen and the badness of the Ways; so that they were defeated, and fell rather as Victims than Vanquish'd by the Sword.

'Tis marvellous to observe how the Valour of that Nation seems to be situate as it were without them; in Foot Service there is not to be found a slighter People; on Horseback and in Bodies they are hardly to be resisted: But on this occasion it being after a great thaw the ground was spoil'd for that Service; so that they cou'd not manage their long Lances, and two handed Swords as at other times; their Horses not being able to keep their Legs, sinking and sliding under the weight of their heavy Harness, (which their Men of Quality wear) made of Plates of Iron, or the strongest Leather, which tho of good proof against Thrusts and Blows, was on the other Hand so heavy and cumbersome, that when ever they chanc'd to be dismounted in time of Action, they were unable to rise and recover themselves. The deep Snow too on this occasion was a farther impediment; while the *Roman* Soldier in his light Corselet active, and at his ease attack'd them; one while at a distance with Darts and Piles; then at hand with their light thrusting Swords, which gave them so much the advantage of the others (who fight without Bucklers,) that they were all cut off saving a few who escap'd to the *Fens*, where what with their Wounds and the unwholesome Air they perish'd.

Upon the arrival of these tydings *Marcus Aponius*,

Lieutenant of *Mæſia*, was honour'd with a Triumphal Statue, and *Fulvius Aurelius*, *Titus Julianus*, and *Numeritius Lupus*, Lieutenants of the Legions with Consular Ornaments; *Otho* taking to himself the glory of this Success as if under his Auspices, and by his Lieutenants he had enlarg'd the bounds of the Empire.

25. About this time from a little Spark a seditious Flame was kindled which endanger'd the whole City? *Otho* had order'd the Seventeenth Cohort that was quarter'd at *Ostia* to come to *Rome*: the care of their arming being committed to *Varius Crispinus* a Prætorian Tribune; which that he might perform the more commodiously, he chose the quiet of the Evening when the Camp was at rest; when opening the Magazine to deliver out the Arms; the time and the business begot suspicion; which soon bred a Jealousie among the Soldiers of some bad design, and the silence of the Night made the Camp so much the more subject to take the Alarm: the sight of Arms to Men warm'd with Wine provok'd them to Action; The Soldiers fall into a rage, charging their Officers with Treason, and a purpose of arming the Senate and their Followers against *Otho*; some ignorantly as Drunk; others out of Malice to make their profit of such disorders; to whom every change was welcome; while the orderly and better minded were by the darkness of the Night with-held from doing their duty.

First they kill'd the Tribune and such of the Centurions as were most forward to stay the Sedition; then seizing Arms; with drawn Swords they mount on Horse-back, and tumultuously march to the City, and so on to the Palace.

It chanc'd that *Otho* had invited that Night the Principal Citizens and their Wives to a solemn Entertainment; who being terrify'd at this Uproar of the Soldiers, and being in some doubt too of the Emperors sincerity, stood a while amaz'd and undetermin'd whether to remain where they were, or attempt to shift for themselves; thus in Fear and Assurance by turns they continu'd

tinu'd a while with their Eyes fix'd on *Otho*, who (as it happens on such doubtful occasions) was equally fear'd and terrify'd. But being as solicitous for the Senators safety as his own, he first dispatch'd the Captains of the Guard to reduce the Soldiers to better order, in the mean while he requir'd his Guests to withdraw from the danger.

In this confusion it was surprizing to behold Magistrates casting off their Ornaments of distinction, shunning their Train of Officers and Servants; the most venerable of both Sexes stealing out in the dark, some this way some that; few to their own Habitations, but seeking Sanctuary among their obscurest Friends and Dependents; where they might be conceal'd with least suspicion.

The Soldiers in the mean time violently rush into the Palace, and force their passage to the *Presence*, demanding a sight of *Otho*; wounding *Julius Martialis* a Tribune, and *Vitellius Saturninus*, Lieutenant of a Legion, who interpos'd to stop their rage.

Nothing was heard or seen but insolent threats, and brandish'd Swords; one while menacing their Officers; then the Senate, and possess'd with a blind fury (ignorant whose blood to require to appease them) demanded without distinction the whole Body of the Senate to the Slaughter.

When *Otho* (unbecoming the Imperial Dignity standing up in his Seat) by low and obsequious supplications hardly restrain'd them, who with guilty murmurs at length retreated back to the Camp.

The following Day, as if the City had been taken by an Enemy, the Houses were shut, the Streets empty, the Inhabitants dejected, and the Soldiers tho' ashamed appear'd rather sullen than sorrowful for what had pass'd. Whereupon *Licinius Proculus* and *Plotius Firmus* their Commanders in chief, were sent to treat with them, who according to their different Talents, gentle or severe dealt with them by Companies, and in conclusion, (after they had assur'd them of a Donative
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of Five thousand Sesterces a Man) *Otho* adventur'd into the Camp; where the Tribunes and Centurions surrounding him casting away the marks of their distinctions pray'd to be eas'd of the burthen of their Commissions, which they cou'd no longer discharge with safety.

Whereupon the Soldiers (who conceiv'd their meaning) compos'd themselves to submission, and without other instigation requir'd Sentence might pass on the Authors of the Sedition. While *Otho* weighing with judgment the disorders, and the diversity of Mind among the Soldiers; the well dispos'd among them, calling for redress of the present Evils; the bad and most wishing rather for a wider breach, as having a better Harvest in their Eye by troubles and Civil discord: reflecting too, that Power gotten by vicious Means cannot on the sudden be cultivated by vertuous Methods and ancient Severity; but anxious however for the safety of the City and Senate, he determin'd at length to speak to them, which he did after this manner.

I came not hither, Fellow Soldiers, either to engage your Love, or incite your Courage in my behalf, wherein you are bound to a degree of needing my interposing for your moderation in both. It was not, I am assur'd, either Anger or Avarice (the common Motives of Discord in Armies) there was neither danger to encounter or avoid; but an unseasonable overflowing of your Affection to me which bred our last nights Tumult: for it is not the honesty of the Cause, more than the wisdom of the Conduct that fortifies vertuous Purposes against bad Events: We are at this time entering upon Military Action, wherein private Orders are often necessarily executed with privacy; how then happens it that you shou'd seem surpriz'd, and take Alarm because you were not publickly consulted. You ought to know that affairs of War cannot be so manag'd; where occasions are often found too quick for the swiftest Execution; I must tell you too that a perfect Ignorance of some things is as much a Soldiers duty as a perfect Knowledge of others.

The force of Discipline ceases, and Government is dissolved

sol'd where an Officers Authority is precarious, and a Soldier may presume to ask a Reason for his Obedience. What excuse can serve, what motive justifie Tumults in the Camp in the dead of Night? Shall it be in the power of a drunken Companion or two (for I question if there were more who rais'd the last nights Mutiny) to stain their hands in their Officers Blood, and violate the Generals Pavilion, which tho done out of goodwill to me, yet being in the dark, might in that blind confusion have been equally improv'd to my hurt; what cou'd Vitellius and his Party covet more than to have it in their power to foment such discord among us? When the Soldier forgets his Officer, and an Officer his Superior in Command, Order is at an end, and Horse and Foot confounded, mutually conspire their own destruction.

'Tis strict Obedience (Fellow Soldiers) not asking a Reason of Military Orders, wherein the force of Discipline consists; and that Army will be ever found to perform their duty best in time of Danger, which when Danger is absent is most quiet and obedient.

I ask nothing of you but your Hearts and your Arms, to direct them is my Province alone.

The fault began from a few, wherefore but two only shall share the Punishment, while you the rest contend to wipe out the Memory of the Offence by your future better behaviour: Such criminal words against the Senate Surely no Army ever presum'd to utter; what cou'd Vitellius and his rude Germans (rais'd to oppose us) have done more than to require that venerable Body to the Slaughter, who are the head of the Empire, and the Ornament of the Universe; And what they perhaps wou'd refuse, shall her own Children chuse to commit; and extinguish that light by whose beams we are distinguish'd from a base and guilty Faction? Vitellius indeed has a shew of some command, and the name of an Army; but while we assert the Dignity, and preserve the Authority of the Senate, We are the Common-Wealth; and they at best but Rebels.

This stupendous City, these Pompous Structures made of Stone and mouldering Matter may perish, and recover from decay, as Time and Destiny Decree; but your Fate and mine,

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the immortality of the State, and the tranquility of the World are wrapp'd in the safety of the Senate.

The Father and Founder of Rome did by the Gods appointment institute that order which no Revolution of time or Government has discontinu'd. Let us then think it our duty to transmit to the care of Posterity that which our Ancestours have handed inviolate down to us. For as you are the Nursery of the Senate they are the Seminary of our Princes.

26. This Speech contriv'd at once to admonish and flatter the Soldiers, and the moderate Sentence that follow'd (two of the Mutineers only being condemn'd) was gratefully receiv'd, and affairs (which wou'd not endure greater rigour) were pretty well Compos'd, nevertheless the quiet of the City was not perfectly restor'd, but clashing of Arms, and a Face of Hostility was seen, and the Soldiers tho' not in Bodies yet a part mixing in disguise with the People, spread spiteful Reports and malicious Invectives against all whom either by Nobility, Wealth or Vertue were most distinguish'd.

It was rumour'd also that some of *Vitellius's* party were arriv'd to get intelligence, and make a judgment of the posture of Affairs, which was a new cause of Jealousie insomuch that their most secret Apartments hardly insur'd Mens doubts; in publick they were under great constraint how to govern their behaviour, not to seem disguising either joy or fear at good or evil tydings: But in the Senate was the greatest difficulty; where all their Art was needful in so nice a Subject; Silence and Freedom of Speech giving equal cause of Suspicion; and flattery wou'd not pass on *Otbo*, who rising from a Courtier knew that Vice too well. In this distress their Language was confounded, some exclaiming against *Vitellius* in vile opprobrious Terms, others with more Contenance of Speech in milder sort reproach him; and some, not untruly expos'd his Vices; but then chose to be loudest when by the confusion of Voices, and the tumult of undistinguish'd clamours, they were sure to be least understood;

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Furthermore divers Prodigies testify'd by sundry witnesses troubl'd the Peoples minds. The Reins of the Chariot Horses of Victory which stood in the Portico of the Capitol were let fall. A Ghost of more than human size was seen to rise out of *Juno's* Grotto. The Statue of *Divus Julius* which stood in the Island of the *Tibur* chang'd its position, turning from West to East in a day bright and serene, without any appearing cause. An Ox was said to have spoken in *Tuscany*. Monstrous Births, and the like strange sights were seen; which in ancient and ignorant times were much reckon'd on, but now had effect only when Peoples minds were prepossess'd with danger and weaken'd by their fears. But what most terrify'd them, both from the present damage and the prospect of future evil was the sudden rising of the River, which carrying away the *Sublician* Bridge, was by the ruins of that Structure so damm'd up that wanting passage, it swell'd to an Inundation which drown'd not only the lower part of the City, but reach'd many places that were never thought in danger: so rapid were the Waters that many not able to shun the Violence were swept away in the Streets, and surpriz'd in their Habitations. After this follow'd scarcity of Provisions, decay of Commerce, and a Famine among the People.

The Foundations of the Structures standing like Islands in the stagnant Water, were so damnify'd and decay'd, that upon retreat of the Waters they moulder'd piecemeal into ruins, and scarce were People quiet from these fears, when either by casual or natural means the *Campus Martius* and the *Flaminian* way became stopp'd up; which being the Quarter by which *Otho's* Army was to march, bred new and ominous forebodings in the Peoples minds.

27. *Otho* having by Sacrifices purify'd the City, fell to deliberate about the management of the War; and finding the Passes by the Mountains and other Avenues stop't by the Enemy; he resolv'd with a powerful

ful Army by Sea to invade the *Narbon Gaul*; being well assur'd of the Fidelity of the Marine Militia; having taken the remnant of that Legion (which *Galba* had so cruelly treated at the *Melwian-Bridge*) out of Prison into Pay; whereby those of that Order conceiv'd hopes of future Honour and Trust.

This Army he reinforc'd with City Cohorts and detachments out of the Prætorians: of good use both for Strength and Counsel. The General Command of the Expedition was given by joint Commission to *Antonius Novellius* and *Suedius Clemens* (who had been Centurions of the first Order) and *Emilius Pacencius* whom *Otho* had restor'd to his Post of Tribune from which *Galba* had degraded him. *Ascus* his Freed-man carry'd the Flag, who was instructed to have a watchful eye on the Behaviour and Conduct of Abler and Honefter men than himself. *Suetonius Paulinus*, *Marius Celsus*, and *Annius Gallus* were at the head of the Horse and Foot; but *Otho's* chief confidence was in *Licinius Proculus* Captain of the Prætorians, who, tho well enough practis'd in his business at home, was totally to seek in Service in the Field; howbeit through Impudence and Self-conceit (which has an easie advantage of Desert) the Authority of *Paulinus's* Judgment, the Promptness of *Celsus's* Courage, and the Wariness of *Gallus's* Conduct (wherein they respectively excell'd) were by his Arts and Obstinacy defeated. About the same time *Cornelius Dolabella* was confin'd to *Aquinum*, tho a Prisoner at large; as being guilty of nothing but great Nobility and Kindred to *Galba*.

Many of the principal Magistrates (and some of Consular Dignity) were by *Otho's* command order'd to prepare their Equipage to attend him in the Field; not to be employ'd in the Army, but to do him Honour: among the rest *Lucius Vitellius*, who was treated neither as Brother of an Emperor or of an Enemy.

And now a face of Sadness was spread throughout
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the City, no Condition being free from fear or danger: the prime Senators decay'd with Age or through long Ease unable; the Nobility softn'd by Sloth and unexercis'd in Arms; the Gentlemen unskill'd in Military Science; all by striving to hide, so much the more bewray'd their Weakness.

On the other hand some out of an ignorant Ostentation, bought up rich Armour and able Horses for Service; while others instead of Arms for War made Provision of Supplies for Riot and Sensuality. Wiser Heads in the mean time were full of anxiety to see the publick repose thus broken; and yet there wanted not shallow Fools (unseen in Consequences) who were swell'd with the air of Expectation: and many a Bankrupt Wretch (who in Peace was in danger) saw himself safest amidst the greatest Perils of the State.

But the Body of the People (who for its Bulk cou'd not partake the burthen of Publick Cares) began now to have a feeling of Publick Calamities: the War devour'd their Mony, and the Armies their Provision at home; this begot Scarcity and Poverty, which Evils were not so much felt in *Vindex's* Comotions; for their Hostilities being at a distance, the City was in no Care; and their Battles being betwixt the Legions and the Forces of *France*, gave it the Countenance of a Foreign War. For after *Augustus* came to the Empire, all Military Action was kept far off, and the Credit and Conduct center'd in one alone; During the Reign of *Tiberius* and *Caligula*, Peace was more calamitous than War: the Conspiracy of *Scribonius* against *Claudius* was nipt in the bud; and *Nero* rather by rumour than Arms was dethron'd; but at this time the Forces by Land and Sea, and (what is rarely seen) the Prætorians and City Troops were commanded into Service; the Legions of the East and West, and whatsoever strength was yet behind; all took part in the dispute, as they were diversly affected, insomuch that had other Men commanded than those who did, there

there was subject enough in appearance for a tedious War.

Some there were who counsel'd *Otho* (now ready to take the Field,) to respite his March till the Ceremony of laying up the sacred Shields call'd *Ancilia* shou'd be over; but he wou'd not brook delay, which he observ'd to have been *Nero's* perdition; especially since *Cacina* was known to have pass'd the Mountains, which spurr'd him so much the more to the incounter. Wherefore on the *Ides of March* he solemnly recommended the care of the Publick to the Senate, and granted to those who had been call'd from Banishment the Arrears of *Nero's* Confiscations; in shew a Large'st most just and magnificent; but in effect of little Fruit through the over hasty proceedings in the Collection.

And now calling an Assembly; he made them an Oration, wherein he extoll'd the Majesty of the City, and approbation of the Senate and People of *Rome* as ingag'd on his side; touching but tenderly the adverse party, and reproaching the Legions ignorance, rather than their defection; and whether out of Art or Modesty made no mention of *Vitellius*; which perhaps, might be through Caution of him who conceiv'd the Oration; who thought it safest to forbear reviling Terms: for as *Otho* in Military Affairs advis'd with *Suetonius Paulinus* and *Marius Celsus*; so in Civil Matters he was thought to make use of the abilities of *Galerius Trachalus*, some pretending to know the Stile; who being an Eminent Pleader, his round and lofty Periods were fram'd to fill the Ears of his Audience.

The Speech was receiv'd by the People after their flattering manner, with Acclamations void of Truth or Measure; vying who shou'd be loudest in applause, or most lavish in their wishes of prosperity; as if *Cesar* the Dictator, or the Emperor *Augustus* had been the Subject of their Vows; while at the bottom there was neither Fear nor Love; but a habit of Servility, or as it fares in private Families, where every one is byass'd by private Ends, and none lays to Heart the dishonours of the State. On his departure *Otho* left his Brother *Salvius Titianus* to preside in the Affairs of the City and Commonwealth.

THE
SECOND BOOK
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
CORNELIUS TACITUS.

By another Hand.

ABout this time Fortune began to minister occasions for a great Work in a distant Quarter of the World; and there to lay the Foundations for a Succession to the Empire, which by different occurrences, and passing * through several hands, was of as different Consequence, happy or fatal to the Publick, prosperous or pernicious to the Persons themselves.

* The Succession of the Flavian Family, of which were Vespasian, Titus, and

Domitian, and in regard of their Characters I chuse to Interpret Variè ortum, of the Persons succeeding; as, well as to take in that other sense of Lipsius, who would read Variâ sorte.

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Title

Titus Vespasian had been sent out of *Judea* by his Father, before the death of *Galba*. The Reason he gave for this Journey, was only to pay his Duty to the Emperor, and that he might recommend himself to his favour, for some Advancement or mark of his Esteem, of which his Age was now capable; But the People, who are eternally devising, and dispersing some deep Intrigues and secret Reasons of State for every thing, had given out, that he was sent for by *Galba*, with a design to adopt and declare him Successor. It cannot indeed be said, that this surmise was altogether groundless, since the Emperor's years, and want of Issue, together with the impatient humour of the Common People, of nominating several Successors, till one be actually fixed upon, gave pretence enough to the Report. Nor were there considerations wanting to countenance it yet more, on the part of *Titus* himself. The Temper of the Man, and a Mind capable of the highest elevation, the Gracefulness of his Person, a Mien full of Majesty; the Successes of his Father in the Eastern Expedition; some Predictions of the Oracles, which promised great matters; and (which is most of all) Success, which, (when Mens minds are once disposed to credulity) win every instance thought of mighty consequence, and made to presage wonderful things hereafter.

1. When *Titus* was come as far as *Corinth*, a City in *Achaia*, he there received certain Intelligence of *Galba's* Death; and was informed withal, that *Vitellius* had taken Arms, and intended to make a push for the Crown. This gave him some perplexity of thought, and therefore he consulted with his Friends, all Circumstances considered, what course was best to take; If he should go forward to *Rome*, the end of his Journey was lost, and he must expect no thanks for a Respect intended to be paid another Person: and, which was yet

yet worse, it is probable, that either *Otho* or *Vitellius* would secure his Person, and detain him as a Hostage, for a Check upon *Vespasian*. If he returned back again, this would certainly incur the displeasure of that Competitor, who should carry his point; yet still, supposing that, in consideration that it was as yet uncertain whether of the two that would be; Which side soever the Father espoused, no doubt the Son's Peace would be effectually made there. But put the case, that *Vespasian* himself should pretend to the Government, then it was sure, that little regard was due to the private resentments of those Persons, against whom you must proceed in open War. These and some other such Considerations kept him for some time in suspense, but after a long conflict between Hope and Fear, Hope at last got the better; and he was prevailed upon not to go forward.

Some pretend indeed a Reason different from all these; and tell you, that his Passion for *Berenice* the Queen was the great Motive to his going back again. And little doubt there is, but his Inclinations to *Berenice* were agreeable to his years; But still this Commendation must be allowed him, that, how indulgent soever he were to such desires, the Publick Business never received any obstruction from them. And accordingly the liberties he took were in his Youth; and the restraints he put upon himself much greater, during his own Government, than while under his Father's.

Titus then determining to change his Course, coasted it along by *Achaia* and *Asia*; and when he had kept the left hand Course as far as *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*, he then ventured out into the main Sea, and made directly for *Syria*. In his passage he had a great Curiosity to see the Temple of *Venus* at *Paphos*, so celebrated and admired both by Natives and Strangers. And since we are fallen upon this Subject, the Reader perhaps may

not think himself ill entertained with a brief account of that Devotion, and its first Original: The situation of the Temple, and the Representation of the Goddess: The rather, because this last is peculiar to *Paphos*.

The Founder of this Temple, if you will believe old Traditions, was one *Aerius* King of that Island; though some contend that this is *Aerius* one of the Goddess's Titles, and not *Aerius* a Man's name. The later accounts say, that this Temple was Consecrated by *Cinaras*, and that the Goddess her self, when Conceived of the Sea, was driven ashore here. But they own withal, that the Knack of Soothsaying and Divination was brought hither from abroad, and that *Thamyra* a *Silician* was invited over for that purpose. And, because both contributed to the honour of the Place, it was agreed between *Cinaras* and *Thamyra*, that the Ceremonies should be under the direction of persons descending from those two Families. But after some time it began to be ill taken, that a Foreign Line should interfere with the Blood Royal, and Rival them in so sensible a point of Honour; and therefore, to remove all offence of this kind, the Strangers quitted all farther Pretensions to a Science of their own introducing. And now no Priest is consulted, but such only as derive from *Cinaras*. For Sacrifices, every Man is at liberty to chase what sort of Beast he will, only as to the Sex he is confined, for none but Males are permitted. But though all kinds be allowed, yet that which they most confide in, is Kid; and no Omens are reputed of equal Credit, with those Collected from the Fibres of these Creatures. No Blood is admitted to be poured upon the Altar; no Incense offered, but Prayers and pure Fire; and this Particular is very remarkable, that, though the Altar stand in the open Air, yet it is never wet with Rain. The Image of the Goddess here is not as usually, of humane form,
but

but a continued Round, rising smaller, Pyramid fashion, till it come at last to a point. The meaning of which I have not been able to meet with any that understand. When *Titus* had gratified his Curiosity with the Magnificence and Riches of the Place, the Offerings of the Princes deposited there, and many other Rarities, (which the *Grecians*, particularly proud of their Antiquities, pretend to Father upon times, wherein no body can disprove them) the first Enquiry he made was concerning his Voyage. Upon answer, that the Weather would be favourable, and the Passage prosperous; he offered a great number of Sacrifices, and then put some dark and intricate Questions concerning himself. *Softratus*, (for that was the Priest's name who Officiated at that time,) seeing all Omens relating to the Sacrifice bode well, and the Goddess disposed to Crown his great Undertaking with Success, returned a slight and short answer for the present, consisting most of words of Course, and common Matters; but afterwards desiring some Discourse in private, he there revealed at large all the Events which should signalize the remainder of his life. So that *Titus* returned to his Father much exalted with what the Oracle had told him, and did not only encourage himself with it, but mightily support and settle the minds of the Provinces and Armies, who were dispirited, and doubtful which Interest to embrace.

2. *Vespasian* had by this time got over the Jewish War; and nothing now remained to render the Conquest of that Country compleat, except the Siege of *Jerusalem* only. And this indeed proved a Work of great difficulty, which was the more surprising, because the length and hardships of the Undertaking were plainly owing, not so much to the Strength of the Place, or any ability in the besieged to sustain the distresses to which they were driven, as to the Temper of the People; and that Obstinate Superstition, which made them resolute in

holding out at any rate. *Vespasian*, as was observed before, had three Legions under his Command, well Disciplined, and used to Action: *Mucianus* had four with him, raised it is true, and kept in Peace, but yet awakened into Diligence and Courage, by the Example of the neighbouring Army, and a generous Emulation of their Gallantry and Honour. The one seemed to be hardened by Dangers and Fatigues, the other to be vigorous and fresh by long Rest, and so exercised, as at the same time to be unbroken. But each of these Generals had their Auxiliaries, and Troops of Reserve besides their Regular Forces; each had Fleets at Command, and the Alliance of neighbouring Princes to strengthen him; and each a great Reputation, though in their Characters little or no resemblance was to be found.

Vespasian was a person cut out for War, eager in his Business, and always intent upon his Post; himself in person at the Head of his Troops, marking out his Camps, contriving night and day some Stratagem against the Enemy, and, if occasion required, executing his designs with a Courage equal to his Prudence and Conduct; hardy and plain, content with any Provision that came next, in Habit and appearance scarce to be distinguished from a private Soldier. In short, abating that one fault of Avarice, a person who wanted no good quality to set him upon a level with the most renowned Commanders of former Ages.

Mucianus, on the other hand, was valued for his Wealth, and Magnificence, and every thing August and Splendid, above the Figure of a private Subject. He was the more accomplished of the two, for Eloquence, and Contrivance, and Prudent Foresight; and a Man nicely skilled in Politicks. Upon the whole matter it must be allowed, that, if the Virtues of both these Commanders could be put together,

and the defects left out, they would make a most complete Composition of Qualities for a Prince.

Now *Mucianus* presiding over *Syria*, and *Vespasian* over *Judea*, fell under the common fate of neighbouring Governors; and took frequent occasions from the nearness of their Provinces, to cherish envious grudgings and jealous emulations against each other. But *Nero's* death put a period to those bickerings, and after that, they came to a better understanding, and adjusted their measures by joint consent and advice. This was first brought about by the good Offices of Friends, but afterwards *Titus* was lookt upon as the chief Instrument and Security of this good Correspondence: Who, besides that he quashed all private Animosities with the consideration of the Publick Good, seemed to be a Man made on purpose for Composing this difference: as wanting no advantage, which either Nature or Art could furnish him with, to get within *Mucianus*, and win upon his Temper particularly. As for the Tribunes, Centurions, and private Soldiers, these were gained, some by Diligence, others by Liberty and Indulgence, according as their several Tempers disposed them to be wrought upon, by the attractives of Virtue, or the allurements of Pleasure.

It happened, that, before *Titus* his arrival, both these Armies had sworn Fealty to *Otho*. For the News of his Promotion flew apace, and besides a Civil War ask'd time to form, especially in the East, where all had been quiet for a long time, and nothing of this Nature ever attempted there before. For in all the former Instances, *Italy*, and *Gallia*, and the Western parts of the Empire had been both the Instruments and the Seats of the sharpest Intestine Divisions. And as for *Pompey*, and *Cassius*, *Brutus*, and *Antony*, who were pursued and driven by the War across the Sea, the end of these Men was sufficiently unfortunate and discouraging. *Syria* and *Judea* had often heard indeed

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of *Cæsars*, but seldom seen them. Nor had these Legions ever mutinied; so that here had been little or no Action for them, except to skirmish, and keep the *Parthians* in awe, which had not always been attempted with equal Success neither. In the late Civil War too, when the rest of the *Roman Forces* were in confusion, here was profound Peace; and all agreed in strict Fidelity to *Galba*. But now at last, when they heard, that *Vitellius* and *Otho* were about tearing the Empire to pieces, and ruining all betwixt them, the Soldiery began to grumble, and to think it a hard case, that, while others had the advantage of favour and preferment from Emperors of their own making, They should have nothing to do, but still to drudge on tamely, like Slaves made a Prey to Masters set over them by their Brethren. This reflection put them upon computing their own Strength, and what they could effect, if it were vigorously attempted.

It is plain here were Seven Legions ready upon the Spot, the two Provinces of *Syria* and *Judea* were their own, besides a vast number of Auxiliary Forces. Here was *Egypt* too close to them, and two Legions more quartered there, on one side; and on the other, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and all the Troops upon the Frontiers of *Armenia*: Add to those *Asia*, and the rest of the Provinces adjacent, where there was plenty both of Men and Money; the Islands too encompassed by the Sea; and the Sea it self, which would be a great Security to them, and infinitely commodious for carrying on the War.

This Inclination and Eagerness of the Soldiery was no secret to the Generals: but they thought it most adviseable to sit still a while, and look on: not doubting, but their business might be done by the hands, and at the expence, of others. For since there is never any clear good understanding between the Victors and the Vanquished; the Event of War, and the Jealousies
naturally

naturally arising upon the defeat of either Party, could not fail to furnish them with a very favourable Occasion. They therefore need be in no concern which side prevailed, for whether *Osbo* or *Vitellius* got the day, the Consequence must be exactly the same. Success in War is apt to transport even the best Generals to great Indecencies. But these two, besides the Fate common to their Post, had Discord and Sloth, Luxury, and personal Vices, to undo them. Here it was easie to foresee, that both must be ruined, though not both the same way; for if one fell by the Chance of War, the other would as certainly be oppress'd with Victory. Upon these Considerations they reserved themselves for a convenient opportunity: for this matter, though concerted but lately indeed between *Vespasian* and *Mucianus*, yet had been long in the thoughts of others. Some of whom proceeded upon Principles of private Friendship, some in pure regard to the Publick, many were disposed to it from a pleasing prospect of Booty, and others push'd on by the straightness of their Fortunes. Thus neither the Good nor the Bad wanted Reasons, proper to excite them. But how different soever the Men and their Motives were, yet all agreed in a mighty eagerness to take up Arms, as soon as it could possibly be reasonable.

3. About the same time *Achaia* and *Asia* were put into a mighty Consternation, by a false surmise, that *Nero* was making that way. For the reports concerning his Death had been so very various, that several pretended, (and many gave credit to it,) that he was still alive. What became of the rest, who took upon them to personate him, we shall have occasion in the Sequel of this Work, to give the Reader an account. The Impostor I am now mentioning was a Slave of *Pontus*, or, according to the Character some have left of him, the Son of a Freed-man in *Italy*; One, who, besides the resemblance of Features, might the better pass for
Nero,

Nero, because he played and sung well. He, with a Crew of Fugitives, whom Want and Wandering had made easie to be cajoled with large promises, puts to Sea; and being driven by foul weather upon the Island *Cythrus*, drew in some of the Soldiers upon their march out of the East; and others of them, who refused to joyn him, he put to death: the Merchants in those parts he plundered, and the lustiest of their Slaves he annexed and lifted into his Service. It happened, that *Sisenna* the Centurion was about that time deputed by the Syrian Army, to carry their Assurances of friendship to the Roman Generals. Upon Him this Impostor practised with great assiduity, and used many Stratagems to gain him to his Party; till at last *Sisenna*, apprehending himself in danger, withdrew privately out of the Island, and so made his escape. This presently took Air, and alarm'd the Country. The very name inclined many to believe it; and between the love of Change, and the dislike of the present State of Affairs, even *Nero* himself would have been welcome again. But, while this growing Error gathered ground daily, Fortune quashed it most surprisngly. The Provinces of *Galatia* and *Pamphylia* were committed by *Galla* to the Care of *Caspurnius Aspernan*. At his entrance upon this Government, two Gallies were ordered to attend him thither, and with these in his passage he made to the Island *Cythrus*. At their coming into Port, the Masters of the Vessels were summoned to make their appearance before *Nero*. He received them with a very solemn Face, and melancholy Air; conjuring them, as persons who had formerly served under him, that they would be true to their old Master, and assist him so far, as to set him on shore either in *Syria* or *Egypt*. The Masters of the Gallies, either really confounded, or at least pretending to be so, made answer, that they would impart the matter to the Soldiers aboard; and assured him, that as soon as they had disposed their

Com-

Comrades to comply with his Commands, they would not fail to wait on him again, and acquaint him with it. But the account of this whole Interview being punctually laid before *Asprenas*, he immediately advised to attack the Ship. Which was thereupon taken, and this Counterfeit Emperor, whoever he really were, slain. His Body was transported from thence into *Asia*, and afterwards sent to *Rome*: where many Remarks were made upon the Eyes, the Hair, and the Sternness of the Countenance, all which assisted the Cheat.

In a Commonwealth much divided in the Affections of the People, and floating between Liberty and Licentiousness, by reason of frequent Changes in the Government, every little Matter makes a great Noise and Sur. An instance whereof happened at this time in *Rome*, upon occasion of *Vibius Crispus*, one whose Interest, and Wealth, and Disposition, might give him a better Title to be esteemed Great than Good. This Man summoned *Annus Faustus* a Gentleman of *Rome* before the Senate, there to give an Account of several Accusations, of which indeed he had formerly made a Trade in the time of *Nero*. For this vile Practice was then so prevailing, that immediatly upon *Galba's* accession to the Throne, an Act of the Senate passed, for calling the Accusers to account, and examining into the Merits of their Cause: But this Decree had a very different Effect, according to the Parties concerned in it; and was vigorously executed, or dropp'd and suppress'd, as the Criminal happened to be a Man of little or of great Interest. But *Crispus*, not content with the regular course of Law, employed his utmost Power to ruin the Informer, who had taken away his Brother's Life; and over-awed the Senate so far, that a considerable Number of them were prevail'd upon, to require immediate Execution of the Malefactor, without so much as any formal Process, or leave granted to make a Defence. But all that mighty Ter-

your did the Malefactor good Service For this Vehemence on the one side produced a proportionable Stiffness on the other, and many were inclined to favour *Faustus*, not so much for his own sake, as in pure opposition to the Unreasonableness and over-bearing Power of his Prosecutor. It was therefore thought fit, that Time should be given, a Day set, Articles exhibited, and the Offender (though every body was satisfied of his Guilt, and detested the Foulness of his Practices) not excluded however from the Custom and common Right of saying what he could in Justification of himself. This Opinion prevailed at first, and a short Day was given for trying the Cause: The Event was, that *Faustus* was condemned, but not with that general Consent and Approbation, which his Villainies deserved. Because it was well known, that even *Crispus* himself had been of the Trade, and made great Gains by the very same Methods. Although therefore Men were well enough pleased to see such a Crime deservedly punished, yet they could not without some Indignation see that Punishment inflicted at the instance of such a Prosecutor.

5. In the mean while the War at first went prosperously on *Otho's* side: The Armies in *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, which consisted of four Legions, were ordered to march; but of these, two Thousand advanced before the main Body. The Legions themselves came at convenient distance; which were the Seventh newly-raised by *Galba*; the others, old Soldiers all, the Eleventh, the Thirteenth, and the Fourteenth, which had gotten themselves great Honour by suppressing the Rebellion in *Britain*. *Nero* had likewise given them a signal Mark of Honour, in making choice of them particularly for a special Service, which kept them always firm to *Nero's* Interest, and disposed them to be well affected towards *Otho*. But the more Courage and

* Hungary,

Force

Force they had, the greater in proportion was their Security, and this made them slow in their Motions. The Wings and Auxiliary Cohorts moved first, the main Body of the Legions brought up the Rear. Besides these, a considerable Enforcement came from *Rome* it self, Five Pretorian Cohorts, several Colours of Horse, the first Legion, and two Thousand Gladiators. These last, I confess, were generally esteemed a very scandalous Refuge, but yet there are several Precedents of Commanders, sufficiently nice in point of Honour, who have thought it no Reflection to make use of their Assistance in times of Civil War. The Command of these Forces was given to *Annius Gallus*, and he had Orders to joyn *Vespricius Spurrinus*, and both together to advance, and post themselves upon the Banks of the *Po*. The first design was to have stoppt *Cecina's* march out of *Gallia*; but he having passed the *Alps* already, and prevented them in that, the next thing to be done, was to hinder his making Incursions into *Italy*. Some chosen Bodies of Spear-men attended *Orto's* Person, to which were added, the rest of the Pretorian Cohorts, some Veteran Soldiers, who had served in the Guard, and a great Number of Marines. His March was orderly and diligent, no Sloth, no Profuseness, or Riot, observable in his Conduct; His Person, as became the Occasion, clad in a Coat of Mail, negligent in his Habit, marching himself on foot at the head of his Men, and in all respects very different from the Character generally given of him.

6. Fortune for some time flattered his hopes by favouring his Enterprize of securing the greatest part of *Italy*. This he had posselt himself of by the means of his Naval Force, and was Master of the whole Coast to the very Foot of the *Sea Alps*. Nor did his Orders stop there, for *Suedius Clemens*, *Antonius Novellus*, and *Emilius Pacensis*, had express Command to gain that Pass, and fall in upon the Province of *Narbon*. But this Expedition
came

came to nothing. For *Pacensis* was born down with the Disorders and Tumults of his Men, *Antonius Novellus* was a Man of no Authority, and *Suedius Clemens* affected Popularity; Unseasonably eager of Fighting, but in Matters of Discipline and good Order abominably remiss. No Man would have imagined by the Soldiers behaviour, that they were marching through *Italy*, their Native Country; the Havock they made was so great, the Plundering, Ravaging, Burning, so remorseless, as if they had been executing the greatest Barbarities of War upon an Enemy's Territories, and came with a Resolution to leave all in Ashes and Defolation. In all which the Inhabitants suffered so much the more, because, lying under no apprehensions, they had consequently made no provision against the Calamity. The Fields were full of Grain, the Houses unguarded, open, and free of access; The Owners eagerly meeting them with their Wives and Children, yet treated as Enemies, by those very Guests, whom with so much Security they had welcomed as their Friends and Protectors; and by depending too far upon Peace, exposed themselves to all the Miseries of War.

Merius Maturus, the Procurator, who was at that time Master of the Maritime *Alps*, had raised the Country; and depending upon the strength and number of Hands, of which it furnished good plenty, resolved to fall upon *Otho's* Party, and obstruct any Incurfions into that Province. But the Mountaineers were routed, and cut off at the very first brush. Nor could it well be otherwise. For what can be expected from a Rabble of raw Fellows got together in a hurry, who neither know Camp nor Commander; and have neither any Principle of Honour to make them push for Victory, nor any sense of Shame to restrain them from flight? *Otho's* Soldiers enraged at this Opposition, wreck'd their spight upon * *Albium Intemelium*, a Free Town in that

* *Vintemiglia*

Neighbourhood. For the Conquest of the Army that came against them turned to no account at all. There was no Booty to be got from poor Peasants, whose very Arms were rascally and worth nothing. Or, if they had been worth Plundering, yet their Nimbleness, and the Fastnesses which they were perfectly well skilled in, secured them from being taken by Soldiers and Strangers. But what Satisfaction they who gave the Provocation could not make, the poor Innocent Townsmen paid very dearly. The Odium whereof was infinitely aggravated by one most remarkable Action, which happened thus. A *Ligurian* Woman had hid her Son, and the Soldiers vehemently suspecting that she had hid some Treasure with him, endeavoured by Torments to force a Confession, how she had disposed of her Son. She, shewing her Belly, replied, that he was hid there: And in this Answer she persisted with such undaunted Constancy, that neither all the Barbarities they could use, nor Death it self, at last, could extort from her any Retractation, or farther Discovery of the matter.

* 7. The News of *Otho's* bearing down upon the Coast of *Narbon* (for that Province had sworn Allegiance to *Vitellius*) was brought in great confusion to *Fabius Valens*; and the Deputies of the Colonies were dispatched in all haste, to implore speedy Relief from him. He immediately detached *Julius Classicus*, with two Cohorts of *Tungrians*, four Parties of Horse, and the whole Squadron of the *Treviri* *. Part of whom it was thought convenient to put in *Julii Forum* †, for lining the Coast; that the Enemy might have no advantage of making a Descent upon a naked Shore, while all the Forces were drawn off upon Land-Service. The Choice therefore of the Cohorts, and twelve Troops of Horse marched to face the Enemy, sustained by a Cohort of *Ligurians*, the standing

* *Treves Horse.*

† *Erejus.*

Guard of the Place, and five Hundred * *Pannonians*, not yet distributed into regular Companies. It was not long before they came to Battel. The Disposition of the Armies was thus : Part of *Otho's* Marines mingled with the Country Militia, were placed upon the Hills and rising ground near the Sea ; The even ground betwixt the Hills and the Shoar was taken up with the Pretorian Companies ; and in the Sea it self the Fleet drawn out in Line of Battel, ready to charge upon the Enemy ; which added much to the Terror of the Front. *Vitellius's* Party, whose principal Strength lay in Horse, drew up the Inhabitants of the *Alps* in the Hills adjacent, and advancing their Cavalry, lined them thick with Foot, drawing up the Cohorts in close Ranks behind to sustain them. The Troops consisting of the † *Trevirs* very rashly fell on upon the old Soldiers, who received their Charge, and returned it gallantly ; but at the same time the Peasants in the Flank galled them terribly with Stones ; (a sort of Weapon which they were very expert in,) And these, however contemptible at another time, yet now when mixed with regular Forces, and upon an Advantage, behaved themselves so, that no distinction could be made, between the bravest Man, and the errantest Coward in the Action. That which added yet more to their Distress, was the Confusion of being attack'd by the Fleet, who bore down and charged them in the Rear. Thus they were hemm'd in, and so miserably press'd on all sides, that the whole Army had undoubtedly been cut off, if the Darkness of the Night, which kept back the Conquerour from pursuing his Advantage, had not as seasonably favoured their Flight, and given them a creditable occasion of Retreat. But the *Vuellians*, though worsted in this Engagement, did not give it over so ; for they sent for fresh Recruits, and when thus reinforced, watched

* *Hungarians.*† *The Treves Troops.*

their opportunity, and assaulted the Enemy unawares, in the midst of all that Security and Negligence which Success uses to betray Men to. The Centinels and Out-Guards being surprized and slain, they made their way into the Trenches, put both Camp and Fleet into Confusion, till at last, the *Othonian* Party recovering the Consternation by degrees, rallied upon a rising Ground, and there, after having defended themselves a while, charged furiously upon the Assailants. Hereupon followed a great Carnage, and particularly upon the *Tungrian* Cohorts, whose Officers, after having long and bravely maintained their Ground, at length were over-powered and killed upon the spot. This second Victory cost *Otho's* Party dear, they lost a great many Men, and particularly in the pursuit; where, while some of them pressed forward with more eagerness than Conduct, a Party of *Vitellian* Horse wheeled about, and cut off their Retreat. At last both Parties seemed to have enough, for they retreated; the *Vitellians* to * *Antipolis*, a Free-Town in *Gallia Narbonensis*, and *Otho's* Army to † *Albingaunum* a Colony of the Inner *Liguria*, as if a formal Suspension of Arms had been agreed, that neither *Otho's* Fleet, nor *Vitellius* his Horse should alarm the Country, or attempt upon each other any more.

7. The Reputation of that Success which *Otho's* Fleet had gain'd upon the Coasts of *Gallia*, had so great an Influence upon *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, and the rest of the Islands in the Seas adjacent, as to keep them firm in his Interests. But the rashness of *Decimus Pacarius*, Procurator there, had like to have involved *Corfica* in infinite Difficulties, who would needs engage himself in an Attempt, of consequence considerable enough to ruin the Undertakers, but of no significance at all to the Cause in general. He, out of spight to *Otho*, resolved to make that Island for *Vitellius*; but alas! the Service had been none, supposing him able to effect

* *Antibe.*† *Albenga.*

what he pretended to. However, he summoned the Chief Officers, and communicated his Design to them. *Claudius Phirrius*, Master of the Gallies riding in that Harbour, and *Quintus Certus* a Gentleman of Rome had the hardiness to oppose the Motion; for which he caused them to be put to Death. The rest affrighted into compliance by this Example, swore Fealty to *Vitellius* to save themselves, and those that were absent, partly through ignorance, and partly infected by the fear which quickly grew Epidemical, readily came in. But when *Pacarius* began to raise Men, and bring them to Martial Discipline, the Islanders, not used to such Fatigues, soon grew weary of their Bargain, and began to recollect how little they were able to do, and how unfit for what they had undertaken. Then they considered, that their Country was an Island; that *Germany* and the main Body of the Army was at a vast distance; that some of their Neighbours, though supported by Auxiliary Troops, had not been able to secure themselves from being plundered by *Orbo's* Fleet, and what must then become of them, who had no such Strength to protect them? This first cooled, and then turned them quite. To come off from *Pacarius*, and quit themselves of this new Snare he had brought them into, they were resolved; but since open Force did not seem a proper Method for it, they waited a Convenience of doing it by Stratagem. Accordingly they took their Opportunity, when *Pacarius* was bathing, and surprizing him there, killed him; Those of his Retinue they slew likewise: And carried the Heads, as of Enemies to the State, to *Orbo*. But it is observable, that though this present was made by the very Persons who did the Fact, yet *Orbo* never rewarded their zeal; Nor did *Vitellius* punish their Treachery; because (no doubt) in so great a Confusion of Affairs, and so many Outrages committed, this was over-look'd in a Crowd of more hainous Enormities. The

8. The *Sullan* Wing, as was observed before, had carried the War into *Italy*, and got footing there. Not that the Country was disposed to *Otho*, or fond of *Vitellius*; but softened by a long Peace and ripe for slavery; ready to surrender to the first that should claim, and not at all inquisitive which side it was best to take. The fruitfulest and most delightful part of the Country, situate between the *Po* and the *Alps*, and all the Towns in that Quarter, were in *Vitellius* his hands. For the Cohorts detached from *Cæcina*, had taken possession of them. Besides this, a * *Pannonian* Cohort were taken Prisoners at *Cremona*, a hundred Horse and a thousand Marines had been surprised and intercepted between † *Placentia* and ‡ *Picinum*: This Success had so exalted the *Vitellian* Party, that they disdained the Barrier of Rivers and Banks. Nay, the very *Po* it self was a Whet to the *Batavians*, and those who came from beyond the *Rhine*, who thought themselves piqued in honour to pass, and accordingly they did so, over against *Placentia*. Some of the Enemies Scouts they took, and so alarmed the rest, that they immediately reported their own fears, and spread abroad the false account, that *Cæcina* and all his Army were just at their Heels. *Spartina*, who at that time was garrisoned in *Placentia*, was very well satisfied, that *Cæcina* was not come up; or if he were, he resolved to keep his Men within their Trenches. For he knew better, than to hazard three Prætorian Cohorts, and a thousand Vexillaries, with a handful of Horse; in an encounter with a numerous Army of stanch old Soldiers. But the Common Soldiers, who are usually as unruly and ungovernable, as they are void of Conduct, immediately snatched up their Colours, and were for falling on: The Commander still restrained them, and they drew upon him: The Centurions and Tribunes commended their Captain's caution, and endeavoured to make them

* *Hungarian.*† *Piacenza.*‡ *Pavia.*

sensible, that he took the wisest and safest course, but were answered with Tumult and Clamour, till at last they cried, an *Osbo*, an *Osbo*; and that there was Treachery, and *Cacina* was sent for under-hand. When Matters were come to this pass, *Spurinna* so far countenanced their folly, as to go along with them: at first indeed upon Compulsion, but afterwards with a seeming Consent and Approbation, which he the rather put on, to gain the greater Reputation, and shame them into compliance with his Advice another time, when once this Mutiny should be composed. When they had marched till they came in sight of the *Po*, and Night now drew on apace, he gave Orders to mark out a Camp and entrench themselves. The City Militia not used to this kind of fatigue began presently to cool upon the Matter. The graver sort and most considerate reproached themselves for their own credulous fears, argued the Danger and Confusion they should be in, if *Cacina* should have been there indeed, and how easy a Matter it would have been for him with such an Army to have hemm'd in a few Troops in the midst of an open Country, where he had them at his Mercy. And in a little while nothing was to be heard throughout the whole Camp, but Duty and Respect, and just Commendations of their Commander's great Prudence, who had wisely made choice of so powerful a Colony, and a Town so well fortified, to receive the Enemy in. All which advantageous Reflections the Centurions and Tribunes, as occasion served, took Care to insinuate and promote. At last *Spurinna* himself interposed, yet so as not to reproach their Disobedience, but calmly to convince them from Reason and their own Experience. And having gained his Point, he left some Scouts and out-Guards; and marched back the rest to *Placentia*, in very good temper, and much better disposed to obey Orders

Orders afterwards. There they fell to work in strengthening the Walls, building new Fortifications, raising Towers and Bulwarks. And thus the Effect of this Expedition was, not only diligent Provision for receiving the Enemy, in Point of Arms, but which was chiefly wanting, to Men who had Valour sufficient in point of Conduct and Discipline, and chearful submission to their superiour Officers.

9. But *Cacina* marched through *Italy* without any disorder or just occasion of Complaint, as if all Cruelty and Licentiousness had been left behind on the other side the *Alps*. The only Offence taken at his behaviour was from the parti-coloured Cloak and Breeches, after the *Gallick* mode, in which he received the *Italian* Deputies who attended him in Gowns. And this retaining a Foreign Garb, was by the Colonies and Free-Towns interpreted Pride in him. The same imputation was likewise confirmed by the stately Horse, and rich Furniture, with which his Wife *Salonina* appeared in publick. Not that any one could complain that this gay Equipage was a wrong or expence to him, but still every one stomach'd it as a real Injury; Nor ought this to be matter of wonder to us, when we reflect, how natural it is to all Mankind, to look with Envy and Discontent upon the Plenty and Promotion of Men that rise apace; and above all others, to expect a rigorous observance of Moderation and Modesty, in those who were very lately upon the same level of Fortune with our selves.

Cacina, upon passing the *Po*, made his first Attempts by Parlies and Promises, and laboured this way to reduce *Otho's* Friends; nor were they wanting in return to use the same Methods with him. At last, when he had both tried, and been tried in vain, and all the pretences of Peace and Friendship vanished into air and empty Names; he employed his utmost Skill and In-

dustry to form the Siege of *Placentia*. Resolving to attack it in the most formidable manner that he could, as being duly sensible, that the first Attempts and Successes in Enterprises of War, fix a Man's Character, and establish a lasting Reputation, by which the World are apt to judge of all he does afterwards. The first day's attack however was so managed, as rather to speak the Fury of Men who thought they could carry all before them, than the Conduct and Order of old experienced Soldiers. They came up to the Walls hot headed with Wine, and without any manner of Covering or Care to defend their Persons. In that Rencounter (for it was no better) the *Amphitheatre*, a Noble and Beautiful Structure, unfortunately took Fire, and was consumed to Ashes: But whether this Mischance came from the Brands, and other Combustible Matter, which the Besiegers threw into the place, or that which those who defended the City returned upon the Assailants, is not certain. The Common People of that Colony, who, according to the constant Jealousie of their Temper, are eternally suspecting some Design, would needs have it, that combustible Matter was laid in, and Fire set to it privately, by some of the Neighbouring Colonies, who envied them the Glory of the largest and most magnificent Building of that kind, that all *Italy* could boast of. But which way soever the Misfortune came, the Resentments of the People were such, that, while the fear of greater and more sensible Calamities continued upon them, this was scarce thought worth their Concern; but as soon as these Apprehensions were removed, and the Siege raised, the Lamentation for their *Amphitheatre* was so great and general, that any other Loss they could possibly have sustained, was represented very tolerable in comparison of this.

Caccina however was at last repulsed with the loss of a great many Men; and the Night was employed in fresh Preparations on each side. The *Vitellian* Party provided themselves with Hurdles and all Instruments necessary and usual to cover their Men in their approaches to the City, and secure the Miners from the Enemies. The besieged got together sharp Stakes, and large Timbers, huge Stones, and massy Weights of Lead and Brass to break through their Works, burst their Coverts, and crush those to Pieces, who under that Protection advanced to sap the Walls. Shame and Honour were powerful incitements to each Party to do gallantly, and neither were wanting in proper Arguments to encourage their own Men. The *Vitellian* side valued themselves upon the Strength of old standing Legions, and a hardy *German* Army; the *Othonian* magnifying the City Troops, and the Glory of the *Prætorian* Cohorts. Nor did these Arguments rest in themselves and their own Commendations, but were as vigorously enforced by the Contempt and Reproaches cast upon the contrary Party. The Assailants upbraided the Besieged with Laziness, and Effeminacy, and a Life spent in Plays and Shews, fit only for Delights and idle Recreations; and These again reviled the Besiegers, as foreign, and rude, and barbarous. And when they had once let loose their Tongues thus far, they naturally went a little higher, to *Otho* and *Vitellius*, themselves; each crying up or running down the Head of his own, or of the adverse Faction, with great freedom and zeal; yet so, that as there was greater Occasion ministred, so there was much greater plenty, and a more sensible effect of Reproach than Praise upon this Subject.

At the very break of day, all were in their Posts, the Walls lined with Men, the Plains round the City glittering with Arms, the Legions drawn up in a com-

part Body, the Auxiliaries and Recruits dispersed in proper places, and marshalled more loosely and fit for motion. The loftiest and strongest part of the Walls they try to dismantle by Sling-stones, and to beat off the Men from the Battlements by Darts. The ruinous and neglected parts they attack in close Fight, and endeavour to Scale where they find any breach or decay. The Besieged in the mean while lose no advantage of the higher ground, but with due poize and certain aim galled the Assailants with their Darts; especially the German Cohorts, who, fighting after their Country Fashion, ran in with loud Huzzas, and waved their Targets over their Shoulders without any care to defend their Bodies. The Legionary Forces with more consideration and discipline advance under their Hurdles, and by the help of that Shelter Sap the Walls, throw up Ramparts, and try to force the Gates: The Prætorians on the other side roll down huge Mill-Stones upon the Enemy, laid ready in convenient parts of the Walls for that purpose; part of the Assailants were bruised and crushed to pieces with the weight of these, part slain and wounded with Darts, part mangled and maimed; at last the Terror and Flight made the Carnage so much the greater, by reason the besieged were in less consternation, and took surer aim from the Walls, than the Besiegers could do from a lower ground, and in the Confusion of a Repulse. *Cacina*, sensible of the disadvantage and loss he had sustained, retreated with some prejudice to his honour. However, partly that he might not undergo the Reproaches of the *Placentians*, and continue a jest to them, by lying still in the same ground (the Scene of his infamy and rash attempt,) and partly being straightned for Provisions; he resolved to repass the *Po*, and make up to *Cremona*. In his Retreat *Turullius Cerialis* with a Party of Marine Forces, and *Julius Brigantius* with a small Party of Horse

Horle deserted to him. The former a Commander of a Wing, and a *Batavian* by birth; the latter a Captain in the Front of a Legion, and the rather disposed to *Cæcina's* Party, because he had served as an Officer in *Germany*. *Sparinna*, having Intelligence of the Enemy's motion, and what course they took, immediately dispatched a Courier with Letters to *Amnius Gallus*; acquainting him, that *Placentia* had made a vigorous and effectual defence; and told him what had passed, and what *Cæcina* designed. *Gallus* was at this time advancing with the first Legion to the relief of *Placentia*, suspecting, that a number of Men so small, as the Cohorts within the place, might not be in a Condition to hold out against a long Siege, and so great a Power as the *German* Army. And upon news that the Siege was raised, and *Cæcina* drawing off to *Cremona*, he stopt at *Bedriacum*: though not without some difficulty, for the Legions were so eager upon fighting the repulled General, that they mutinied against their Leader, and were not quickly brought to obey halting Orders. Now *Bedriacum* is a small Village, lying between *Cremona* and *Verona*, and chiefly known in Story for two very Calamitous Blows which the *Romans* received there.

10. About the same time *Martius Macer* had a very prosperous Engagement with the Enemy, not far from *Cremona*. For he, being a person of great Courage, and eager in Action, put the Gladiators on board his Vessels, and immediately landed them on the other side of the *Po*. This put the *Vitellian* Auxiliaries into a mighty disorder, some of whom fled to *Cremona*, and the rest were cut off. But great care was used to restrain the fury of the Conquerors, for fear the Enemy should reinforce themselves, and turn the Fortune of the Day. But this wise caution was lookt upon with a very jealous Eye, and suspected of design by *Otho's* Party; who

who indeed made very perverted. Interpretations of all their Commanders Conduct. And as every Man's disposition led him to be more cowardly in his Temper, and more lavish of his Tongue, (Qualities which commonly go together,) so they took in proportion greater liberties of charging *Annius Gallus*, *Suetonius Paulinus*, and *Marius Celsus* (for these Persons also were in principal Command under *Otho*) with several Crimes and Mismanagements. The principal Incendiaries, and fomenters of Sedition and Discontent were the Men who had murdered *Galba*; whose minds eternally distracted with Fear, and the reproaching sense of their own Villany, were entirely set upon disquieting others; and therefore, sometimes by Letters privately conveyed, sometimes by dark intimations, and Seditious words, they made great confusion in *Otho* and his Affairs. And He indeed was of a Temper fit to receive such impressions, extremely apt to credit the meaner and more despicable sort of Men; afraid of Persons of Worth and Reputation, never consistent with himself when things succeeded well, and of the two extremes much better in Adversity. He therefore, being by these scandalous Wretches, wrought up into a suspicion of these Officers, and not daring any longer to trust himself in such hands, sent for his Brother *Titianus*, and gave him chief Command of all his Forces.

11. In the mean while some very gallant things had been atchieved by the good management of *Paulinus* and *Celsus*. The frequent disappointments of his late attempts, and the declining Reputation of his Army gave *Cacina* great uneasiness: *Placentia* he was forced to quit with infamy and loss; his Auxiliaries had been routed and cut off; When the parties of Scouts and Foragers fell in with one another, His generally were worsted; And these actions, though none of them were so singly, yet by being often repeated with the same fate,

fate, became thus of some consideration. *Fabius Valens* was marching up to joyn him, and this added still more to his concern, lest all the Glory of any future success should be attributed to another. In tenderness therefore to his own honour, he sought an occasion for recovering the Credit he had lost; and his too forward Zeal put him upon a very imprudent and unreasonable attempt for that purpose.

At a place called *Castors*, some twelve Miles from *Cremona*, he lodges the choice of his Auxiliaries privately, in the Woods hanging over the great Road; the Horsemen were ordered to advance, and bid the Enemy Battle. When they had drawn them to an Engagement, their Instructions were to give ground, and contrive to keep the Enemy warm in pursuit, till they should fall into this Ambuscade. This design was luckily discovered to *Orbe's* Generals, of whom *Paulinus* had then the Command of the Foot, and *Celsus* of the Horse. In the Left Wing were a Standard of the thirteenth Legion, four Cohorts of Auxiliaries, and five hundred Horse. Three Praetorian Cohorts drawn close together kept the High-way. On the Right were posted the first Legion, two Cohorts of Auxiliaries and five hundred Horse more. And besides all these a Reserve of a thousand Horse, drawn out of the Guards and Auxiliary Troops, designed to sustain the former if they should lose ground, or to push the advantage more vigorously if they should gain it.

The *Vitellian* Party, beginning presently to give way, before the main Body of the Army were engaged, *Celsus*, who had been let into the Secret, restrained his Men from pursuit, and ordered them to give back, The Ambuscade rising rashly, and mistaking their time, bearing down upon *Celsus*, who retreated in good order, at last followed him so far, that they themselves were caught by Stratagem. For the Co-
horts

horts hemm'd them in on each side, the Legion attack'd them in Front, and the Horse wheeled about and Flankt them in the Rear, *Suetonius* however was some time before he gave the Signal for the Foot to fall on. He was a Man in his own Temper slow; one who preferred safety acquired by methods, for which he could fairly account, before success, which was owing entirely to Fortune. He therefore first ordered the Ditches to be filled, the ground levelled, and the Battalions to open themselves, thinking it time enough to begin to Conquer, when all danger was obviated of being conquered himself. This slow proceeding gave the *Vulstian* Army time to shift for themselves: which they did by taking Sanctuary among *Vineyards*, where the traylings of the Branches hindred the pursuit; and being at the same time under Covert of a little Wood adjoining, they Sallied out and killed the foremost of the *Pratorian* Horse, who ventured to attack them; among whom King *Epiphanes* was dangerously wounded, as he was hotly engaging on *Otho's* side. At last the Foot fell on, and bore down all before them; not only the Enemies main Body, but their Reserves being also routed and put to flight. For *Cecina* had not brought up his Cohorts all together, but led them on one after another; which proved a mighty discouragement to those in Action: for by this means they upon the Spot were never a sufficient Force, and they who should sustain them were scattered and driven back again by the confusion and flight of their Fellows. To add yet more to the Calamity, the Camp was in mutiny, because they were not all drawn out into the Field. *Julius Gratus* the Master of the Camp was imprisoned, upon suspicion that he held a treasonable correspondence with his Brother in *Otho's* service; and *Otho's* Men had likewise secured his Brother *Julius Prætor* the Tribune, upon the very same jealousy. In short, the Consternation was

so very great, both among those that fought, and those that fled, those that advanced to the Action, and those that were left behind in the Trenches, that it was the general Opinion and Discourse, on both sides, that *Cacina* and his whole Army might have been entirely cut off, if *Suetonius Paulinus* had not founded a Retreat. Which surprising manner of proceeding he excused himself for; by saying, he was careful to prevent any mischief that might follow upon a great fatigue and long pursuit, if the Soldiers who were spent in the Action should have had fresh Men poured in upon them from the Enemies Camp, at a time when they had neither strength to stand a fresh Encounter, nor any place of Security to retreat to in case of difficulty. This abundant Caution passed with some few for Wisdom and good Conduct, but the generality of People highly condemned the slipping so eminent an advantage, and made very ill Constructions of it.

12. The effect this Defeat had upon the *Vitellian* Forces was not so much Fear of the Enemy, as Respect and Deference to their own Commanders. For not only *Cacina's* Men, (who laid the whole blame of this miscarriage upon the private Soldiers and their disposition to Mutiny, rather than fight) but *Fabius Valens* his Troops also, (who had now advanced as far as *Ticinum*) taught by this misfortune no longer to despise the Enemy, and zealous to recover their lost Reputation, were well content to obey Orders, and carry themselves with Temper and Observance to their Superior Officers. A Reformation so much the more seasonable, upon the account of a very desperate Sedition, occasioned by an accident which could not conveniently be taken notice of, while my method obliged to prosecute the several exploits of *Cacina* in due course; but such as I shall here recount distinctly and by it

† *Aavia*.

self,

self, being indeed too memorable to be wholly omitted. We have before observed, that the *Bata-vian* Cohorts, which in the War of *Nero* were separated from the fourteenth Legion, in their March to *Britain*, upon the News of *Vitellius* taking Arms had come over to *Fabius Valens*, and joyned him in the Country of the † *Lingones*. These hereupon grew insolent, boasting, as they came to the Tents of any of the Legions, that they were the Men who had awed the fourteenth Legion, that they had wrested *Italy* out of *Nero's* hands, and that the Glory and Success of the whole War was entirely owing to them. This was very grating and injurious to the Soldiers, highly displeasing to their Commander, and great breaches were made upon Order and Discipline, by the perpetual Quarrels and Wranglings, which this contumelious treatment provoked. At last *Valens* began to suspect somewhat more than mere petulance at the bottom, and that some Treachery was hatching under the Cover of this Insolence. Upon Intelligence therefore, that the *Tun-grian* Cohorts, and the Wing Composed of the *Treviri* were worsted by *Orbo's* Fleet, and likewise that an attempt was making upon the Province of *Narbon*, *Valens* thought fit at once to express his care for the Allies, and to give an instance of his Military Prudence, by dividing those Cohorts, which when together gave great disturbance, and whose united strength might prove of mischievous Consequence. To this purpose he gave Orders for detaching a Party of the *Bata-vians* to the relief of *Gallia Narbonensis*. As soon as these Orders were publicly known, the remainder of these Cohorts were in mighty concern; and heavy Complaints were made, That they should lose the support of so many brave Men; that those particularly who were old Soldiers and had won the Field in so many Battles, should be conveyed away as it were out of the Action at a

† *Langres*.

time when the Enemy was in view and just making up to them. What? Was a single Province of greater consideration than Rome it self and the security of the whole Empire? If so, why should not the whole Army move to its succour? But if the common Safety, if the Support and Bulwark of the whole Affair now in agitation, if the obtaining an entire Victory depended so much upon the securing Italy, that neither their Enemies could be defeated, nor they themselves subsist, upon other Terms; then certainly this was a preposterous piece of Policy, to cut off the very strongest and most active Limbs, at a time when the Body stood in greatest need of them. To quiet these tumultuous clamours, *Valens* commanded the Lictors to secure some of the most turbulent, but instead of reducing them by that severity, he did but enrage and exasperate them the more. For now, not content with words, they fly upon their General in Person, cast Stones at him, forced him to flee for his Life, and pursued him when he endeavoured to make his escape. When this attempt upon his Person failed, transported with Fury, they ran to his Tent, ransack'd his Baggage, tore up the very ground with Darts and Lances, crying that the Spoils of *France*, the Gold of *Vienna*, and the purchase of all their Toil and Blood was hoarded there. He in the mean while with great difficulty saving himself, by lying privately in the disguise of a Slave, in a Corporal of Horse's Apartment.

At length *Alphenus Varus*, Master of the Camp, observing the heat of this Sedition begin to abate, had this Politick fetch to Compose and reduce them to order. He gave strict charge to the Centurions, that no Rounds should be gone, nor Watch set: whereupon the Soldiers, missing the usual Signals by sound of Trumpet, presently stood amazed, and looking upon one another with Fear and Confusion, as Men that must be lost, when all Discipline and Care of them
was

was given over, they first express'd their concern by an universal Silence, then by Remorse, and at last with Tears and earnest Intreaties begged pardon for so heinous an Offence. At last when *Valens* appeared, the Tears, and mean disguise, but especially the unexpected safety of a person whom they had treated with such indignity, produced a strange turn and mixture of Passions, Surprise, Joy, Compassion, Affection, and (as the Mob are commonly in Extremes which way soever they take) they surrounded him with their Standards, and with Congratulations, and Shouts, and all possible demonstrations of Triumph carried him to the Tribunal.

Valens behaved himself with a most seasonable moderation, demanded not so much as the Satisfaction of any one Example for so grievous a Crime, but, lest the excess of mildness might look like dissimulation, he gave a short discreet reproof; wisely considering, that Discipline cannot be exercised upon all occasions alike; but, in Civil Wars particularly, Common Soldiers have a privilege of doing many things, which their Commanders must not take upon them to reform.

As they were entrenching at *Ticinum*, news came of *Cæcina's* defeat, which had like to have caused a relapse into Mutiny again, upon a fancy, that *Valens* was false to his Trust, and had contrived delays to keep them from that Battle. Full of this Jealousie they would neither stay to repose themselves, nor wait for Orders, but run before their Colours, and force the Standard-bearers to move; whereupon they presently joyn'd *Cæcina*, with a very hasty and disorderly March. *Valens* was by no means in good Graces with *Cæcina's* Army. They too complained of hard dealing, that such a handful of Men in comparison should be left there, exposed to the whole Body of the Enemy; But at the same time to obviate the contempt of a beaten Party

Parry, and the Imputation of Cowardice, they took occasion to be very large in their own vindication, and lavish in complementing the Strength and Courage of these new Succours. But although *Valens* his Army were more, almost indeed double the number of that he joyned, yet many things concurred to recommend *Cecina* more to the Affections of the Soldiers; such as his Genteel Humour, and Liberal Disposition in which he was much superior, the Vigour of his Youth, the Gracefulness of his Person and Stature, and withal a winning sort of Address, and other such trifling qualities to recommend him. This bred emulation and ill blood between the Generals. *Cecina* contemned *Valens*, as a Man sordid and scandalous; and *Valens* made as great a jest of *Cecina*'s Vanity and Pride. But, stifling the aversion they had to each other, they contributed to promote the same common Interest, and by frequent Letters exposed *Otho* for his infamous Conversation without making any allowances; though at the same time *Otho*'s Officers spared *Vitellius*, who yet was not wanting to furnish them with Matter in abundance for Censure and Reproach. For, to deal impartially between them, (and setting aside the manner of their Dying, which in *Otho* was justly renowned, in *Vitellius* most scandalous,) it must be confessed, that the lazy Pleasures of *Vitellius* provoked less Jealousie and Fear, than the furious Lusts of *Otho*. He also was had in greater horror and detestation upon the account of *Galba*'s murder; whereas no Man pretended to lay the beginning of the War at *Vitellius* his door. In short, *Vitellius* was his own Enemy by Gluttony and Intemperance; but *Otho* had not Luxury alone, but Cruelty, and Ambition, and an Audacious Spirit, to render him more formidable and destructive to the Publick.

13. *Cacina* and *Valens* being thus joyned, the *Vitellian* Party, who had now the whole Body of their Forces together, were desirous to come to a decision, as soon as possible. *Otho* called a Council of War, wherein it was debated, whether they should decline a Battle, and gain time, or hazard all upon the Fortune of one day's Action. *Suetonius Paulinus*, a Man as deservedly eminent for Conduct and Experience in Military Matters as any of that Age, thought it became his Character to deliver his Opinion at large upon the whole State of the War; and he very prudently argued, that a speedy decision was for the Enemies advantage, but that delay was most adviseable for their own present Circumstances. He urged, *That Vitellius his Army were all come up: that they had no fresh reinforcement to expect, because there was danger of an Eruption in Gallia, which would not suffer them to draw any more Succours from the Rhine, a Guard there being absolutely necessary, to prevent any IncurSION from those barbarous People. That the Army in Britany were sufficiently employed by the Enemy, nor could they be transported cross the Seas: that Spain had no Soldiers to spare; Narbon was all in consternation with the late attempts of Otho's Fleet upon their Coasts, and the ill success of their last Engagement there: That the parts of Italy on the other side the Po were already harassed by the Enemies March, who were shut in by the very situation of the Country, as having the Alpes behind them, and no Naval Force to maintain a Communication by Sea. This would soon straighten them in point of Provisions, without supplies whereof it is impossible for an Army to subsist. Add to all this, that the Flower and most formidable part of their Forces consisted of Germans, Men of foggy Constitutions, who, if the War could be protracted till Summer, would never be able to endure the heats, but change with their new Climate, and be rendred wholly unserviceable. That many instances have been known*

known of numerous and powerful Armies, who would have carried all before them, if they had been brought to a brash immediately, and yet have been wasted, and able to do nothing, when tired and worn out by time and fatigue. On the other side, their own Army had plenty of every thing, and the Country was intirely in their Interests, Pannonia, Mæsia, Dalmatia, and the Eastern parts were all their own, and the Armies in these Quarters were numerous and in good Condition. He was secure of Italy, and, which was more important than all the rest, the City, the Senate and People of Rome, names which however they might sometimes be under a Cloud, yet never were insignificant, or totally eclipsed. That they had vast Treasures publick and private, and money in abundance, which in all Intestine Divisions is a Weapon much more powerful than even the Sword it self; the Soldiers in good plight, and used either to Italy, or other Countries as bot. That the Po might be made a good Barrier in his Front, the Cities well fortified and garrisoned, and how little danger there was that any of these should surrender to the Enemy, the late unsuccessful attempt upon Placentia had given a good Experiment; upon all these accounts he could not but advise, that they would prolong the Campaigne. At least this was the best Resolution that could be taken at their present meeting: since the Fourteenth Legion so famed for Action, and the Forces from Mæsia were expected in few days: and when these were all come up, they might give the matter a second deliberation; and then, if it should appear adviseable to engage, they might do it upon better terms, when their Army were so considerably increased.

Marin Celsus was of the same Opinion with Paulinus, and Annins Gallus likewise, who sent his Voice by Messengers appointed to consult him; he being then laid up of a hurt, occasioned by a fall of his Horse a few days before. Orbo on the other hand was eager

for a Battle; so was his Brother *Titianus*, and *Proculus* Commander of the Guard, whose want of Experience disposed him to prefer the quickest Issue: declaring withal, that Fortune and the Genius of *Otho*, which had assisted at their Consultation, and inclined the Emperor to those Resolutions, would not fail to be equally assisting to the Execution of them: For at this rate they began to daub and flatter, the more effectually to stop Peoples Mouths, and hinder them from abetting the contrary Opinion.

It being then determined that fight they must, the next point taken into deliberation was, whether it were fitter that the Emperor should appear personally in the Field, or withdraw into some place of Safety: *Paulinus* and *Celsus* did not think it convenient to interpose here, lest they should be suspected of a design to expose the Emperor to danger; and therefore the advice given by the same unskilful Politicians prevailed without any Contradiction; which was, that *Otho* should retire to † *Brixellum*, and there, free from the hazard of the day, secure the main chance at least, and not stake the Empire upon one single Action. And here the ruin of *Otho* and his Party commenced. For the Detachment of the Prætorian Cohorts, and Spear-men, and Horse-men which went off with him, were a very considerable Strength: and besides, the Forces left behind were greatly dispirited, and full of discontent's. Their Generals were Men in whom they had no Confidence; and *Otho*, whom alone the Common Soldiers depended upon, (as he indeed depended upon them only, and never dared to trust his Officers,) left all things in Confusion, and had not so much as adjusted Matters relating to the several Authorities of the Generals deputed to Command in his absence.

14. These Debates and Irregular proceedings were suf-

† *Bresselio.*

ficiently

ficiently known to the *Vatellian* Army, partly by means of Desertions, which, in Civil Wars especially, are very frequent; and partly through the imprudence of Spyes, who, while they make it their business to dive into the Enemies Secrets, are commonly not very sparing in disclosing their own. *Cæcina* and *Valens* thus informed lay still, in expectation when the Enemy would begin their own ruin by the false measures they had taken; and acting a part, which at least supplies and comes next to our own wisdom, that of watching the Opportunities which the Folly of others puts into our hands. In the mean while, to keep the Soldiers employed, and prevent the ill effects of Ease and Inactivity, they began a Bridge over the *Po*, as if they had intended to pass that River, and dislodge a Party of Gladiators posted on the other side. To this purpose they laid Boats across the River, fastened with strong Timbers, at equal distances from each other, and with their Heads against the Stream, casting Anchors from each Boat to keep them tight, and hinder the Vessels from driving. Yet so, that the Cables of these Anchors were left slack, to give room for the whole Gang of Boats to play, and rise unbroken, whenever the River should swell. At the end of this Bridge a Tower was run up, continued to the very last Boat, out of which their Engines might play upon the Enemy, and drive the Guards from their Post. The Party of *Otho* had likewise erected a Tower upon the Bank for their own defence, and from thence they annoyed the Assailants with their Fire and great Stones. In the midst of this River stood a little Island, which the Gladiators endeavoured to reach in their Boats, but the *Germans* were too nimble for them, and swimming down the River possessed themselves of the place. At last, when a good number had come thither, *Macer* filled his Gallies, and sent some

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of his best Gladiators to attack them. But they were not able to stand a charge with Firmness and Courage equal to that of the Soldiers; and the tottering of the Boats made them deal their blows with more uncertainty, than their Enemies from the Bank, who fought upon firm ground. At last, when the Watermen and Soldiers began to be confounded by the tippings of the Boats, and unsteady motions of the Men upon declining of the Enemy's blows, the *Germanys* very briskly jumping into the Shallows, hurst upon their Sterns, clambered up the sides, and threw them overboard, or overturned their Vessels. All which being transacted in view of both Armies, the greater satisfaction it gave the *Vitellians*, the more implacably it enraged the *Othobians*, against the Person lookt upon as the Cause and Author of this defeat. So when the Action it self was ended, by breaking away with the few Boats which were left, and so fleeing back to the Bank again, nothing would content the Soldiery but *Macer's* blood: Accordingly a Dart was first thrown at a distance which wounded him, and in this condition they flew upon him with their drawn Swords, and had certainly murdered him out of hand, had not the Tribunes and Centurions very seasonably come in to his relief. Shortly after, *Vestricius Spurrinna* was ordered by *Otho*, to leave a small Garrison in *Placentia*, and march with his Cohorts to Reinforce this Party. And then *Flavius Sabinus*, Consul elect, succeeded into the Command of those Forces, who had been under *Macer*. Which, though it pleased the private Soldiers, always fond of changing their Officers, yet was far from contenting the Officers themselves, who could have no great Joy, nor be at all forward in taking Commissions over Fellows so ungovernable, where they must run the risque of perpetual Mutinies, and live in as much Danger from their own, as from the Enemy's Forces.
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15. Some Writers, I find, have delivered it as their Opinion, that both Armies, either tired with the War, and dreading its Consequences, or sick of the contending Emperors, whose Vices and Dishonour grew every day more publick, had a great inclination to compose the whole Matter quietly; and that it was for some time under consideration, whether both Armies should confer together, and agree upon an Emperor by common Consent, or whether they should decline this, and leave it entirely to the Senate to chuse one. This they tell you was at the bottom of the Advice given by *Otho's* Commanders, to protract the War, and gain time; but particularly, that *Paulinus* proceeded upon this Principle, as having some pretence to expect the advancement himself; considering, that he was Senior of all the Consulars, justly Renowned for Courage and Conduct, and had acquired a great and deserved Name by his excellent Service in the *British* Expeditions.

For my own part, admitting that some few Persons had secret Inclinations of this kind, and would have been glad of so blessed an exchange, as Peace for Division, and one innocent good Prince instead of two scandalously bad ones; yet I can by no means persuade my self, that so wise a Man as *Paulinus* could think this Design practicable. He knew very well the Corruption of the Times, and could not entertain so extravagant a Thought, as that these very People, who had broke the Peace, because they were fond of War, should all on the sudden be reduced to so great a Degree of Prudence and Moderation, as to break off a War abruptly, out of mere Affection to Peace: It was by no means probable, that Armies composed of different Countries, Languages, Customs, and Tempers, should ever have united in such an amicable Consent; and as little so, that Lieutenant-Generals and Officers, who for the most part were scandalous for, and conscious

to themselves of Luxury, Want, and grievous Enormities, should endure any Governor to be set over them, except One upon whom they might have a hank, either by reason of being tainted with their Vices, or of the Obligation which their Creation would lay upon him. It is very observable, that the desire of Power, though of long standing, and interwoven with most Men's Tempers, yet manifestly gathered Strength, and exerted it self more vigorously, in proportion as the Empire it self grew greater, and the Power more absolute. While our Territories were strait, Men were easily contented to stand upon the level with their Neighbours, but when by vanquishing or destroying Rival States or Kings, opportunity was given for enlarging Men's desires, and Wealth and Power became attainable with less Danger; then first Contentions broke out between the Senate and Commonalty, who should reap the Benefit of these accessions of Greatness. Sometimes factious Tribunes carried it for the Populace; at other times the Consuls maintained their Dignity, and bore the People down; and several Essays and crude beginnings of Civil Wars broke out in the City and *Forum*. After some time, *C. Marius*, a Man of the meanest Extract, and very Dregs of the Commonalty, and *L. Sylla*, the haughtiest and fiercest of all the Nobility, destroyed our Liberty by Force of Arms, and turned it into Arbitrary Power. *Pompey* came next, whose Designs were not one whit better than the former, though somewhat more private and cunningly carried. But from that fatal time struggles for Privilege were out of Doors, and nothing less than Sovereign Power thought a Prize worth contending for. We know by sad Experience, that the *Roman* Legions did not lay down their Arms, either at *Pharsalia* or *Philippi*, and as little Ground there was to expect, that the Armies of *Octo* and *Vitellius* should ever

ever consent to do it upon this Occasion: The same ill Fate, the same Provocations against the Gods to deserve it, the same Rage and Fury of the Persons concerned to keep it up, and the same Crimes gave Birth to these Dissensions, as to the other; All which would therefore have the same influence to continue and inflame this Difference, and prevent any accommodation or good Temper, which they had but too effectually in the former Instances. These Wars indeed were decided at once, and by a single Action. But that must be imputed to the Cowardice of the Generals, who when once beaten, durst not proceed to a second Attempt, and not to any good Disposition in the Armies, to make a speedy End of the Quarrel. But this Reflection upon the Tempers and Manners of the former and modern times hath carried me farther than perhaps it ought; Now therefore I quit this Digression, and return to Matters where I left them.

16. Upon *Otho's* retreat to *Brixellum*, the Name indeed and Reputation of the supreme Command was left with *Titianus*, but all the Authority and real Power was lodged in *Proculus*. *Paulinus* and *Celsus*, whose wise Advice no body thought worth the following, had only now the empty Title of Commanders, and served for little else, than to countenance or cover the miscarriages of others: The Tribunes and Centurions were irresolute, and dissatisfied to see all the Favour and Authority in such ill hands, while Men notoriously their betters, and in all Respects more proper for it, were passed by and discountenanced; And the private Soldiers, though wanting no Courage, yet were more Curious to satisfy themselves in the reasons and fitness of their Orders, than ready in obeying them. It was agreed to decamp from the place where they then were, and remove four Miles from *Bedriacum*, a Post so very inconvenient, that notwithstanding it was the Spring

Spring of the Year, and the Country had many Rivers thereabouts, yet they were greatly distressed by want of Water. There they entred into a fresh Debate, whether they should fight or no; for *Orbo* was very earnest and pressing in his Letters, that they would come to a Battel speedily; the Souldiers on the other hand no less importunate, for *Orbo's* personal presence in the Field: and many were of Opinion, that they ought to defer the Action, till the Forces could joyn them from the other side of the *Po*. It is not so easie perhaps in this variety of Opinions, to determin which had been best to follow, as manifest, that they could not possibly have taken any worse course than they did. Their March was not like that of Men designed for Action in the Field, but for an Encampment, or Siege; designing to reach the place where *Po* and *Addua* meet, a place at least sixteen Miles distant from their setting out. *Celsus* and *Paulinus* declared against this extravagant Motion, urging the Imprudence of Engaging, when the Soldiers were tired with the length of their March, and loaded with Bag and Baggage: And that too with an Enemy of light Carriage, who had not come above four Miles to meet them, and would be sure to take the Advantage of attacking them, either as they moved in disorder, or straggled from the Main-Body, or were employed in Intrenching themselves. *Titianus* and *Proculus*, when they saw themselves out-done in Argument, resolved to carry their point with a high hand. To which they were the more incited by the arrival of an Expreß from *Orbo*, with a very angry Message, wherein he sharply reprehended the General's backwardness, and ordered them to hazard a Battel immediately; so uneasy to him was their delay, and the impatience of his own Expectations.

It happened the same day, as *Cacina* was busy in making his Bridge, that two Tribunes of the Prætorian

rian Cohorts came to desire some private Discourse with him; He had prepared to receive and answer their Message; but just as they were entering upon their Business, the Scouts came thundring in with News that the Enemy were just upon them. This alarm broke up the Conference with the Tribunes, and left the Matter of it in the dark. So that, whether some Train for *Cacina*, or Treachery to their own Party were intended, or whether some honourable Proposals and Designs, is perfectly uncertain. *Cacina*, upon dismissing the Tribunes, went immediately back to the Camp, and found the Signal given by *Fabius Valens*, and all the Soldiers at their Arms before his coming.

While the Legions were adjusting the Matter of their respective Posts, the Horse made a Sally, and (which was very strange) were beaten back, by a much less Party of *Otho's* Men; and had it not been for the *Italian* Legion, they had run into their very Trenches; But They received them with Sword in hand, and obliged them to rally, and engage the Enemy again. The *Vitellian* Legions drew up in Line of Battel, without any manner of Confusion, for though the Enemy were very near, yet some thick Copses betwixt them broke the Prospect, so that they could not be discerned. On *Otho's* side, the Generals were confounded with fear, the Common Soldiers discontented with their Officers, the Suttlers and heavy Baggage an incumbrance to the Army, the Way enclosed on each side with deep Ditches, and so narrow, as to be troublesome in the most regular and peaceful March. Some were at their own proper Posts, Others could not find the Standards they belonged to; the whole Army was nothing but hurry and noise; Men running about, hollowing, and as every Man's Courage or Fear prevailed, putting himself forward toward the Front, or endeavouring to secure himself in the Rear
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of the Battel. While they were under this sudden Terror, a false Joy contributed yet more to unqualify them for Action, occasioned by a groundless Report, that *Vitellius* his Army had revolted. Whether this was first put about by *Vitellius* his Spies, or by *Otho's* own Party; or whether it were a Trick, or a pure Mistake in those who put it about, is equally uncertain: But be it Contrivance or Accident, the Entertainment and Effect it found was such, that the *Othobians*, instead of falling on with the Fury of an Enemy, advanced to meet the *Vitellians* in a method of Civility and Salute; but found a very unfriendly reception. This very manner of meeting, however, though not returned with Kindness, gave Umbrage to several of their own Party, who knew nothing of the occasion of it, and made them jealous, that there was Treachery at the bottom.

Then the Enemy's Main-Body fell on, charging in good Order, and far superiour both in Strength and Number. *Otho's* Army, notwithstanding they were irregular and in no good Posture of Battel, fatigued with the length of their March, and unequal in Numbers, yet received them with great Bravery and Vigor. The place where they engaged was thick set with Trees and Vines, which made a confused and very different sort of Fight: Sometimes they charged at a distance, sometimes hand to hand, here in large, and there again in small Parties, and all these brought on, in such Figures, as the Condition of the Ground would permit: In the higher and plainer Way, they came Foot to Foot, and without making use of Darts and Lances, kept only to close fighting, hewing their way with their Swords, and Battel-Axes; and hacking Bucklers and Helmets, and Cuirasses; Distinguishing themselves, and observed by others, as Persons, who expected to determine the whole Fortune of the Field by

by the single Issue of their own Behaviour and Success.

It happened, that two Legions met and engaged in a fair Champaign, between the *Po* and the great Road, the One and Twentieth, called *Rapax*, for *Vitellius*, a Legion long celebrated for Valor and Success; and for *Otho* the First *Adjutrix*, never in Action before, but daring and arrogant, and eager of Honor in their first Attempt. They of the first Legion had broken and cut off their Enemies fore-most Ranks, and born away their Standard; the resentment whereof so enraged the Legion, that they bore down furiously upon the first Legion, forced them to give Ground, killed *Orphilus Benignus* the Colonel, and pressed them so hard, as to take many Colours and Banners from them. In another Quarter, the Thirteenth Legion was forced by the Fifth, and a Detachment of the Fourteenth surrounded and greatly distressed by a Number of the Enemy pouring in upon them. And the Battel was now brought to that pass, that while *Otho's* Generals were quitting the Field, and shifting for themselves, *Cecina* and *Valens* were sustaining their side with fresh Recruits. As a farther addition of Strength, *Alphianus Varus* advanced with his *Batavian* Troops, having routed a Party of *Gladiators*, who were slain by the Enemy's Cohorts in the very River, as they were endeavouring to pass it in Boats. These came flesh'd with their late Victory, and fell in upon the Enemy's Flank. At last the Main Battel was broke, and *Otho's* Army fled in great disorder, and all made the best of their way to *Bedriacum*. But alas! they had a great deal of Ground to go, and the Ways were block'd up with slaughtered Men, all which made the Carnage so much the greater; for in Civil Wars no Advantage is to be made by Prisoners, and therefore the less comes into the Purse, the more Employment there is for the Sword.

Suetonius

Suetonius Paulinus and *Licinius Proculus* both declined the Camp, and made two several ways: *Vedius Aquila* Colonel of the Thirteenth Legion, led by his Fear rather than Wisdom, exposed himself to the Fury of the Souldiers. For coming into the Trenches a good while before Night, he was perfectly stunn'd with the Noise and Tumult of those, who were eagerest in Mutiny, and forwardest in Flight. They reproached and rail'd at him, called him Deserter and Traitor, and, as if all the Liberty their Tongues could take were too little, they employed their Hands too, and seconded ill words with blows; And all this without any manner of provocation or fault of his, but purely from a humour common to the Rabble, who are extremely vehement in charging others with their own Crimes, and so try to shift off the scandal from themselves. *Tirannus* and *Celsus* had the protection of the Night; They arrived not till the Watch was set, and the Souldiers compos'd, whom *Annius Gallus* had with much ado prevail'd upon, by Entreaty, Advice, Authority, and all little enough to perswade them, that they would by no means aggravate the Calamity of an unfortunate Engagement with the Enemy, by falling foul and murdering one another; That whether this Disaster put an end to the War, or whether they should think fit to have another tryal for it, yet either way, the only relief and security was Amity and Agreement among themselves.

The Army in general were so affected with this loss, that all except the Guards seem'd utterly to despond. But they declared it was Treachery and not Valour, that won the day; That this Victory had cost the *Vuelliens* a great deal of blood; That their Horse were routed at the very first Attack, and the Standard of one of their Legions carried off in despite of all they could do to defend it; That *Orbo* had still a good Reserve quar-
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tered beyond the *Po*; That their Legions were upon their way from *Mæsa*; and that a considerable part of their Army was detained at *Bedriacum*, and never Engaged at all: It was certain, no body could pretend that These were Conquered; And, put the worst of the case, they had still an opportunity left for selling their Lives as dear as they could, and dying honourably in the Field. With such Reflections sometimes animating themselves, sometimes again terrified with the Blow they had received, they floated between two Passions: But the extremity of their Case excited them to Rage and Revenge, much oftner than it disposed them to fear.

The *Vitellian* Army making use of their advantage, advanced within five Miles of *Bedriacum*, and there halted; The Generals not thinking it safe to venture upon attacking the Enemy's Camp the same day; Besides, that they entertained some expectations of a voluntary Surrender. Encamp formally 'tistruè they could not, being only equipped for Fight, as they drew out to engage; But their Arms and the Conquest they had made were at that time fortification sufficient. The next day *Orbo's* Army were more Unanimous, than they had been the Evening before; The fierce Men who had talked big began to relent, and so by common consent they sent to ask Pardon and Terms; which Message was as readily received by the *Vitellians*, and Peace agreed upon. The Messengers indeed were not dispatched so soon as was expected, which bred some scruple, whether their Request was granted, and what was to be done. But immediately upon the return of their Deputies, the Camp was thrown open. Then Victors and Vanquished fell upon one another with tears, cursing and bewailing the Misery of Civil Wars, with a sort of melancholy Joy: Some cherishing and dressing the Wounds of near Relations, some of their dearest and most intimate Friends, in the same Tents:

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The Hope and the Rewards of such a War were unseen and uncertain, but the Losses and Deaths, the sad Accidents and Grievs consequent upon it, were dismal and very visible: For even the happiest Man among them could not pretend to have escaped so clear, but that some or other fell, for whose death he felt a sensible concern. *Orphidius* the Colonel's Body was sought with great diligence, and burned with all the Ceremony usual upon such occasions: Some few their Friends and Relations took care to bury: But the rest of the meaner sort and private Souldiers were left upon the place.

17. *Otho* in the mean while waited for tydings of the Battel, but not under any consternation of Mind, having resolved upon his Measures beforehand. The first ill News came by common Rumour; but shortly after, some who had made their escape assured him, that the Day was lost, and his Forces absolutely routed. The Souldiers however were so well in heart, that without staying for his encouraging them, they of their own accord desired that He would support himself under this loss; They put him in mind, that he had still a mighty Strength in reserve; and assured him, for their own parts, that there was nothing which they would not do or suffer in his Service. Nor were these Complements or words of course; for they were really transported with an uncommon Zeal, and desired above all things to draw out immediately, and repair the broken Fortunes of their Party; Those at a distance held up their Hands, they that were near fell at his Feet, with *Plotius Firmus* at their Head; And making this Captain of the Guard their Spokesman, most earnestly importuned him, *That he would not forsake an Army entirely at his devotion, and Souldiers who had done him considerable Service: That the enduring Adversity is a better argument of a Great Soul, than declining and making an escape from it: That brave and*
gallant:

gallant Men still rest themselves upon Hope, even in Extremity, where Fortune seems to have left no foundation for Hope; But Fear alone produces that Impatience, which spurs on Cowards and mean-spirited Men to hasten their Deliverance.

As these words were uttering, the Countenance of *Otho* was nicely observed; and as he seemed by his looks either to be wrought upon by their Importunities, or obstinately to reject them, they express'd their different resentments by Shouts and Groans. Nor was this firmness of mind peculiar to the Guards alone, and such as were either nearest his Person, or most devoted in affection to him, but Assurances were sent him, that the Army in their march from *Masia*, (for three Legions were come already as far as *Aquileia*) were equally disposed to fight it out to the last; So that there was a great deal of work still behind, and room for a fresh Push, bloody and dismal, and such as might render it an even Chance for them who had lost, and those who had gotten this Victory. But He absolutely averse from any second Engagement, made this Reply to all their Arguments.

“I can by no means think my Life of so great Consideration, that it should justify me in exposing such gallant Men, such matchless Affection and Virtue, to new and greater Dangers: The greater ground you give me to hope, if I were disposed to live, the better it will become me to die. I and Fortune have had trial enough of one another: 'Tis true, the time hath been short, but that is not material; for the sooner you expect your Happiness will end, the harder it is to master and use it moderately. The Civil War owes its first Rise to *Vitellius*; He gave the Example, and was the occasion of putting the Empire upon the Issue of the Sword: And since the Sword hath decided it once, I resolve to set an Example of

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" putting it but once upon that Issue. And I desire,
 " that future Ages will form a Judgment of *Otho* from
 " this Action. *Vitellius* shall enjoy his Brother, his
 " Wife, his Children without any molestation from
 " me: For my own part, I want neither Revenge,
 " nor Comforts for my Misfortunes. Others may have
 " been in the Government longer, but no Emperour
 " hath gone out of it with so much Bravery: Shall I
 " consent, that so many young *Romans*, so many Noble
 " Armies, should be cut to pieces, and the Common-
 " wealth be robbed of such a Treasure? No, 'tis suffi-
 " cient that I carry this satisfaction along with me, of
 " knowing, that you were content to die for my sake:
 " But let that Intention suffice; and therefore let us
 " lose no time, You in providing for your own safety,
 " and I in giving a Proof of my Constancy. To say
 " much concerning Death, argues some fear of dying.
 " Take this as a proof of my Resolution, that I have
 " no Complaints to make. For every one that accuses
 " either God or Man of using him ill, does by that
 " very Act betray a desire to live.

When he had thus delivered himself, he called his
 Friends about him, and, with great Courtesie and Con-
 descension, applying to each of them in Terms pro-
 per, for their respective Age and Quality, he exhorted
 them to lose no time, and not exasperate the Conque-
 rour by delaying to come in. With the young Men
 he interposed his Authority, to those of Gravity and
 Years he used Entreaties. And all this with a Coun-
 tenance serene and composed, with a Voice steady and
 distinct: Checking at the same time, and kindly re-
 proving that unseasonable expression of his Friend's
 concern, which broke out in Tears. He gave orders
 for furnishing those that were leaving him with Boats
 and Waggons for their Equipage: Burnt all the Libels
 and Letters in his Custody, which contained any thing
 remarkable,

remarkable, either in professions of Kindness to himself, or Reflections upon *Vitellius*, commanded a distribution of Money, but did it frugally, and like one that was giving his last. At last, observing his Brother's Son *Salvius Cocceianus* in disorder, and great grief, (passions more natural at his years) he undertook of his own accord to comfort him, partly commending his Duty and Affection, and partly chiding the timorousness of his Temper, in words to this effect.

" Was it possible that *Vitellius* could be so barbarous,
 " so insensible, as not to make him this one poor return
 " for the preservation of his whole Family! Sure there
 " was some desert, in removing out of the way; some
 " Kindness at least due from a Conquerour, upon the
 " account of delivering him so soon from all future
 " Apprehensions: That it ought to be considered,
 " when and in what Circumstances this was done;
 " Not when there was no remedy, no hope left; but
 " at the head of an Army pressing for Battle; and yet
 " even then, in tenderness to the Publick, he forbore
 " to put it to the last Issue. As for himself, he had
 " acquired Renown sufficient, and abundantly enobled
 " his Family: In the *Julii, Claudii*, and *Servii*, the thing
 " was less to be wondred at, but He was the first that
 " had left the Honour of an Emperour in a Family
 " of no Name, no Extract. Let him therefore dare
 " to live, and that he might live like a bold and
 " gallant Man, let him neither ever forget, or too
 " much remember, that *Otho* was his Uncle. Then
 he commanded all Company to withdraw, and composed himself to rest: But as his Thoughts were intent upon the last Cares of Life, a sudden Interruption diverted him, occasioned by a Tumult among the Soldiers, who threatned all that went over to *Vitellius* with Death; and had offered Outrage upon *Verginius*, having beset his House, where he had shut himself up

for the preservation of his Person. Immediately upon the News of this Disorder, he went and rebuked the Ringleaders, and then returning, gave freedom of access to those who were leaving his Party, and continued to entertain them, till all danger was over, and that they went off without any opposition or affront.

Towards Evening he found himself dry, and took a hearty draught of cold Water. After which he call'd for a couple of Daggers, and trying the Points of both, laid one of them under his Pillow. When he understood, that all his Friends were retired, he lay quiet, and, as is said, slept well all Night. About break of day, he fell upon his Dagger: The Servants attended, and *Plotius Firmus* Commander of the Guard, came in at the noise of the Groan, as he was expiring, and found that he had struck himself but once. His Funeral was ordered with all speed; This was his own direction and earnest desire, to prevent his Head being cut off, and his Body made a Jest and Spectacle to the Rabble. The Corps was carried by the *Prætorian* Cohorts, who kiss'd his Wound, and Hands; and were profuse in their Praises and their Tears. Some of the Soldiers kill'd themselves at his Funeral Pile, not moved by consciousness of any guilt, or fear of living, but purely out of love to their Master, and ambition to die as honourably as he had done. The same was afterwards frequently done at *Bedriacum*, *Placentia*, and other Camps where his Party lay. A Monument was erected for him, decent, but modest; too mean to provoke Envy, and therefore like to continue: And thus died *Otho* in the Seven and Thirtieth Year of his Age. His Family came originally from the Free-Town of *Terrentium*: His Father had been Consul, his Grandfather *Prætor*. His Mother's Family, though of good Quality, was not however equal to his Father's. What his Temper and Behaviour was while a Child, and young

young Man hath been declared before ; In short, the two * Actions which render him celebrated in Story, were the one so very scandalous, and the other so very brave, that he may be said to have signalized himself both ways ; and to deserve, that Posterity should allow him an equal share of Commendation and Re-proach.

As I think it very disagreeable to the Dignity of so serious an Undertaking, as that of writing History, to pick up every trifling superstitious Tale, and entertain my Reader with Romance and Legend ; so I fear it is a nicety, criminal in the other extreme, to detract from the Credit of things confidently asserted and generally received. Now the *Inhabitants of Regium Lepidum* tell you, that in a Grove near that place very well known, there was seen a Bird of prodigious bulk, and uncommon form, to fit all that day in which the Battel of *Bedriacum* was fought : and that neither the confluence of Men, nor of other Birds hovering about her, seemed to give her the least Disturbance. That no methods they could use would prevail with her to stir, till *Otho* had killed himself ; and then she went off, and was never seen more. Which Prodigy they who have been curious to enquire into and compute, find the time of it agree precisely with *Otho's* last great Action, beginning with the Battel, and ending with his Life.

The Grief and general Concern of the Soldiers, produced a new Sedition at his Funeral ; which grew so much the more outrageous, because now there was no body left, whose Authority could suppress or compose it. They fixed upon *Verginius*, as a Person proper to succeed ; and pressed him even with menaces, either to take the Government upon himself, or at least to go in their Names, and concert a Reconciliation with *Cæcina* and *Valens*. *Verginius* averle

* *Galba's Death and his own.*

to either undertaking, conveyed himself away privately by a back Door of his House, and so disappointed the Mob, who were breaking in upon him to force a Compliance with their Proposals. But *Rubrius Gallus* carried the Submission of those Cohorts, which lay at *Brixellum*, and *Flavius Sabinus* interceded with those Forces which He commanded, all which without any difficulty or delay were received into the Conqueror's good Graces.

But, though the War seemed now to be at an end in all parts of the Empire, a considerable part of the Senate, who had attended *Orbo* from *Rome* as far as *Mutina*, and staid there by his Direction, ran a very great risque of their Lives. The News of *Orbo's* defeat was come thither, but the Soldiers, disregarding it as a Report false and groundless, and suspecting withal, that the Senate did not bear all that good Affection to *Orbo's* Cause, which they ought to have done, lay upon the catch for every word they spoke, made ill interpretations of every Action, nay, even of their very Looks; and not only so, but by reviling and insolent Language plainly sought occasions to Quarrel, and only wanted a pretence to murder them. The Senate in the mean while were no less apprehensive of Danger from another quarter; and concerned, what Constructions would be made of their slowness to believe the Victory, and make any Declarations in favour of *Vitellius*, when all the Power was in his hands. In this perplexity, and fear what would become of them either way, they assemble themselves together. No Man thought fit to take measures singly for his own particular Security, concluding himself so much the safer, as more were embarked with him in the same Difficulties. This Care and Confusion was yet aggravated the more, by a very unseasonable piece of Respect from the Corporation of *Medina*, who came with

with great deference, offering to advance Money, and provide Arms for their Service and Defence, saluting them at the same time, by the Title of *Lords of the Senate.*

In this Meeting arose a very warm Dispute, occasioned by *Licinius Cæcina* accusing *Eprius Marcellus* of throwing out dark and dangerous Words, which indeed was the less to be found fault with, because none of the rest seemed very forward to deliver themselves clearly. But *Marcellus* his Name was so infamous, for that Trade of informing, which stuck in every Man's memory, and lay so fair a Mark of Envy and Odium, that it was not possible for *Cæcina* to miss him. Who being lately advanced to this Honour, endeavoured to make himself considerable, by falling foul upon great Men. This Quarrel however was taken up by the interposition of some much wiser and better Men, than either of the Parties was well known to be. The result of their Consultation was, that they should all go back to *Bononia*, and there deliberate a second time upon the present State of Affairs; And, before that could be done, there was little doubt, but some fresh Intelligence would help to clear up the matter.

Upon their arrival at *Bononia*, they immediately secured all the Roads, and among other Passengers an Attendant of *Otho* was brought in: who being demanded his Business, and upon what occasion he had left the Emperor, replied, *That he was entrusted with his last Commands; that Otho was indeed alive at his coming away, but seemed dead to all the Enjoyments of Life, and to have no Concern of that kind left, nor any Thoughts, but what related to those who should survive him.* This struck them with astonishment, and thinking it indecent to be more particular in their Examinations, they presently came all over to *Vitellius*. *L. Vitellius*, the Emperor's Brother, was present at these

Consultations, and he very readily offered himself to receive their Complements: But it happened at this critical juncture, that *Census* a Free-Attendant of *Nero*, confounded all again with a peremptory but monstrous Lye: Averring, that the Fourteenth Legion was come up, that the Forces at *Brixellum* were joyned and rallied again; that they drew out and bid the Conquerour Battel, and had absolutely turned the Fortune of the Field by a very bloody Engagement, and total Rout of the *Vitellian* Army. That which put him upon inventing this Story, was a Design to get *Otho's* Orders for pressing of Carriages obeyed, which upon the supposition of his Death, would be utterly neglected as null and void. And accordingly, it took effect so far, that *Census* went Post to *Rome* by this means, but within a few days he was taken and executed by Order of *Vitellius*. In the mean while this Rumor, however groundless, rendred the Senator's case more difficult and dangerous; for *Otho's* Soldiers partial to their own Interest, firmly believed all this Account to be true; and their hasty removal from *Mutina*, made the Matter still worse, because this plainly look'd like quitting the Party with all the Formalities of a Council of State. After this therefore they consulted every Man his own Safety, and met no more in a Body, nor conferred at all together concerning any publick Business, till such time as Letters from *Fabius Valens* brought a full Account of the posture of Affairs, and set their Hearts at ease from Doubts and Fears.

The Death of *Otho* would be sure to spread faster, in proportion to the Discourse, which so extraordinary an Action must needs create. But the News was received at *Rome* without any Commotion at all: Things went on in their usual Course, The Plays of *Ceres*, then depending, received no Interruption from it; but as soon as they received certain Intelligence in the Theatre, that

that *Otho* was dead, and that *Flavius Sabinus*, Governor of the City, had taken the Oaths of Allegiance to *Vitellius* from all the Soldiers in *Rome*, the whole House immediately clap'd and huzza'd for *Vitellius*. The People crowned with Garlands of Flowers and Laurel, carried the Images of *Galba* about the Temples in Procession, and when they came to *Curtius's* Lake, where *Galba* stained the ground with his last Blood, there they heaped up Chaplets and Flowers in form of a Tomb to his Honour. The Senate immediately decreed all the Titles and Honours to *Vitellius* upon his first accession to the Throne, which were given formerly by Degrees, and merited by long and prudent administration of the Government. They likewise voted Thanks and Commendation to the *German* Armies, and appointed a Messenger on purpose to carry their Congratulations. *Fabius Valens* his Letter to the Consuls was likewise read; and though the Account were written with a becoming Temper and Modesty enough; yet *Cæcina* was thought to do better, and to express more Respect, in not presuming to write at all.

But in the mean while *Italy* was so far from finding ease by the determining of the War, that it was more insupportably harassed than before. *Vitellius* his Soldiers, who were quartered about in the Towns and Villages, for Plunder, Robberies, Outrages, Rapes, exceeded all the Oppressions of the most calamitous War; They paid no regard to Laws, or Right, or Order, or were Mercenary at best, and only to be bought off from committing Insolencies and Injuries, in which they made no distinction between Persons or Things sacred or profane. This gave such colour for Villany, that some, who bore secret grudges, would habit themselves like Soldiers, and murder their Enemies under that disguise. And the Soldiers themselves, being well acquainted with the Country, marked out the richest Farms,

Farms, and wealthiest Owners to prey upon, or, in case of resistance, for slaughter and destruction. And for all this Violence no Redress was to be had; by reason the Generals themselves lay open to Censure, and so durst not call their Men to a severe account. *Cecina* was indeed the less greedy of the two, but then he was the more Ambitious and Popular; *Valen's* Extortion and Corruption was scandalously exorbitant, and this disposed him to overlook in others Actions so like his own. In short, so numerous an Army of Horse and Foot, such violent Outrages, Losses, and Injuries, especially at a time, when the Country had been terribly harassed and impoverished by the late Divisions, lay so heavy upon *Italy*, that the poor distressed Inhabitants were driven to the last extremities, and could very hardly support themselves under it.

Vitellius all this while utterly ignorant of the entire Conquest he had won, was advancing forward with the remainder of the *German* Army, and eight thousand *British* Soldiers; thus making provision, as if the whole work of the War lay still upon his hands. Upon this account he left but very few of the old Solders in Quarters; for the Recruits were hastily raised in *Gallia*, to fill up the Legions left behind, out of which he had made a draught of the choice Men: *Hordionius Flaccus* was left to guard the *Rhine*. After some few days march he was met with the Joyful News of his great Success at *Bedriacum*, and of an utter end put to the War by *Orbo's* death. Hereupon he called a solemn Assembly, and express'd himself largely in commendation of his Soldiers, who had signaliz'd their Valour and Fidelity so eminently in that important Action. The Army made it their request, that he would upon this occasion create his Freed man *Asiaticus* a Gentleman of *Rome*; which he declined, and discountenanced the Petition, as an instance of unbecoming Flattery.

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But, as a mark of the inconstancy of his Temper, the Honour he solemnly refused in publick, was given privately at Supper; and so the wretch *Asiaticus*, a vile Slave, and One who laboured to make his Fortunes even by the worst of Practices, had the privilege and distinction of a Ring conferred upon him. About the same time an Express arrived of both *Mauritania's* declaring for him, upon the Death of *Albinus* the Procurator there. Now *Nero* had constituted *Lucceius Albinus* Governour of *Mauritana Cæsariensis*, to which *Galba* had added the Province of *Tingitana*, so that by the administration of both these united in Him, he became Master of a very considerable Strength: No less than Eighteen Cohorts, and Five Wings of regular Troops, besides an infinite number of *Moors*, whose ravaging manner of life had qualified them well for the Service; all these were at his disposal. Upon the death of *Galba* he came over to *Otho*, and not content with *Africa*, resolved to attempt *Spain*, which was cut off from it only by a narrow Gut of the Sea. *Cluvius Rufus* suspecting some ill Design, drew down the Tenth Legion to the Coast, as if his Intention had been to Transport them. Some Officers had been dispatched before, to dispose the *Moors* in favour of *Vitellius* his Pretensions. Which undertaking as several Incidents concurred to facilitate, so did the very great Reputation of the *German Army* in particular. Besides, a rumour there was, that *Albinus* thought Procurator a Title too mean, and had taken upon him the Name of *Juba*, and some other marks of Honour, peculiar to the Kings of that Country. By these Motives the Affections of Men were changed, *Asinius Pollio* Commander of a Wing, and one of *Albinus* his most intimate Friends, and *Festus*, and *Scipio*, Commanders of Cohorts, were surpris'd and slain. *Albinus* himself in his passage from *Tingitana* to *Cæsariensis*, was murdered

dered at the instant he came on shore; and so was his Wife likewise, who voluntarily offered her self to the barbarous Ruffians. *Vitellius* gave himself no great trouble to examine into these Matters; as indeed his way was, to allow but a very slight hearing of Affairs of the greatest Consequence: For in truth he was a Person wholly unfit for Business.

His Army being ordered to march by Land, He himself chose a Water passage; and embarked upon the River *Araris*, but without any Equipage suitable to a Prince, and only remarkable for his old fordid Figure. At length *Junius Blasus* Governour of *Gallia Lugdunensis*, a Person of Noble Birth, and generous Disposition, and of an Estate agreeable to the Greatness both of his Soul and Family, provided him with decent Retinue, and attended him very honourably himself; a piece of Respect not at all acceptable; but *Vitellius* however concealed his dislike under the disguise of fulsome Complements.

At *Lions* he was met by the Officers both of *Otho's* Armies and his own: *Valens* and *Cæcina* he commended in publick Assembly, and placed them on each side of his Chair of State; Then the whole Army was ordered to draw out, and present themselves to his little Son, Whom his Father took in his Arms, and having ordered him to be arrayed in Royal Robes, he gave him the additional Name of *Germanicus*. This excess of Honour done him in Prosperity, was afterward some Comfort in his Misfortunes. As for the Reception which *Otho's* Party found, the most vigorous Officers, and such as had most distinguished themselves, were put to death: A barbarous piece of Conduct, which gave the chief provocation to the *Illyrian* Forces to fall off from *Vitellius*; though other Legions too, whether catching the Infection of so contagious a Disease as Sedition, or whether out of Envy to the *German* Forces, were

were contriving some Commotions. *Suetonius Paulinus*, and *Licinius Proculus*, were long detained in sad suspense; at last, when admitted to Audience, they made Apologies, more agreeable to their present Apprehensions and Distress, than becoming their own Honour and Virtue: Charging themselves with Perfidiousness; and alledging, that the length of so tiresome a March before they came to Action, the fatigue of the Soldiers, the encumbrance of the Baggage drawn up in the body of their Army, and whatever other Circumstances, (whether owing to Inconsideration or perfectly Accidental) contributed to the ruin of *Otho's* Army, were all Contrivances of Theirs to promote *Vitellius* his Interest and Success. All which *Vitellius* believed, and forgave their former Services to *Otho*, for this pretended Fidelity to Him. *Salvius Titianus Otho's* Brother, was in no danger; His Relation to the Emperor sufficiently excused his good affection to the Party, and his Inability to serve it, rendred him too dispicable to suffer. *Marinus Celsus* was in so good Grace, that the Consulship was saved to him. There was indeed a Report, that *Cæcilius Simplex* had offered to purchase both that Office, and *Celsus* his Death, and this was publickly laid to his Charge in the Senate: But if it were so, *Vitellius* would not suffer the Proposal to take effect; For *Simplex* was made Consul afterwards, without the expence either of his Virtue or his Money. *Trachalus* was fiercely laid at, but *Galeria* the Empress skreen'd him from all the Malice of his Accuser. Among these Risques of Great Men, I must not omit one of a very mean one, though it be almost a shame to tell it. One *Maricus*, (Prodigious!) a *Boian*, poorly descended, would needs be pushing his Fortune, and after a most impious and blasphemous manner provoked the *Roman* Forces to his destruction; He assumed the Title of a God, the Tutelar and Patron of
Gallia,

Gallia, and with a Body of eight thousand Men, had terrified, or won over several Towns of the *Aedui*: But that Wise State immediately muster'd up their Strength, and with the assistance of some additional Forces from *Vitellius*, soon dispersed the Enthusiastick Rabble; *Maricus* was taken in the Action, and afterwards exposed to Wild Beasts, but not devoured by them; which confirmed the silly People in their belief of his being invulnerable and more than Man; But *Vitellius* took care to confute that wild Imagination, and had him put to death in his own presence.

This was all the severity used, either against the Persons, or the Estates of that Faction. The Wills of those who died in Arms for *Orbo* were allowed to take place, and where any died Intestate, the Law had its usual course. The Emperor indeed gave no great ground of apprehensions from Avarice, if he could but have moderated his Luxury; but his Appetite and Gluttony were shameful and insatiable. *Rome* and *Italy* were Ranackt, not so much to satisfy, as to provoke it, and the Roads from either Sea continually full of Higglers and Caterers. The principal Members of the several States were absolutely ruined with expensive Entertainments, nay the very Cities themselves were wasted and exhausted. The Soldiers grew Effeminate and Cowardly, softned by Ease and Pleasure, and made Insolent by the despicableness of their Master. An Edi&ct was sent before him to *Rome*, declaring, that he would not yet be styled *Augustus*; nor *Cæsar* at all; but however nice he might be in Names or Titles, he abated nothing in the Substance, and the Power exercised by them who were called so. The Astrologers were about this time banished *Italy*; and a severe Inhibition against any Gentleman of *Rome* degrading his Character by Fencing or Acting publickly in the Theatre; which in former Reigns they had even been forced to do, sometimes for hire, and sometimes

times upon compulsion. And not *Rome* only, but several Free-Towns and Colonies led by her Example, used great industry to encourage the debauched young Men in this practice of playing Prizes for Money.

But *Vitellius*, upon the Instigation of his Brother, and some other Masters in Tyranny taken into his Councils, grew much more insolent and cruel. An instance whereof he gave, in ordering *Dolabella* to be put to death, who (as was observed before) had been formerly confined to *Aquine* by *Otho*. Upon the news of *Otho's* death, *Dolabella* thought himself at liberty to return to *Rome*. The doing so was urged against him as a Crime, and prosecution entred upon it before *Flavius Sabinus*, at the Suit of *Plautius Varus*, lately Prætor, and one of *Dolabella's* particular friends; and the Action was laid thus, That *Dolabella* had broke Prison, and profered to head the conquered Party. As a confirmation whereof it was alledged, that he had been tampering with a Cohort quartered then at *Hestia* for the same purpose; but all these allegations were without any manner of proof; and *Varus*, when too late, repented of his Villany, and begged pardon after the Accusation had taken effect. Whilst *Flavius Sabinus* was in some dispute with himself, how to proceed in a matter of such difficulty and consequence, *Triaria* the Wife of *Lucius Vitellius*, a Woman of a Masculine and bloody Spirit, admonished him to have a care how he affected the Character of Clemency, at the hazard and expence of the Emperors safety. He, whose temper was naturally gentle, yet upon the impulse of fear, was easily diverted; and willing to secure himself, rather than draw another Man's danger upon his own Head, help'd to thrust a falling Man down, to avoid all suspicion of supporting him. *Vitellius* stimulated by Fear, and Indignation, and Revenge, (for he bore *Dolabella* a secret grudge for marrying *Petronia* his Divorced

vorced Wife) sent for him to appear before him; but gave Orders withal, that instead of coming publicly by the *Flaminian Road*. they should go the private way by the *Interramna*, where care was taken to have him murdered in his passage. But the Villain who had the Commission was in haste to execute it, and therefore without waiting such tedious Orders, surpris'd him in an Inn upon the Road, and when he had him down cut his Throat. This drew a mighty odium upon the new Government, and Men were apt to form a judgment of what would follow by the manner of this first setting out. The bold forwardness of *Triaria*, though it wanted no aggravation, was yet set off in Colours more odious, by comparison with two very different Examples, in persons nearest related to her, both in quality and blood. *Galeria*, I mean, the Emperor's own Wife, who never added to the weight of other's misfortunes, nor exasperated her Husband against the Enemies who lay at his Mercy; and *Sextilia* the Mother of the *Vitellii*, a Lady of equal goodness, and one who retained all the good qualities of the so much celebrated Matrons in former Ages. She at the hearing of her Son's first Letters, was said to ask, who that *Germanicus* was; for she knew of no Child of hers by any other name than *Vitellius*. And in the promotion of her Family, she shewed such temper and moderation, that no advantages of Fortune, no Court made to her by the State, could transport or exalt her: but in other respects, in appearance unmoved, the Calamities only of her Family affected her.

Upon the Emperor's leaving *Lyons*, he was overtaken by *Cluvius Rufus*, who came from his Government in *Spain*, to Congratulate *Vitellius's* accession to the Throne. But, whatever cheerfulness might appear in his Countenance, it is certain he had heaviness in his Heart, as being very sensible, that Articles of Accusation

culation had been exhibited against him. For *Hilarinus*, *Caesar's* Freed-Servant, had represented him, as a Person, who upon the dispute between *Orto* and *Vitellius*, had declined closing with either of the contending Interests, and aimed at a separate Sovereignty of his own; As a proof whereof it was urged, that he had given out Orders, without prefixing any Emperor's Name to them: To confirm this suspicion the more, some ill Constructions were made of Speeches delivered by him in publick, reflecting upon *Vitellius*, and smelling rank of Popularity. But how far soever he had designed either the lessening others, or ingratiating and recommending himself, yet in effect his Credit and Character was so much superior to that of the Informer, that he prevailed with *Vitellius* to punish his Accuser, and suffer Him to make a part of his Retinue. Not only so, but even to continue to him the Government of *Spain* in his absence, of which indeed there was a Precedent in *L. Aruntius*. Though there the Case was different too; For *Tiberius* kept him in his Eye, because he durst not trust him at a distance; whereas this indulgence to *Cluvius* was not the Effect of Fear but Favour. *Trebellius Maximus* was not so kindly used. He had been forced to quit *Britain* in his own defence, to avoid the rage of tumultuous Soldiers; and yet without any regard to the necessity of his Retreat, *Vespius Bolanus* was put into his Government.

But that which gave *Vitellius* greatest disturbance in the present posture of Affairs, was the invincible Spirit of the Legions routed at *Bedriacum*. These were quartered in several parts of *Italy*, and mixed with some others of those that won the Field; but eternally giving out angry words, and especially the Fourteenth (who were particularly remarkable for valuing themselves) denied, and would not endure to have it thought, that they were ever beaten; but a few, they said, and those

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only

only some of the *Vexillary* Troops, ever gave ground in that Battle; but for the main Body of the Legion, 'tis well known, they were never brought into the Field. To rid their Hands of these troublesome People, it was thought fit to send them back again to *Britain*, from whence *Nero* had drawn them in his distress; and, for a check upon their Insolence, the *Batavian* Cohorts were ordered to bear them company, between whom and this Legion there had never been any good agreement. It was not to be imagined, that Soldiers thus piqued should long continue peaceable together. Accordingly at *Turin*, a *Batavian* fell foul upon a Tradesman upon pretence of cheating him; a Legionary Soldier, who lodged in his House, took his Landlord's part; and presently a Croud of each Party getting together, they fell from words to blows. A great deal of blood had been spilt in this Fray, but that two *Prætorian* Cohorts, interposing in behalf of the Legion, gave them a manifest advantage, and overawed the *Batavian* Faction. Finding therefore a necessity of separating such dangerous Neighbours, *Vitellius*, in acknowledgment of the *Batavian's* Fidelity, took them into his own Guard, and commanded the Legion to march by the Way of the *Græcian Alpes*, so to miss *Vienna*; for the Emperor did not care to trust them in a place of whose Inhabitants he entertained some jealousy. The night the Legion went from *Turin*, part of the City was burnt, by the fires they left behind them; a mischief though lamentable in it self, yet, like many others in that War, forgot and lost in the croud of so many dismal Disasters and Calamities, under which other Cities smarted much more severely. As soon as they got over the *Alpes*, some of the forwardest in Sedition were for bending their course to *Vienna*, but this was over-ruled by the greater and more regular part of the Legion, so that in fine to *Britain* they came.

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The next thing which gave *Vitellius* uneasy apprehensions, was the *Prætorian Cohorts*. The Course he took here, was first to dispose of them in separate Quarters; afterwards to disband them; which was done in the softest and most honourable manner, by commanding them to give up their Arms to their Tribunes, and so dismissing them, as persons for whose service the State had no farther occasion at present. And thus they continued, till the War was begun by *Vespasian*, at which time they returned into the Service, but were then the great support of the *Flavian* Faction. The first Legion of Marines were sent into *Spain*, that Peace and Ease might soften their Tempers. The Thirteenth employed in building Amphitheatres. For *Cæcina* had a Project of entertaining the Emperor at *Cremona*, with a prize of Gladiators; and *Valens* designed the same Diversion for him at *Bononia*: For *Vitellius*, (to give him his due) was never so intent upon any business, but that pleasure was always uppermost, always seasonable and welcome to him. And thus he had, with prudence and temper enough, managed his design of keeping the discontented Party at a convenient distance from one another.

But even his own Party were not without their disorders. At * *Ticinum* particularly a furious Sedition took fire, the beginning of which was ridiculous and trifling, but the number of those that lost their lives, the angry resentments it left behind, and the odium it drew upon the whole War in general, made it a very sad and serious matter: The case was this. *Vitellius* was at Supper, and *Virginus* admitted to the Table with him. Now it may be observed by the way, that, as the Officers form their Manners after the Pattern set them by the Emperor, and affect to imitate his Sobriety, or Debauches; so do the Private Soldiers likewise proportion their Regularity or their Extravagance,

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according

according to the Practice and Example of their Officers. Hence it was, that about *Vitellius*, and in all that belonged to him, there was nothing to be found but Confusion and Dissoluteness of Manners; and roaring more like the Revels of Bacchanals, and rudeness of Debauchees, than a Camp which should pretend to Discipline and Order. (But to return to our Story.) As the Emperor and *Verginius* were eating together Two Soldiers in a frolick, the one belonging to the Fifth Legion, the other of the Auxiliaries from *Gallia*, were Wrestling for a tryal of Skill. At last they grew eager and warm in their play; the *Gaul*, upon giving the Legionary Soldier the Fall, insulted upon his advantage to that degree, that the Spectators took fire, and began to concern themselves in the Quarrel. At last the Legionaries came pouring in, fell upon the Auxiliaries, and two Cohorts perished in the Fray.

This Tumult was composed by another. For a mighty Dust, and the glittering of Arms being descryed, in motion that way, the common cry was presently, that the Fourteenth Legion had changed the course of their March, and were coming to attack them. The matter indeed was no other, than the Rear-guard of their own Camp in motion. Upon the perceiving who they were, all their apprehensions vanished. In the mean while a Servant of *Verginius*, who happened to pass that way, was seized and charged with an Intention to Assassinate *Vitellius*; a jealousy which had taken such strong possession of the Soldiers, that they ran to the very Room, where the Emperor was at Meat, and one and all demanded *Verginius* his blood. There was not the least suspicion, nor any doubt of his Innocency, not even in *Vitellius* his own Breast, though of all Men living the most diffident, and apt to entertain even groundless apprehensions of this kind: And yet, it was not without great difficulty, that

that a Man of so clear a Character, of the first Quality, and formerly their General, was preserved, and the senseless Fury of the Rabble restrained. It is observable indeed, that upon every fresh Mutiny, the Danger fell harder upon no Man, than upon *Verginius*. Not but that the Soldiers had the same Honor and Esteem for him as ever, but the Truth is, they thought themselves slighted, and could never forgive the refusal of the Offers made him, upon *Otho's* Death.

The next day *Vitellius* gave Audience to the Embassy sent to him from the Senate, and when That was over, he went to the Camp, and enlarged much in commendation of the Duty and Affection, which his Soldiers had expressed toward him; But the Auxiliaries were in deep discontent, and grumbled extremely at the abominable Insolence of the Legions, and the Impunity they enjoyed, and the very partial Distribution of Justice and Discipline, between these different sort of Men. The *Batavian* Cohorts were remanded into *Germany*, purely for prevention of some mischievous Design, which they seemed ripe for: Fate, it seems, beginning then to lay the Foundation of a Foreign, as well as Domestick War. The Auxiliaries taken from *Gallia* were returned to their several Societies again, who were indeed very numerous, and taken in only to make somewhat of a Figure, at the first appearing of *Vitellius* in Arms. Nay more, he ordered the Legions and Auxiliaries to be reduced, and prohibited any Recruits for the filling up vacant Places; and all this, for fear the Treasure of the Empire being ill managed and wasted before, should not hold out for his own Prodigality; Frequent offers too were made of discharging any, who were inclined to quit the Service; which proved of very fatal Consequence to the Publick, and was very ill resented by the Sol-

diers themselves. For now the Number was diminished, the trouble returned very thick upon them; for still the same course of Duty must be kept up. And as their Fatigue increased, so they grew every day less qualified to endure it; for their natural Strength was perfectly wasted and over-born with Luxury and Riot; and Matters were now the very Reverse of that so much celebrated Discipline, and Rule of the Old Romans, when the publick Safety was better secured by Virtue than by Wealth; and the Qualities of the Men were a stronger Defence, than their Arms or their Numbers.

From thence *Vitellius* turned off to *Cremona*, and after the Entertainment provided there by *Cæcina*, he was mighty desirous to entertain himself with a much more tragical Spectacle. Nothing would satisfy him, but go he must to *Bedriacum*, to take a view of the Plains, and with his own Eyes run over the Marks and Monuments of his late Victory. How dismal an Object this must needs be, let the Reader judge, when I tell him, it was less than forty days after the Engagement, and nothing to be seen but mangled Bodies, Limbs cut off, putrified Carcasses of Men and Horses, the Air and Ground tainted with Gore and Stench; a miserable Face of Desolation and Hawock, Trees and Corn cut down and trampled under foot, and a Field fattened with Blood and Flesh of Romans. Nor was it less shocking to Men of humanity and compassion, after so dismal a slaughter of Brethren and Fellow-Citizens, to observe the officious and most unseasonable Ceremony paid by the Inhabitants of *Cremona*. The way strewn with Laurel and Flowers; Altars erected, Victims slain, and all the publick Demonstrations of Joy usual at the reception of Princes

* *Ara ista & Victimæ Vitellii genio & victoriæ. Fæda sed verus adulator, &c. Lips.*

Princes, upon their return from Conquests over Foreigners and Barbarians. Which Complement how full of gality soever then, was yet paid dear for afterwards, and became an occasion of their Ruin. *Valens* and *Cacina* attended him, and explained the whole method of the Fight, shewed him the several parts of the Field, how the Forces were posted; from whence the several Parties sallied, and where they engaged. The Tribunes also and Præfects were very lavish in extolling, each the Exploits himself had done; and did not scruple to give Truth some Advantage in the Representation, by the Addition of some things which exceeded the Truth. The private Soldiers too, over-joyed to see the Marks of their own Success, could not forbear leaving the common way with Shouts and Triumphs, to refresh their Memories with the several Scenes of Action, gazing with wonder at the vast Pile of Arms, and Heaps of slain. Some good natured People indeed there were, whom this sad Object affected very tenderly; The strange vicissitudes of Fortune, and the sense of common Humanity melted them into Compassion, and drew Tears from their Eyes; But as for *Vitellius*, he was not observed once to change Countenance, at the gastly sight of so many thousand Countrymen of his own lying mangled and unburied; Quite contrary, he expressed a sensible satisfaction, and without any manner of regard to a Calamity so nearly concerning him, offered a Sacrifice of Thanks to the Gods of that place, for their Favour in prospering the Battel fought there.

After this, *Fabius Valens* diverted him with a very magnificent Spectacle of Gladiators at *Benonia*, the whole Furniture whereof was brought on purpose from *Rome*. And this is remarkable, that the nearer he approached to the City, the more luxurious and dissolute Figure he made; so that now whole Gangs of Players,

and Eunuchs, and the rest of the Scandals and Buffooneries of *Nero's* Court were mixed with his *Retinue*. And indeed *Vitellius* himself was a great Companion and Admirer of *Nero*, in his most unprincipally follies; attending him in his Serenades, not upon constraint, as some very vertuous Persons were obliged to do, but perfectly upon choice, and for the gratifying his own luxurious Appetite to which he was become an absolute Slave.

To do Honour to *Cecina* and *Valens*, the time of some other Person's Consulate was shortned, that They might come in to the remaining open Months; *Martius Macer*, who stood nearer in course, was put by, upon the account of his commanding under *Otho*: *Valerius Marinus*, designed by *Galba* to that Office, was postponed; and this, not upon any pretence of Provocation or Displeasure, but because they knew him to be of a soft Temper, and one that would bear an Affront very tamely. *Pedanius Costa* was wholly laid aside: A Man not well in the Emperor's Esteem, for he had been tampering, even in *Nero's* time, and was the great Instrument in urging *Verginius* to declare for himself; Though *Vitellius* gave other Reasons for proceeding thus with him. And, to shew you how perfectly they were inured to slavery, these Dishonours and Injuries were not only received with a seeming Contentedness, but Thanks returned with great Formality for them.

About this time a famous Imposture began to take place. At first indeed with Credit and Success, but a few days detected the fallacy, and utterly ruined the whole Design. A certain Person pretended himself to be *Scribonianus Camerinus*, forced to abscond in *Iberia*, to secure himself from the Barbarities of *Nero's* Reign, and chusing to do it there, because the Family of the *Crossi* had many Dependencies, and a fair Estate, and that

that Name and Line found great respect there still. This Person, getting a few profligate wretches together, (for the more they were so, the more likely and qualified they were to take Parts in this Farce) some of the credulous vulgar, and private Soldiers, part through an innocent mistake, and part for the dear love of Mutiny, began to flock about him with great zeal. But their Leader was apprehended, and brought before *Vitellius*. Upon Examination he gave such an Account of himself, as no body believed. But while People were still in doubt who he was, his Master owned him; for he was a Slave for Quality, *Geta* by name, had run away from his Master, and was put to his shifts; so the whole Mystery being unravelled, he was punished as his Crime deserved, and in the manner usual for Malefactors of his Condition.

The Expresses, which arrived from *Syria* and *Judaea* brought an Account, that all the Eastern Countries had declared for *Vitellius*, and actually sworn Allegiance to him. What change this News wrought in his Temper, and how much more insolent and haughty, more sortish and stothful he grew upon it, exceeds all belief. For though they were nothing but flying and uncertain reports, yet some reports there were, in favour of *Vespasian*; and yet the very Rumour and Name of *Vespasian* was always observed to give *Vitellius* some uneasiness. But now, both he and his Army, as if got loose from all check and fear of a Competitor, flew out into Cruelty, Lust, Rapine, and in a manner behaved themselves like Men, who had quite forgotten that they were *Romans*.

But still *Vespasian's* thoughts were not idle, he wisely cast about, and considered all Circumstances, the Issue of the War, the Condition of the Army, what Forces he had near, what Assurances he might promise himself from those at a distance; and so computed both
his

his own Strength and his Enemy's. The Soldiers under his own Conduct he had already found so well disposed to him; that when he read the Oath before them, and cried, *God Save Vellius*, they heard him with a profound silence, and would not afford so much as one Huzza to so Solemn an Occasion. *Mucianus* had a good affection for *Vespasian*, and a great and very particular one for *Titus*. *Alexander* the Governour of *Egypt* was already in the Secret. The Third Legion he reckoned in a manner his own, because that was removed out of *Syria* into *Masia*, and the rest of the *Illyrian* Legions, it was hoped, would follow their Example. For indeed all the Armies every where were enraged at the Insolence of the Soldiers sent from *Vellius*; to quarter among them: who valuing themselves upon their grim Aspect, robust Bodies, and rough Speech, treated the rest with Scorn and Contempt. But when the waging a formal War came under debate, this was an Affair that required Time and Caution; and, as *Vespasian* was sometimes tempted to Hope, so was he frequently representing to himself the worst, and had his turn of Discouragement and Fears too. He sometime aggravated to his thoughts the extravagance and unseasonableness of the Attempt; *How odd it must needs look for an Old Man of Threescore, who might pass the small remainder of his days in safety and quiet, to commit himself and his two Sons to the hazard of War: That in private Projects a Man had it always in his power to Retreat, and might trust Fortune as much or as little as he pleased: But where an Empire was the Prize in pursuit, there could be no taking up with a middle State, climbing up to the very Top, or tumbling down to the bottom of the Precipice, must of necessity be the Fate of the Undertaker.* To this Consideration he added, That of the German Army, the Strength whereof was very well understood by a Person so expert in all mat-
ters

ters of War: ' That his own Legions had never engaged in the Civil War at all, whereas those of *Vitellius* were flesh'd with Battles and Success; And for the Conquered Party, though their Complaints were loud, yet their Strength was inconsiderable. That Intestine Divisions had absolutely loosened the Fidelity of the Soldiers, none of them could be depended upon, and any one of them might do mischief enough to make it prudent to fear him. And what would the Guard of Cohorts and Wings signify, if one or two bold Ruffians knew a Reward could be merited from the Enemy, and had Resolution enough to entitle himself to it, by a secret Assassination? Was not *Seribonianus* killed thus under *Claudianus*, and did not his murderer *Volaginius* raise himself by the Fact, from a private Soldier to one of the best Posts in the Army? In short, that it was easier by much to work upon all in general, than to secure ones self from the Attempts of each Person singly.

His Friends and principal Officers, observing the suspense these Reflections created, endeavoured their utmost to fix him; And *Mucianus* after many Conferences with him in private, at last accosted him thus in publick.

' The great Considerations which in all undertakings of Importance ought to be diligently weighed, are, whether the Design be advantagious to the Publick, for ones own Honour, and ease, or at least not extremely difficult, to be effected. And if any Person in such a Case shall presume to Advise, we are then too to consider well, whether he be content to second his Advice, by engaging in the Attempt, and running the same risque himself; and likewise, supposing the Project to succeed, where the greatest share of the Honour and Benefit will rest at last. Now by these Measures I desire to be judged, who am inviting You,

' *Vespasian,*

Vespasian, to take the Empire upon your self: The Design is commendable, both for the great Good it will bring to the State in general, and the Honour it will derive upon your Person and Family in particular. The thing is feasible, and next under Providence, absolutely in your own power. Think not I meant to flatter, the Subject will not bear it; To be chosen Successor to *Vitellius*, if it be no Disgrace, 'tis certain it can pretend to no Commendation: Consider whom you have to contend with; not the Application and Activity of *Augustus*, not the prudent and cautious Old Age of *Tiberius*, not the Family of *Caesar*, or *Claudius*, or *Nero*, which hath established it self by a long continued Succession; Nay, you were so far from interfering with these, that you gave Precedence to the Antiquity and Quality of *Galba's* Descent. In such Circumstances, to drudge and doze on, and suffer the Commonwealth to be corrupted and destroyed, is not Modesty, but rather Stupidity, and Littleness of Soul: Thus much were proper to urge, though the continuing in this Slavery were really as safe for you, as it is most certainly dishonourable. But that is now no longer the Case; You have been long thought to hanker after the Government, and have no other refuge left to secure your self, but that of actually seizing it. Is it possible that the Murder of *Corbulo* should be so soon forgotten? 'Tis confess'd indeed, his Birth was Noble, and the Character of his Family above ours; but then it ought to be remembered withal, that *Nero* had as much the Advantage of *Vitellius*, in the very same respect. But to remove that Scruple, 'tis sure, a Person feared is sufficiently Noble, in the esteem of him who is afraid of him: As little ought your distance from *Rome* to discourage you, since *Vitellius* hath taught us by his own Example, that the Army

' may make an Emperor; nay they made Him, as
 ' they cannot make You; for He had never served,
 ' never signaliz'd himself at all; and owed his promo-
 ' tion in truth, not to any regard or affection to Him,
 ' but purely to their aversion against *Galba*. And yet
 ' that Case is now so much his own, that He hath
 ' raised even *Orbo's* Character, and made Him appear
 ' a mighty Prince and a desirable Governour, when
 ' put into the Balance with *Vitellius*. And so in truth
 ' he was; for *Orbo's* defeat was not properly owing to
 ' the Conduct of the General, or the Power of an
 ' Army superior to His; but to his own impatience
 ' and rash despair. Besides, observe his preposterous
 ' Methods; For while he thus disperses the Legions,
 ' and disbands the Cohorts, he sows new Seeds of War
 ' every day. And for the Forces left about him, if
 ' ever they had any degree of Courage and Vigour,
 ' all That is blunted and worn off, with Sotting, and
 ' Gluttony, and living like their Master. You, on
 ' the other hand, have here in *Syria*, *Judea*, and *E-*
 ' *gypt* Nine Legions complete, such as neither any Bat-
 ' tle hath wasted, nor Mutiny depraved; Your Men
 ' are sufficiently expert and disciplined for Service; and
 ' have the Glory of a Victory over Foreign Enemies:
 ' With these you have the additional Force of Cohorts,
 ' and Wings, and Navies of your own; the Alliance
 ' of Princes firm to your Interest, and, (which is bet-
 ' ter worth, and promises Success more than all the
 ' rest) Your Own Conduct and Experience. As for
 ' my own part, I pretend not to be very considerable,
 ' but yet methinks I may at least be thought as signi-
 ' ficant as *Valens* and *Quina*. Nor would I be lookt
 ' upon as a less valuable Assertor of your Interest, be-
 ' cause I decline the opposing of it by any Competi-
 ' tion for my self. No, Sir, though I think it no Va-
 ' nity to put my self before *Vitellius*, yet I am sensible
 ' how

how far I come behind *Vespasian*. Your Family hath
 great Advantages: You have the Honour and Orna-
 ments of Triumphs, You have two Sons, One every
 way qualified for the Government himself, of an
 established Interest and Reputation with the *German*
 Armies, for the very first Attempts in the Service, by
 which he distinguished himself among them: Won-
 der not then, that I am well content to yield up the
 Empire to the Father of that Son, whom of all Men
 living, were I Emperor my self, I would choose to
 declare my Successor. Besides, to take off all suspi-
 cion of laying this Train for my own Interest; I am
 desirous, that we may not share alike in Prosperity and
 Adversity: For, if we gain our Point, whatever Ho-
 nour you please to confer on me, I shall thankfully
 enjoy; and here 'tis in your power, how far you will
 extend your Favour: But whatever hazards or diffi-
 culties we are press'd with, know, that in Them I
 claim an equal portion; or rather, which is best, do
 You give your self the trouble of Commanding, and
 leave all the Execution and Chance of War to me.
 The danger is not what may be supposed, for even
 the vanquished Party live more regularly, than their
 Conquerors: In Them Anger, and Indignation, and
 desire of Revenge is a powerful incentive to do Va-
 liantly, but These are perfectly enervated and stupi-
 fied, through Ease, and Insolence, and contempt of
 Discipline. These disorders are visible and scanda-
 lous, but many other secret and growing Evils there
 are, in this Body bloated with Conquest, which the
 violent fermentation of a War will soon ripen and
 disclose. And to speak freely, Even Your Vigilance,
 and Temperance, and Wisdom, (great and promising
 as they are,) do not yet create in me more confidence
 of Success, than I conceive from the Sloth and Luxury,
 the Ignorance and Barbarity of *Vitellius*. But, to en-
 force

' force all the rest, let us consider, that our Condition
' in War is safer, than Peace can possibly make it; for
' the very debating, whether we should take Arms or
' no, is in effect an actual taking of them.

After *Mucianus* had thus declared himself, several others took the greater liberty of addressing to him; they urged him with Entreaties, and fresh Arguments; put him in mind of the Answers of Oracles, and observed to him the propitious Aspects of the Heavens: (And here they hit his humour, for how much he was addicted to such kind of Superstitions, is manifest from the stress he laid upon the Judgment of *Seleucus* the Astrologer; who after he was settled in the Empire, was consulted constantly, and his direction taken in all Matters of Importance.) This brought some old Omens to his remembrance. That (for instance) of a very tall Cypress Tree in his Ground, which fell flat down all on the sudden, and the day following was found standing again in the same place, only loftier, and larger, and more verdant than before: This was declared by all the Soothsayers unanimously, to portend something exceeding auspicious and great, and particularly some Eminent Dignity to *Vespasian*, who was then but very young. But the splendor of his Triumphs, his promotion to the Consulship, the Glory of the Conquest over *Judea*; these seemed at first to have made good the Presages; but when These were attained to, and over, he was content to believe some farther signification in them, and that the Empire was their full accomplishment.

There is between *Syria* and *Judea* a Mountain called *Carmel*, the God of the place hath likewise the same Name; who hath indeed an Altar and Devotion paid him here, but without any Temple, or Image to represent him. As *Vespasian* was Sacrificing there, at a time when his Thoughts were employ'd, and his
Mind

Mind rais'd with some secret Hopes in forming this Design, *Agrippa* the Priest observing the Entrails of the Sacrifice very diligently, at last cry'd out, *Whatever project you are about, Vespasian, Whether it be the Building of a House, or the enlarging your Estates, or the multiplying of Slaves, all will succeed: For Fate hath ordain'd you a noble Seat, a vast quantity of Land, and a bundance of Men.* This intricate Answer was quickly nois'd abroad, and now Men began very freely to explain it. Nothing was a more common subject of Discourse; nothing more frequently mention'd in his own Presence; for, to be sure, the more Men feed themselves up with Hopes and Expectations, the more assiduous their Creatures are to encourage them in it. At last they came to a determinate Resolution, and *Mucianus* having concerted all matters, went for *Antioch*, the Capital City of *Syria*, as *Vespasian* did to *Cæsarea*, the Chief City of *Judea*. But *Tiberius Alexander* prevented all the rest, for he took the Oath of Fealty from the Legions under his Command the First of *July*; and so *Vespasian* was acknowledg'd and proclaim'd Emperor in *Egypt* before any other Province. And This accordingly was reckon'd and solemnly kept, as the Day of his Inauguration to the Empire, tho' the Jewish Army, of which himself was General, did not profess their Allegiance to him till the Third of *July*. But then they did it in his Presence with so warm a Zeal, that they had not patience to stay for *Titus's* return out of *Syria*, who was the Person constantly entrusted with all Passages and Matters concert'd between his Father and *Mucianus*. All was done in heat and hurry; the Soldiers eagerness not allowing leisure for any Preparation or Cavalcade, or solemn Harangue, or the drawing up of the Legions together, or the rest of the Ceremonies usual upon those Occasions. Nay, before so much as Time and Place

were

Place were appointed or that it was agreed on, who should first break the Design, which is a most difficult Point in such Cases, while Hope and Fear, Reason and Chance were under his Contemplation, *Vespasian*, upon his Levée was saluted by the Soldiers of the Guard, with the Title of *Emperor* instead of *General*: and these were immediately follow'd by the rest with Acclamations, calling him *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, and giving him all the Appellations which denote Imperial Power. The Diffidence which before possess'd his Mind was now chang'd into a Resolution of trusting his Fortune. In this Change of Affairs he appear'd the same Man, without any thing of Pride or Arrogance; but as soon as his Thoughts were settled upon the Surprize of this Alteration, he made 'em a Soldierlike Speech, and all things on every side look'd promising and successful; for *Mucianus*, who staid only for this Juncture, had before brought over the Army to *Vespasian's* Party. Then entering the Theatre at *Antioch*, their place of meeting about Publick Business, he made a handsome Harangue to the Multitudes who came from all Parts to Complement him; he being well skill'd in *Greek* Eloquence, and one who well understood to give a becoming Air and Grace to all his Speeches and Actions. Nothing had more incens'd the People of that Province as well as the Soldiery, than what *Mucianus* had given out, That *Vitellius* had resolv'd that the German Legions should take their Quarters in Syria, a plentiful Country and undisturb'd; and that on the contrary, the Syrian Legions should Winter in Germany, a place of extreme Cold and Hardship. For the Soldiers themselves had continued so long in those Parts, that they were perfectly well acquainted and easie there, and began to like and love the Country, as their own Native Soil. All Parties thus disposed to Consent, the whole Province of Syria was in Fealty to *Vespasian*, before the Fifteenth of July.

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Sobremus

Sobemus, a Prince of considerable Strength, and all his Subjects came in to the Confederacy, so did *Antiochus*, by far the wealthiest of all the Kings that were Tributary to the Roman State. After a little time, *Agrippa*, upon private Intelligence received from home, slipped away from *Rome*, and, unknown to *Vitellius*, took a hasty Voyage to his own Territories, that he might fix himself in this new Interest. Nor was Queen *Berenice* less zealous in the Cause; a Princess in the perfection of Youth and Beauty, but she had other Charms for old *Vespasian*, to whom she chiefly recommended her self by the many and magnificent Presents she made him. All the Provinces of the Sea-coast, as far as *Asia* and *Achaia*, and all the Champain up to *Pontus* and *Armenia*, declared and swore Obedience likewise. But the Governours in these Parts had no Forces to defend themselves, for as yet there had been no Legions settled in *Cappadocia*.

The Generals had appointed a Grand Consultation at *Berytus*, for adjusting all Matters relating to the management of Affairs. Hither came *Mutianus* with many General Officers and Tribunes, and such of the Centurions and private Soldiers, as were capable of making the best Figure; The Flower and Gayety of the Jewish Army met him here likewise. So great an appearance of Horse and Foot, and the vast retinues of Princes, who seemed ambitious to outvie one another, made up the Splendor and Majesty of a Court truly Imperial.

The first great care in order to the War, was to levy new Men, and to invite the old and disbanded Soldiers to return into the Service again. Then several Cities of Strength were assigned, for making Arms and other Implements of War: At *Antioch* a Mint was erected, and Gold and Silver Money coined; and all these things were inspected by proper Officers, each

in their several places. Nor was *Vespasian* himself wanting, in following the Measures agreed upon; for He in Person would often go among the Officers and Workmen, to quicken and encourage them; the Diligent he excited by his Commendations, the Slothful and Negligent he roused by his Example; always choosing rather to win them by gentle Methods, than compel them by Severity and Correction; and more apt to cover and seemingly overlook the Faults and Failings of his Friends, than to conceal their Vertues and Deserts. Several he rewarded with Commissions in the Army and Governments of Provinces; others by conferring upon them the Dignity of Senators, Persons, for the generality, of just and great worth, and such as afterwards raised themselves to the principal Posts in the Government: though in some few indeed Fortune supplied the place of Merit. As for Largess to the Soldiers, which, upon turns of State especially, used to be most exorbitant, *Mucianus* in his first Harangue, took care not to raise their Expectations too much; and *Vespasian* was by no means likely to exceed in this particular; For even in this Civil War, he never offered more, than others used to give in times of the profoundest Peace: And this obstinate aversion of his from all profuseness in Donatives, was one very great reason, why his Army was in better Order and Condition than any of the rest.

Then Embassies were dispatched to the Kings of *Parthia* and *Armenia*, and good care taken to secure the Frontiers; that no mischief might happen by any foreign IncurSIONs, while the Legions were employed in the Civil War. It was agreed, that *Titus* should carry on the Jewish Expedition, that *Vespasian* should possess himself of the Key and Passes of *Egypt*, and that *Mucianus* should prosecute the War against *Vitellius*; For his Appearance and Conduct, and a part of the

Forces, and the mere Name of *Vespasian*, were esteemed sufficient against such an Enemy; especially, when Fate had declared for that side, which either knows no difficulties, or Conquers all with Ease.

Letters were dispersed to the several Armies, and their respective Commanders in Chief, requiring them to bring in the old *Prætorian* Soldiers, who bore a grudge to *Vitellius*; and to offer them Bounty-money in case they return'd to their Arms. *Mucianus* set forward with a light Army himself, bearing the Post rather of a Partner in the Empire, than an Officer in it. His Marches he temper'd so prudently, as not to give the Enemy reason to suspect him of Fear by advancing too slow, and yet at the same time to give leisure for Fame to go before him, by not moving too fast: For he was conscious that his own Strength was not Formidable of it self, and wisely considered, that Report always magnifies things at a distance. But the Sixth Legion, and a detachment of Thirteen Thousand *Vexillaries* followed after in a great Body. The Fleet was ordered from *Pontus* to *Byzantium*; and he was in some dispute with himself, whether he should not rather leave *Mæsia*, and march his Horse and Foot directly to *Dyrrachium*; and at the same time block up the Sea toward *Italy* with great Ships; Care being taken to secure all *Asia* and *Achaia* behind him, which, had they not been stoutly Garrisoned, must have lain at *Vitellius* his mercy, without any possibility of defending themselves. By this Method *Vitellius* would be at a loss, which part of *Italy* he should cover, if a Land Army should come before *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*, and the Coasts of *Lucania* and *Calabria* were at the same time alarmed by an Enemy's Fleet.

And now, upon the former Resolutions being taken, all the Provinces were employed in Preparations; and nothing but building of Ships, raising Men, and making
 Arms,

Arms, was to be seen or heard. But that which gave them the greatest difficulty, was the raising of Money; which *Mucianus* upon all occasions used to call *The Sinews of War*: And he pursued this Notion so far, that without any regard to the Manner or the Justice of procuring it, the only thing he seemed to have any concern for, was the Greatness of the Sum. To serve this purpose, frequent Informations took place, and Estates so greedily confiscated upon them, that the Wealthier any Man was, the nearer and surer he was to be devoured; Which Oppressions were in truth insupportable; and, however the Necessities of the State might be alledged in mitigation of them while the War continued, yet those vile Practices did not cease with the Extremities that gave them countenance. Peace had its notorious Extortions too; and *Vespasian* himself, though in the beginning of his Reign he took unreasonable and unjust ways of squeezing the People with some sort of Remorse; yet afterwards emboldened by Prosperity, and confirmed by the Examples and Instructions of very ill Masters, he learned the Art of Wickedness apace, and exercised it without any fear or relenting. 'Tis true indeed, *Mucianus* contributed largely to the expence of the War, but 'tis as true, that he found his Account in it; for, by advancing Money out of his own Purse, he gained an opportunity of reimbursing himself so much more largely out of the Publick Stock. And, although a great many followed his Example of advancing supplies for carrying on the War, yet few, if any, took the liberty, or had the power indeed, to pay themselves again with so exorbitant Interest.

Vespasian's Designs in the mean while were very happily advanced, by the zeal and affection of the Armies in *Illyricum*. The Third Legion coming over to his side, set a very encouraging Example to the rest of

the Legions in *Mæſia*. The Eighth, and likewise the Seventh, ſurnamed the *Claudian*, had been heartily in *Otho's* Interests; though not concerned in the determining Battle: For, having reached no farther than *Aquileia*, the News of the Defeat met them there. Which they received with ſo much Indignation and Rage, that the bringers of it were treated very contumeliously; the Banners with *Vitellius* his Name inſcribed torn to pieces; the Muſter-money ſent to engage them in his Service violently ſeized, and divided among them like common Booty, and in a word, all manner of Hoſtilities were committed by them upon this occaſion. Such Proceedings gave them juſt ground to fear what the Conſequence would be, That Fear put them upon taking new Meaſures, and they quickly came to this opinion, that the Outrages which would ſtand in need of Apologies and Pardon from *Vitellius*, might be well accepted and paſs for an Obligation with *Veſpaſian*. So that, upon the whole matter, the three Legions in *Mæſia*, not only reſolved to eſpouſe this Cauſe themſelves, but diſpatched Letters to the *Pannonian* Army, inviting Them into it likewise, and made preparations for reducing them by force, in caſe they reſuſed to comply with their Propoſals. *Aponius Saturninus*, then Governour of *Mæſia*, took the advantage of this Confuſion, to favour a moſt villainous Attempt: ſending an Officer privately with Orders to Murder *Tertius Julianus*, Commander in Chief of the Seventh Legion; pretending to rid their hands of a dangerous Enemy to the Party and the Publick, but in very deed deſigning to gratifie his own Malice, and revenge a private Quarrel which had been long reſented. But *Julian* had ſome intimation of his Danger, and providing himſelf with truſty Guides, well ſkill'd in the Country, he made his eſcape over the Deſart parts of *Mæſia*, and went on the other ſide Mount *Hæmus*: Nor did he
after

after that appear any more in the Civil War; but pretending to move toward *Vespasian*, he contrived to protract his Journey, and always advanced forward, or industriously delaid his Motions, according to the Intelligence he received, and as the present Posture of Affairs happened to be more or less inviting.

In *Pannonia* the Thirteenth Legion, and the Seventh Surnamed the *Galbian*, still full of resentment for the Defeat at *Bedriacum*, made no difficulty to declare for *Vespasian*: In which they were influenced exceedingly by *Primus Antonius*; A Person obnoxious to the Laws, convicted for Forgery in *Nero's* Reign. But among the many other Misfortunes of War, Impunity to ill Men is not (we know) the least; and He by this means had gotten himself restored to his Dignity of Senatour again, and was so far in *Galba's* good Graces, as to have the Seventh Legion given him. Some think he sent to *Otho* with profers of his Service, but those not being thought worth acceptance, he was not concern'd on either side during that War. Now, as *Vitellius* his Interest began to decline apace, he fell in with *Vespasian*, and did him very considerable Service; for he was a Man of Courage and Activity, of Eloquence and Perswasion; a cunning fomenter of Misrepresentation and Malice; expert at creating Differences, and at blowing them up into Mutiny and Faction; an insatiable Oppressor, and a profuse Giver; Not to be endured in time of Peace when Law could have its free Course, and as little to be neglected in time of War, when Intrigue and mischievous Qualities have so much influence. Thus the *Mælian* and *Pannonian* Armies quickly uniting, brought over the *Dalmatian* too. The Common Soldiers there expressing their good Inclination, without any influence at all from their Superior Officers. *Titus Ampius Flavianus* was at that time Lieutenant-General of *Pannonia*, and *Pompeius Sullanus* of *Dalmatia*,

Dalmatia, both Men of great Years, and great Substance. But there was another sort of Man Procurator then, *Cornelius Fuscus*, in the prime of his Age, and nobly descended: He had, when he was very young, excused himself from acting as Senator, fond of Ease and Privacy, and resolving to retire altogether. Afterwards he was Captain of his Colony for *Galba*, from thence rose to the Procuratorship, and now, espousing *Vespasian's* Cause, was one of the warmest Men concerned in the War. He seemed to take greater Satisfaction in Danger, than in the Prize and Reward to be attained by it; and thus loving Difficulty for its own sake, he was much fonder of any thing New, and in prospect only, nay uncertain and hazardous in the pursuit, than of any Advantages already sure and in his own possession. *Antonius* and He thus joyning Forces, leave nothing unattempted, but wheresoever there was the least Discontent, apply themselves with great Diligence, to loosen and bring Men off from their Obedience. Letters accordingly were sent into *Britain* to draw over the Fourteenth Legion, and others into *Spain* for the First Legion, to the same purpose, because both those Legions had formerly served under *Otho*, and had particular Resentments against *Vitellius*. Letters were likewise dispersed all over the *Gallias*, and in an instant of time a mighty War broke out in all Parts. For the *Illyrian* Armies now revolted openly, and the rest were as ready to follow that side, which they saw Fortune most inclined to favour.

While these Matters were in agitation by *Vespasian* and the Generals of his Party in the Provinces abroad; *Vitellius*, whose Sloth and Vices grew every day more notorious and despicable at home, made frequent halts at every Town and pleasant Seat, where he could find Entertainment for his Luxury. Moving towards *Rome* with a slow March; and a numerous Train. Three-
score

score Thousand Men in Arms attended him, all infamous for insolent and licentious Behaviour. The number of Slaves was yet greater than the former, and a Rout of Suttlers more vile and scandalous, and answering all the dissoluteness of that Character: The Retinue of so many General Officers and Friends would have been hardly kept in any tolerable Decorum, though Discipline had been exercised in the strictest and most regular manner: But, to make this Grievance yet more insupportable, a mighty appearance of *Roman* Senators and Gentlemen added greatly both to the crowd, and the disorder: Some of which upon a principle of Fear, Others from an officious Flattery, the Rest, and indeed almost All, came at last, to avoid the Imputation of singularity and dissatisfaction. Besides an infinite Number of rascally Fellows well known to *Vitellius* for the infamous Services done him, Buffoons, and Parasites, Players and Charioteers. For in such scandalous Friends and Acquaintance as these, this Emperor took wonderful Satisfaction. By this means not only the Colonies and Free Towns were beggered, by furnishing Provisions for so many Mouths, but the Farmers, and their Fields, (it happening to be then the Season of the Fruits being ripe) were wasted and ravaged, as if they had been contriving to make havock of an Enemy's Country.

There had been many Outrages and frequent Bloodshed among the Soldiers, after the Mutiny at *Ticinum* *; For still the old grudge was kept up between the Legions and Auxiliaries: But when any Quarrel happened with the Country People, these then took one another's Part, and treated Them as Common Enemies. But the bloodiest Encounter was about seven Miles short of *Rome*. *Vitellius* there had delivered out to his Soldiers Provisions, in a manner and proportion more like the cramming of Gladiators, than the sustaining

* *Pavia*.

staining of an Army: The Common People in prodigious Numbers had dispersed themselves in all Quarters of the Camp: Some of these, intending a sort of rough Jest, had cut off the Soldiers Belts unobserved, and then began to rally them upon the Matter. They, who were not used to be affronted, could not bear the Jest, but enraged at this disdainful usage, fell upon the People, who had nothing to defend themselves, with their drawn Swords. Among the slain was found a Soldier's Father, who came to meet and congratulate his Son; this Discovery put some restraint upon their Fury, and prevented the shedding more innocent Blood. But in the City there was great Confusion, occasioned by the Soldiers breaking their Ranks, and crowding forward without Order. The *Forum* they chiefly thronged to, desirous to see the Place where *Galba* was slain. And in Truth, this was not a more shocking sight than the very Spectators themselves; with huge massy Partisans in their Hands, and Hides of Wild Beasts about their Shoulders, brawling and cuffing, and sometimes drawing upon the People, when they by their own ignorance or inadvertency had run upon the Crowd, or happened to jostle in their passage, or fall in a slippery way. The Tribunes also and other Principal Officers marched in Martial manner, with terrible Pomp and vast Bodies of armed Men behind them. *Vitellius* himself came from the *Melvian* Bridge with Sword and Armour on, mounted on a stately Horse, putting the Senate and People before him, as if he had been making his Entry into a City taken from an Enemy. And thus he had entered *Rome*, but that his Friends saw the indecency, and what construction would be made; by whose Advice suffering himself to be persuaded, he changed his Habit to a *Roman* Gown, and the Face of his Equipage to that customary in Peace. The Four Standards of the

the Legions marched in the Front, attended with as many Colours drawn out of other Legions; after Them the Banners of Twelve Wings, then the Foot in Ranks, and in their Rear the Horse. These were followed by four and Thirty Cohorts, distinguished by the Names of the several Countries they belonged to, or the different sorts of Arms they bore. Before each Standard went the several Camp Masters and Tribunes, and eldest Centurions, all in white; the rest marched each with their respective Companies, gloriously fine in Arms, and Marks of Honour; the private Soldiers too with their Furniture and Collars made a very splendid appearance. In short, the whole Cavalcade was brave and noble, and the Army much too good for such a Prince as *Vitellius*. In this order he went directly up to the Capitol, and meeting there his Mother, he paid her his Respects, and saluted her with the Title of * *Augusta*.

The day following he made a most pompous Speech concerning himself; extolling his own Industry and Temperance at a most extravagant rate. You would have thought he had addressed himself to some Foreign Senate, and an Assembly who never knew nor heard of him; when, alas! the whole Audience were well acquainted with his scandalous Debaucheries; and all *Italy*, through which he had lately marched with all the Marks of shameless Riot and Sloth, had been Eye-Witnesses of his Conversation and true Character. But, all this notwithstanding, the Common People, whose Hearts are always open upon such great Solemnities, and so well taught in nothing as in Flattery without distinction of Person or Merit, according to Custom were loud in their Shouts, and liberal of their Applause, insomuch that they perfectly constrained him to take the Name of *Augustus*, in despite of all his Resolutions to the contrary: And in good Truth, the
accepting

accepting it now, and the refusing it before, were equally insignificant to him.

A City so remarkably superstitious as *Rome* could not but make inauspicious Constructions upon any Action of Importance, done upon a Day infamous for former Calamities to the State. And accordingly it was interpreted, as exceeding ominous, that *Vitellius*, upon his Entrance upon the Pontificate, should issue out his first Edicts concerning Religion on the Eighteenth of *July*. A Day of so melancholy remembrance in *Roman* Story, for the two great Defeats at *Cremona* and *Allia*, that People thought a Man guilty of such an absurdity lost to all regard both of human and divine Laws; and all his Attendants and Friends so stupid and void of thought, that no Man sober and in his Senses, could have behaved himself at this rate. But, when he appeared at the Solemn Assemblies upon the Creation of new Consuls, his Deportment was full of Courtesie and Condescension; and he affected to render himself popular, after so mean and nauseous a manner, that, whether he were in the Theatre at the Prizes, or in the Cirque at the Race, he laboured to ingratiate himself with the meanest of the People, by concerning himself eagerly for some one side.

All which Methods are indeed taking enough, and seldom fail to recommend a Man, when they proceed from Virtue and good Qualities; but in *Vitellius*, where every body knew they could have no such Foundation, they were despised as they deserved, and looked upon as littleness of Spirit, very unbecoming his Station. He also frequently appeared in the Senate, even when the Matters before them were of very small importance. It happened, that in some Debate *Helvidius Priscus*, then Prætor elect, had given his Suffrage contrary to what *Vitellius* had moved for. This at first gave him some disorder, but the impression went no farther, than

than to desire the Tribunes of the People to vindicate his Authority from Contempt. However, *Helvidius* his Friends, apprehending some ill Effects might grow from this resentment, endeavoured to make the best of the Matter. To whom *Vitellius* replied, *Alas! Gentlemen, it is no strange thing for two Senators to disagree in their Opinions, when Matters of publick Concern are under deliberation; I remember very well, I have been of a different Judgment from Thrasea.* Some thought it a great Jest, that he should have the confidence to put his Judgment into the Balance with that of *Thrasea*; Others were well enough pleased to see, that, when he designed to mention a Pattern of true Glory, *Thrasea* was thought a properer Subject for the Comparison, than any of the Court Favourites, whose Fortunes and Interest as much exceeded his, as his Wisdom and Virtue was superiour to theirs.

Publius Sabinus he advanc'd to be Captain of the Guards, from Prefect of a Cohort; and *Julius Priscus* was taken from a Centurion to the same Post: the latter ow'd his Promotion to the favour of *Valens*, and the former was as much in the good graces of *Cacina*: For between these two, who manag'd all the Concerns of the Empire, *Vitellius* had little or nothing left at his own disposal, and considering the piques and secret emulations between them, he had enough to do to satisfy them both. But those Resentments which the Condition of the Publick Affairs made it necessary to dissemble in a Camp and during the War, were now by the perverseness and ill offices of Friends, and by the intrigueings of a City Conversation, which seldom fails to produce a world of Quarrels and Misunderstandings, blown up to a great height. The affecting to out-do each other, in the Court made to them, in their Retinue and Appearance; and not only the aiming at excelling in these particulars themselves,

selves, but the Comparisons made between them in common Discourse by others, all contributed to enflame the Quarrel, especially too, considering that *Vitellius* was exceeding mutable, and gave greater countenance, sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other; For Power and Princes Favour when too great is never constant and to be long depended upon. They on the other hand were every whit as differently affected toward *Vitellius*; and either dreaded or despis'd him, as they observ'd the uncertainty of his Temper to shift from one extreme to another, upon every slight Provocation or nauseous Flattery, unaccountable Piques or vile Submissions. This put them upon making the best use of their time, for getting the Seats, Gardens, and Revenues belonging to the Empire into their hands; while many wretched Objects among the Nobility, whom *Galba* had recall'd from Exile, found no manner of Compassion from the Emperor, nor could obtain so much as relief for their very Wants. This indeed was lookt upon as a worthy and a reasonable Favour, that he granted to all that return'd from Exile, the full Right of Patrons over their Freed-men; But tho' both the Nobility and Commonalty of the City applauded the Gift, yet the Persons concern'd found but a very poor account in it; The dispositions of Servants, which always lie to tricking, evacuating the Design, and contriving a thousand Frauds to conceal their Money, either by some secret contrivance of their own, or by putting it under the Name and Protection of Great Persons: and some of them took a surer Course than either, for by getting into the Emperors own Family, they grew above the Law, and too big for their Masters.

As for the Army, the number being much greater than the Camps could possibly contain, the Overplus

were

were dispers'd in all quarters of the Town, loitering in the Porticos, and Temples, and every Street, without Ward, Watch set, or any manner of Business or Exercise to keep them in ure; but taking their full swing in the Debaucheries of the Town, and indulging Practices not fit to be nam'd, their Bodies were wasted and enfeebld by Laziness, and their Spirits broken by Luxury and Lust. Nay there was no care taken so much as to secure their Health; Several of them were suffer'd to quarter among the damp unwholsom Bogs about the *Vatican*, which bred a great Mortality among the common Soldiers; And the *Germans* and *Gauls*, whose Constitutions were more apt to take Colds and other Distempers, ruin'd their Bodies with immoderate and unseasonable Swimming, a Remedy which their impatience of the Heat, and lodging upon the Banks of the *Tiber*, put them upon using to their very great prejudice. Then for the Order and Discipline of the Militia, either Corruption or Imprudence had absolutely confounded it all. There was contriv'd a new Establishment of Standing Forces for *Rome*, Sixteen Prætorian and Four City Cohorts, each amounting to a thousand Men. In the forming this Constitution *Valens* pretended to the greatest share, to which many things concurr'd. His having rescu'd *Cacina* out of imminent danger: And true it is, that from his joining the Army, the Advantage of that side ought to be dated: and the ill Constructions, which the slowness of his march had expos'd him to, were effectually got over by the Success of the Battle; Besides too, all the Troops of *Lower Germany* were intirely in his Interests. And this preference given to a Rival, is thought by some the first occasion of staggering *Cacina's* Fidelity to *Vitellius*. But still how indulgent soever the Emperor shew'd himself to the Generals, he was much more so to the private Soldiers,
every

every one here had the privilege of choosing his own Post, and without regard to Qualifications or Desert, might put himself upon the City Roll: and on the other hand, if any proper for this Service were content to continue still in the Legions or Wings, that was allow'd too: And many rather chose to do so, upon account of the Distempers and Unhealthfulness of the place, and the excessive Heat of the Climate, which they found by no means to agree with their Constitutions. But still the Legions and Wings were extremely weaken'd by this means, and yet the Grace of the Prætorian Camp mightily impair'd at the same time, while indeed it had the name of Twenty Thousand, but then they were rather confusedly jumbled together, than regularly chosen Men.

As *Vitellius* was haranguing the Army, *Asiaticus*, and *Flavius*, and *Rufinus*, who commanded in *Gallia*, were demanded, as Persons obnoxious for having appear'd in Arms for *Vindex*. *Vitellius* gave no check to their insolent and tumultuous Clamours; partly restrain'd by his own natural Cowardice and Fear, partly, because the day of the Donative came on, and he was sensible he could not answer their Expectations. Since therefore it was not in his power to gratifie 'em with Money, he was content to answer it in every thing else. To supply these Deficiencies, a Tax was laid upon all Freed-Servants of the Nobility, in proportion to the number of their Slaves. He, for his part, whose only concern seem'd to lie, in contriving how he should spend all that came in, built large and noble Stables for the Charioteers, provided frequent Shews of Gladiators and wild Beasts: and squander'd away Money, as if the very plenty of it had been a Grievance.

Cacinnus and *Valens* too made most magnificent Preparations for the solemnizing *Vitellius's* Birth day, they provided

provided Prizes of Gladiators to be play'd in every Street of *Rome*: and manag'd their Compliment with a Pomp and Expence; so great as was never known before. The Rabble and worse sort of Men look'd on with mighty satisfaction, but Persons of Condition and better Sense, could not without Indignation observe the respects paid by *Vitellius* to *Nero*, for he erected Altars to his Honour in the *Campus Martius*, and solemnly perform'd his Funeral Obsequies: Victims were slain and burnt publicly to his Genius, the *Augustal* Priests kindl'd the Fire, (an Order instituted by *Tiberius* in honour of the *Julian* Family, in imitation of that consecrated by *Romulus* to the memory of *Tatius* King of the *Sabines*) In less than four Months after the Conquest of *Otho*, *Vitellius* his Freed-Minion *Asiaticus* had render'd himself as generally detested, as any *Polycletus* or *Patrobius*, or any of the Informers known in the Story or the Courts of former Princes, whose Names live only to be mentioned with Ignominy and Horror. And no Man made it his business, or found his Interest concern'd, to excel in Honesty and Diligence, or any virtuous Qualities; The only way to rise in that Court, was to make large provision for *Vitellius's* ravenous Appetite, and to spare no expence that might entertain his Gluttony and Luxurious Palate: This was the method taken by himself; he never look'd before him, but was abundantly satisfi'd, if he could but secure the present Enjoyment of Pleasure, as is plain from his consuming in a very few months, no less than * Nine Hundred millions of Sesterces. Unhappy *Rome*, which in the compass of one Year had two such Calamities, as *Otho* and *Vitellius*! and which is worst, wast miserably and by different stratagems ransack'd by such a set of insatiable

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* Seven Millions thirty one thousand two hundred and fifty Pound sterling, so Sir H. Savile.

tiable Blood-suckers as *Vinius*, *Fabius*, *Icelus* and *Asiaticus*; and so continu'd, till *Mucianus* and *Marcellus* succeeded in their room, who were indeed not so much new Characters as new Actors, only playing the same Parts over again upon the same Stage.

The first intimation *Vitellius* receiv'd of any attempts against his Government, came by Letters from *Aponius Saturninus*, signifying the revolt of the Third Legion. This account was sent before the Writer himself had join'd with *Vespasian* in his Design, but being written in consternation and surprise, it was very imperfect and short of the truth; and as far were the Friends and Flatterers of *Vitellius* from giving credit even to that little which was sent upon the Subject. They set themselves to put the best face upon the matter; and allowing all they had heard to be true, yet comforted themselves that this was only One Legion which had deserted, but as for all the Armies besides, they continu'd stanch, and firm to their first Master. At this rate *Vitellius* in person discours'd to the Soldiers, falling foul upon the Prætorians lately disbanded, and reproaching them with spreading false and seditious News; affirming in general terms that there was no danger at all of a Civil War, but never once mentioning *Vespasian's* Name in particular, and planting Soldiers up and down the City, to check all discourse of that kind. But this extraordinary caution to suppress the Report, contributed more than any other Circumstance, both to the spreading and gaining it credit. However he summon'd his Auxiliar Forces out of *Britain*, *Germany* and *Spain*; but not with Orders that express any great concern, or requir'd expedition, thus endeavouring to conceal the real need there was of them: And the General Officers and Provinces were accordingly as careless in the Executive as he was in the Commanding part. *Hordeonius Flaccus* had receiv-

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ed some umbrage from the *Barbarians*, and so was fully employed in a War at home; *Vespius Bolanus* was exercised with continual Insurrections in *Britain*; and besides the fair excuses which this posture of their Affairs furnished them with, they both began to warp toward *Vespasian*. As for *Spain*, there being then no Lieutenant General in the Country, no great dispatch was made there. For the Commanders of the Three Legions quartered in those parts, having each an equal jurisdiction, could have no influence upon the rest. But They, who, if Matters had gone well with *Vitellius*, would have made use of their independent powers to have got the start in his Service; now, when they saw his Cause decline, were as industrious to keep themselves disengaged from any part in his misfortunes.

In *Africa* the Legion and Cohorts, raised formerly by *Clodius Macer*, and afterwards disbanded by *Galba*, came in and took pay again upon order from *Vitellius*, and likewise the rest of the young Men fit to bear Arms listed themselves with great readiness. *Vitellius* being well beloved there, for having approved himself, a very just and kind Proconsul to that Province; whereas *Vespasians* discharge of the same Office was such, as had drawn upon Him as great Odium and Scandal. And the Allies, forming their Judgment of the Men from their Behaviour in that Post, concluded, that each of them would prove just such an Emperor, as he had been Proconsul; but however reasonable this Conjecture might be in it self, yet in this particular Case Experience confuted it. *Valerius Festus* too, who was then Lieutenant, at first promoted the good Intentions of the Inhabitants, and appeared as firm and forward as the best; but in a little time he began to waver; and all the time he acted above board in favour of *Vitellius*, by Letters and Publick Edicts; he held a secret correspondence, and cherished *Vespasian's* pretensions underhand.

derhand. Meaning, no doubt, to play the best of the Game, and stick at last to the stronger side. Some Centurions and private Soldiers were apprehended in *Rhætia* and *Gallia*, with Letters and Orders from *Vespasian* taken upon them; and sent to *Vitellius*, who had them put to death. But a great many more dispatched upon the same Errand made their escape. Some by the favour and secrecy of Friends who concealed them, and others by their own Address and Cunning. One great advantage was likewise this, that all *Vitellius* his preparations were discovered and commonly known, but most of *Vespasian*'s designs were kept close, partly by reason of *Vitellius* his stupidity and neglecting to get Intelligence, partly because the Garrisons, which guarded the *Pannonian Alpes* stopped all Messengers; and more particularly, because it was the Season for the Trade Winds, which are fair for carrying News into the East Country, but contrary for bringing any back from thence.

At length, *Vitellius*, roused with the Enemies invading the Frontiers, and terrified with ill Tidings from every Quarter, gives order to *Cacina* and *Valens* to prepare for War. *Cacina* was sent out first into the Field, *Valens* at that time being just rising up again from a very dangerous fit of sickness, and so not in condition for beginning a Campaign. It was very observable that the *German* Army, in their march out of the City, made a figure the most distant that could be, from their coming in. The Strength and Vigour of their Bodies was wasted and gone; the Courage and Fire of their Spirits damped and drooping; their march was thin and slow, their Arms not well fixed, their Horses out of Heart. The Sun, the Dust, the Weather, none of which could make impression upon these Men before, were now grown troublesome and insupportable: And the tenderer and more impatient of
Fatigue

Fatigue the Soldiers were, so much the apter to be sure they were to mutiny. Nor were matters better with their General; His old Ambition stuck to him still, with the addition of a Laziness, and aversion to Business lately contracted; but whether the abundance of too favourable a Fortune had softened him into Luxury, or whether he industriously contrived to render the Army unserviceable, the better to favour his intended treachery, yet sure it is, that he rather cherished, than in any degree reformed these ill Qualities in his Men. Several were of Opinion, that *Flavius Sabinus* was the Instrument of bringing over *Cecina*, and that *Rubinus Gallus* carried messages between them, with Engagements, that whatever Terms he should think fit to insist upon for himself, *Vespasian* would not fail to make them good; Nor did they neglect this occasion of refreshing his memory with the emulation and old grudge between him and *Valens*; and that, since *Vitellius* did not give him equal Countenance with his Rival, it would be wisdom in him to strengthen his Interest in a Prince, where his merits might be better considered.

Cecina at taking leave of *Vitellius*, had particular honour done him, and upon his first setting out, he detached a party of Horse to possess themselves of *Cremona*. Afterwards when the Body of the Army moved, the *Vexillaries* of the Two and twentieth, Fourteenth and Sixteenth Legions, then the Fifth, and Eighteenth followed, and at last the One and twentieth, known by the name of *Rasian*, and the first *Italian* Legions, with the *Vexillaries* of the three *Brittish* Legions, and some chosen Auxiliaries brought up the Rear. When *Cecina* was gone, *Fabius Valens* wrote to that part of the Army, which had been under his Command; that they should halt, and not move forward till he could come up to them; and that *Cecina*

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and He had thus concerted the matter before their parting. But *Cacina* being upon the Spot, and so having a greater influence, pretended that they had indeed once thought to do so, but afterwards saw fit to take new measures, being convinced of the necessity there was, that the Army should unite to receive the Enemy with their whole strength. Hereupon the Legions were ordered to make the best of their way to *Cremona*, and some of the Army were commanded to *Hostilia*. *Cacina* himself stepp'd aside to *Ravenna*, upon pretence of giving necessary Orders to the Fleet; from thence he went to *Padua*; where the whole Intrigue of his Revolt was privately managed with *Lucilius Bassus*. This person, after the Command of a Wing, was intrusted by *Vitellius* with the Fleets at *Ravenna* and *Misenum*; but not content with this Post, and dissatisfied that he was not presently promoted to be Captain of the Guards, he improved that most unreasonable resentment into Treachery, and revenged himself upon *Vitellius* by basely deserting and undermining his Interest. But it is not certainly known, whether he corrupted *Cacina*, or rather whether both of them (as indeed ill Men often resemble one another in the same ill qualities) were wrought upon by the same inclinations. Those Authors, who lived and wrote while the *Flavian* Family was in power, do indeed, in their Accounts of this War, ascribe these Changes to another sort of Considerations: But it is plainly to make their Court to the Emperors of that time, that they cover the perfidious dealings of ill Men, with such specious pretexts, as desire of Peace, and a tenderness for the Publick Good. For my part, I make no difficulty to own, that a natural Inconstancy of Temper, the making no Conscience of their Engagements after having broken them to *Galba*, and Emulation, and Envy, and Impatience to see others more in
favour

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favour with *Vitellius* than themselves; These seem to me to have been the true Causes of their treacherous contriving that Princes ruin. As soon as *Cacina* overtook the Legions, he found upon the first tampering, that both Officers and private Soldiers were exceeding well affected to *Vitellius*; but, notwithstanding all their Obstinacy, his Artifices in time loosened them from their Obedience. *Bassus* had not the same difficulties to grapple with, because the Fleet who had lately served under *Otho*, were upon that account the more readily disposed to withdraw their Allegiance from his Enemy.

THIRD BOOK

HISTORY

OF THE

By Sir James Mackintosh

THE HISTORY OF THE
CONSTITUTION OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE
FROM THE EARLIEST
PERIODS TO THE PRESENT
TIME. BY SIR JAMES
MACKINTOSH. VOL. III.
LONDON: PRINTED BY
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CHURCH-YARD. 1801.

THE
THIRD BOOK
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
CORNELIUS TACITUS.

By Sir Roger L'Estrange, Kt.

THE *Flavian Commanders*, after This, Met in Council at *Petau*, (where the *Thirteenth Legion* had their *Winter Quarters*) and managed their War-Matters with more Honour and Success. It was There put to the Question, whether to possess themselves of the Passes of the *Pannonian Alpes*, and stand upon their Guard ; or to Advance, without more ado, and Push the Main Cause of *Italy* it self to a Battel ; as the Braver Enterprize of the Two.

They that were for the Dilatory way of staying for more Forces, and Protracting the War, took Occasion to enlarge upon the Force and Reputation of the German Legions :

gions: and to observe likewise, that Vitellius was in the Head of a Select Body of the Choycest Men of the British Army, whereas They Themselves, on the Other hand, were Both Inferiour in Number, and a Baffled Party. They Talk'd Big, 'tis true, but Men that are Beaten sink in their Courage. Now if we were once Masters of the Alpes, Mucianus and his Troops would be quickly up with us out of the East; Vespasian would supply us with Shipping; we should have All the Provinces to Friend; and consequently, Men and Necessaries sufficient for Another War, if there should be Occasion: So that a little Patience would make us every Day Stronger and Stronger, without any Hazard of losing what we had already.

Antonius Primus (a Violent Inflamer of the War) was, on the Other side, altogether for Dispatch: insisting upon it, that nothing could be more for Their Interest, or more Destructive to Vitellius. The Enemy, he said, was so far from being more Daring and Vigorous for their Late Victory, that on the Contrary, they were only grown more Slothful, and Effeminate. There was not a Man of them to be found at his Command, or upon the Place of Arms; but Guzzling and Pampering Themselves, up and down the Pleasant Towns of Italy, and Dangerous only to their Hosts. Nay the Bolder and the Fiercer they were before This Licentious Dissolution, the more Abandon'd would they be now to the Liberty of Indulging Themselves in a Course of Pleasures they had not been us'd to. Their Business, in fine, lay in the Circus; the Theaters; and Other Unmanly Diversions, to the common Ruin both of Mind and Body. But Delays are Dangerous; for Time and Second Thoughts will bring These People to their Wits again: Beside that Germany lyes within Distance to supply them with New Levyes, only an Arm of the Sea betwixt That and Brittany: France and Spain near enough to furnish them with Horse, Men, and Monyes: Italy, and the Wealth of Rome it self at their Devotion; And moreover, in case they should have a Mind to make War
upon

upon Us, they have Two Navies at Command, and the Illyrian Sea wholly to Themselves. What shall we be the Better now for our Passes upon the Alpes, and Spinning the War out Another Year? What shall we do in That Interim for Monyes and Provisions? Nay, why do we not rather improve the Present Opportunity, when the Hungarian Legions (whose Disaster was rather a Cheat than an Overthrow) shew themselves so Eager upon the Revenge; and the Mœlian Troops all entire and untouch'd. If we compute upon the Number, rather of Soldiers, than of Legions, the Odds of Strength is on Our Side, and the Disorder much less: for we are the wiser for our Defeat, and the very Shame of it hath reform'd us in our Discipline: neither were our Horse, says he, at That Time routed, but on the Contrary, the Army of Vitellius was broken to Pieces, though upon the main We lost the Day. Now if we were able upon This Occasion, with only Two Wings of our Pannonian and Mœlian Troops, to pierce the Gross of the Enemy's Body thorough and thorough, what Havock may we expect to make among them, with Sixteen Wings in Conjunction: and against a People that have forgot to Fight; and will never stand so much as the Noyse, the Dust, the Hurry, and the Confusion of an Army. Leave me but at liberty, and I am as ready to Execute as to Advise. As for those that are so, they may dispose of their Legions as they please: but a few light Cohorts will do my Business. My Next Work will be to open a Way into Italy, by Crossing Vitellius in his Design, and in the Conclusion, You your Selves shall have the Comfort to follow the Triumphant Example of him that led the way.

Antonius deliver'd This with the very Fire in his Eyes, and a Strong Piercing Voyce, on Purpose to be heard all over the Chamber, for there were divers Centurions and Other Soldiers, that had gotten by Stealth into the Councel. This Speech of his gain'd him a High Esteem, even with the Most Cautious and Considerate of the Assembly: but for the Rest, and the Common Sort,

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Sort, they stood up, *One and All*, for *Antonius*, as the only Man of Courage and Conduct, and would not endure so much as to hear of any Other. He got himself This Reputation by his Behaviour at a Publicque Meeting, upon the Reading of some Letters from *Vespasian*, where it was observ'd, that he did not keep himself upon a Reserve, under Ambiguities and Double-Meanings, as Others commonly did, and so to accommodate an Interpretation afterward to his Advantage; but enter'd frankly into the Merit of the Cause, and Treated the Soldiers as his Companions in the Fortune of the War, Good or Bad, which was the Higheft Obligation he could lay upon them.

The Next in Authority to *Antonius*, was *Cornelius Fuscus* the *Procurator*, who was so Open, and so Bitter an Enemy to *Vitellius*, that he was never to hope for Mercy, in Case of a Miscarriage. *Titus Ampius Flavianus*, the Lieutenant General of *Pannonia*; a Man Naturally Slow and Heavy, and yet more so by the Burden of Years he had upon him. This *Flavianus* lay under a Strong Suspicion of a Secret understanding with his Kinsman *Vitellius*: which was chiefly grounded upon his quitting the Army, at the First Breaking out of the Revolt, and returning afterward of his Own Accord; in order, as was presum'd, to the Advancing of some Treacherous Design. For after his Relinquishing *Pannonia*, and his Retiring out of Harm's way into *Italy*, he took up his Old Command again, out of a Desire of Novelty, at the Instance of *Cornelius Fuscus*, and play'd the part of an Incendiary in the Promoting of a Civil War. Not, that *Flavianus* was of himself so Considerable, but the very name of a Lieutenant General was enough to give Credit to a Party, though at That Time but beginning to Shew their Heads. Letters were sent upon This to Hasten away *Aponius Saturninus* with the *Mælian* Army to secure a Passage into *Italy*. And for fear of leaving the
Pro-

Vinces expos'd to the Barbarous Borderers, upon the with-drawing of the Legions, The Heads of the *Sarmatæ Fazyges*, and the Principal Men of the Country, were taken into the War : and they offer'd the Service likewise of the Common People, and Strong Bodies of Horse ; (the only Force they valu'd themselves upon) but for fear of Conspiracys and Factions, and of Trusting to Mercenaries that fought purely for Money, without any Regard to Honesty and Honour ; they durst not entertain This Proposal. But for the *Suevi-ans*, a People of more Faith and Probity ; and the Roman's Ancient Allyes : Two of their Kings, *Sido* and *Italicus*, were gain'd over. *Rhetia* stood for *Vitellius* under the Command of *Portius Septimius* the Procurator ; his True and Unchangeable Friend ; with Garrisons on the Other side to keep a Check upon him. So that *Sextilius Felix* was dispatch'd away with the *Aurian Wing*, *Eight Cohorts*, and a Select Body of the Youth of the Country, to possess himself of the Banks of the River *Enus*, that parts *Rhetia*, and *Noricum*. There was little of Action on either hand, but the Fortune of the War was decided else where.

2. *Arrius Varus*, was a Man of More Valour than Virtue ; he got his Military Reputation under *Corbula* in *Armenia*, and it is said that he Basely Calumniated him afterward to *Nero* in Requital : who gave him a Considerable Commission for the Good Office : But as it was the Reward of an Infamous Action, so, how Wellcome soever, at first, it prov'd his Ruin in the Conclusion.

This *Varus* joyn'd *Antonius Primus*, as he was upon his March toward *Italy*, with a Party of Horse, and certain Detachements out of the *Cohorts*. They took *Apuleia* and the Country about it, in their Passage ; and after a Friendly Reception at *Opitergium*, and *Altinum*, they left a Garrison in the Latter to defend it against the Naval Force of *Ravenna* ; (which was revolted

volted it seems; though as yet they knew nothing of it) and so they advanced to *Padoua*, and *Este*. They were there given to understand, that *Three Vitellian Cohorts*, and, the *Scribonian Wing* (as they call'd it) were at *Ferrara*, and had laid a Bridge over the River there. They had it in their Intelligence also, that they lay loose and Careless, and so took the Opportunity of falling upon them by Surprise. They gave the Attack by Break of day, and finding them without either Guard or Arms, they Kill'd and Took what they pleas'd. But having it in their Instructions beforehand, not to put it to a Bloody Execution, but rather after a Moderate Slaughter, to try what might be done by Terror, or Other Means, to bring the Rest over: There were divers came in immediately upon Terms of Quarter, but the Greater Part made their Escapes over the River, and by breaking down the Bridge put a stop to the Enemy's Pursuit.

Upon the Noyse and Fame of This Victory, being the *Flavian's* First Essay, there came presently to *Padoua* Two Legions; that is to say, the *Seventh* call'd *Galbiana*, and *Gemina*, the *Thirteenth*, with *Vedius Aquila* the Lieutenant of it, and *Titus Ampius Flavianus* Lieutenant General of *Pannonia*: All in Good Heart and ready for Action. While they lay There to Refresh the Army, *Minucius Justus*, Camp-Master to the *Seventh Legion*, was with much adoe rescu'd from the Rage of the Soldiers; for Exercising a Stricter Discipline, they said, then stood with the Circumstances of a Civil War; and so they sent him to *Vespasian. Antonius* at the same time commanded all the Statues of *Galba* that had been thrown down, or defac'd, in the Confusions of the War, to be set up again in all the Free-Towns: a Thing long and Earnestly desir'd, and greatly for His Honour, Especially if *Galba's* Interest should come in Credit again.

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The Next Question was what Place to resolve upon for the Seat of the War. *Verona* was look'd upon as the Best situate for a Head Quarter: the Country All Champian round about it, and consequently the more Commodious for Horse; (which is their chief dependence) beside the weakening of *Vitellius*, both in his Power and Credit, by getting before him into the Possession of so Wealthy and Populous a Town. In their Progress toward *Verona*, they took in *Vicenza*; a weak Place, and no way Considerable, but for the Birth of *Cæcina*, and the Fate of the Enemy's General, that was beaten out of all. But *Verona* was however worth the while to the Party; both for the Treasure of the Place, and for the Example. And Then the Interposing of the Army betwixt the *Rætian*, and the *Julian Alpes*, cut off all Communication with *Germany* That way. Now *Vespasian* either knew nothing at all of This, or directly forbad it; for it was his Express Order to advance no further then *Aquileia*, and to wait there for *Mucianus*; giving This Reason for what he said. *So long as Ægypt*, says he, *with the Granaries and Stores of the Richest and most Fruitful Provinces are all in our Hands, Vitellius lyes at Mercy; for the very necessaryes of Mony and Provisions to maintain his Army; and in the Conclusion he must either Yield, or Starve.* *Mucianus* was observ'd in several Letters to be more or less harping upon the same String too, and he would be often Celebrating the Blessing of a Victory without Mourning; a Victory without Bloud, and the like. Now This was only the Vanity of an Ambition he had to engross the whole Glory of the War to Himself. But These Reasonings and Discourses, at such a distance, came to nothing; for the Opportunity was over before the Council came to hand.

Antonius, being now settled in *Verona*, made a Strong and a Brisk Salley up to the very Camp of the Enemy,
and

and after some Slight Skirmishes for a Tryal of Skill, they parted without any Advantage on either hand. Soon after This, *Cæcina* took up his Station betwixt *Hofilia* in the Territory of *Cremona*, and the Fenns along the River *Tartarus*; a Safe and Advantageous Post; with the River at his Back, and a *Morass* on each side of him. Now *Antonius* had as yet only Two Legions with him; for the *Mælian* Army was not as then come up. So that if *Cæcinna* had but been Honest, and True to his Trust, the *Vitellians* might have made sure either of Destroying Those Two Legions, or else of Beating them shamefully back again out of *Italy*. But *Cæcinna* Perfidiously Trifled away his Time, without making any Advantage of These Opportunityes, and instead of bringing them to Reason by Force of Arms (as he might and should have done) he only treated them with Schooling Epistles: till in the End, after several Messages back and forward, the Bargain was Struck and the Articles of the Treachery agreed upon.

In This Interim came *Aponius Saturninus*, with *Claudianus* the Seventh Legion, under the Command of *Vipsanius Messalla* a Tribune: a Great Man both in Himself and in his Extraction; and the only Considerable Person that engaged in This War upon a Principle of Honour. There were as yet but Three Legions come up; a Number that fell much short of the *Vitellians*; and yet *Cæcinna* kept plying them with Letters of Reproach, admiring how they durst show their Heads again, after such a Baffle. They dropt a Word now and then also to the Honour of the *Germans*. Somewhat was said of *Vitellius*, but it was Little and Ordinary, without so much as one Indecent Word of Reflection upon *Vespasian*: and not one Syllable in Short, that might either Debauche the Enemy, or Stagger them.

The *Flavian* Commanders in their Reply took no Notice of their own Misfortunes, but spake highly to the Honour of *Vespasian*: confidently to the Goodness of the Cause and with as much Assurance of the Event, but they spake of *Vitellius* with the Rancor of Proest Enemies. They put the *Centurions* and *Tribunes* in Hope of keeping the Places and Commissions they enjoy'd under *Vitellius*, and invited *Cæcinna* in direct terms to abandon his Party. The Soldiers took Heart upon the Reading of These Letters, when they found how respectfully *Cæcinna* Treated *Vespasian* on the one hand, as if he were affraid to displease him; and at the same time how Contemptuously the Officers vilify'd *Vitellius* on the Other.

3. Soon after This, came Two Legions more; the Third and the Eighth, the One under the Command of *Dillius Aponianus*, the Other, of *Numisius Lupus*. They had a Mind to be in Action, and so fell to work upon a *Military Trench*, or a Line of *Circumvallation* about the Town. The *Gallican* Legion, happening to be posted at the Head of the Trench toward the Enemy, took a false *Alarm* upon the Sight of some Bodies of Horse at a Great Distance, which prov'd to be their Allyes, though they took them for *Vitellians*. Upon This Surprise, the Soldiers stood immediately to their Arms. *Titus Ampius Flavianus* had betray'd them; they say'd, but not the least Colour, all this while, for the Pretence, only the Man lay under a Prejudice, and nothing less then his Bloud would content them. *Flavianus* was *Vitellius's* Kinsman they cry'd: a Wretch that had already betray'd *Otho*, and Cheated the Soldiers over and above of their Donative. In This Outrageous Fury there was no Place for a Defence, though he begg'd to be heard with all the Instances of Respect and Submission imaginable; one while supplicating, with his Hands extended; Another while Prostrate upon the Ground, Tearing his Cloths, Lamentably weep-

ing, Sobbing, and Beating his Breast: and what signify'd all These Tenderneſſes toward the Mad People he had to do withal, but to his further Miſchief, by turning his Fears into an Argument of his Guilt. *Saturninus* ſtood up to offer ſomewhat on his Behalf, and ſo did ſeveral Others, but they were all immediately run down again, by Tumult and Clamour. *Antonius* only excepted; and to Him they gave the Hearing, as a Man of Great Authority among them, and a Popular Speaker.

The Sedition being by this time advanc'd from Courſe and hard Words to Blows, *Antonius* order'd *Flavianus* to be taken up and laid in Irons, but that Trick would not paſs upon the Soldiers, ſo that they brake thorough the Guards of the Tribunal, and when they were juſt upon the Poynt of Aſſaſſinating *Flavianus*, *Antonius* in the ſame Inſtant drew upon the Mutineers, with Proteſtations, that if a Stop were not put to That Outrage, he was reſolv'd to Sacrifice himſelf, either upon their Swords or his Own. And ſo looking about him, he call'd as many of his Friends and Acquaintance by name, to his Aſſiſtance, as he could ſet Eye on; beſide Others that look'd like Men of Honour, and were likely to Second him.

He turn'd himſelf and his Diſcourſe in the next place to the Enſigns, or the Gods of the Legions, as they account them: begging of them rather to diſcharge the Vigour of This Martial Fury upon the Heads of their Enemies. The Heat of the Tumult began now to abate, and the Day being far gone, the Soldiers Fil'd-off one after another, every Man Quietly to his Quarter. *Flavianus* went his way the ſame Night; and in his Paſſage met with Letters from *Veſpaſian* that put him out of all Danger. But the Mutinous Humour of the Legions ſpred like a Contagion: for they were now as fierce againſt *Aponius Saturninus*, the Lieutenant General of the *Mæſian* Army, as they had been before

before against *Flavianus*. Nay and it was so much the Worse too, for the Freak took them now in the Middle of the Day, and when they were Fresh and Vigorous; not as before, when they were weary'd out already with the Labour of the duty. The Pretended Charge was ground'd upon certain Letters that *Saturninus* was said to have writen to *Vitellius*. The Competition of Soldiers in Former Times was who should surpass the Other in Modesty and Valour, but it was now come to a Scandalous Emulation who should out doe the Other in Insolence and Rebellion: and the Dispute betwixt the Two Factions was no more then This; Whether should be treated the more Barbarously, *Aponius*, or *Flavianus*. The *Mæssian* Legions valu'd themselves upon the Merit of Assisting the *Pannonians* in their Revenge, and the *Pannonians* were well enough content to see the same Game play'd over again; as if Other Peoples Guilt were Their Acquittal.

Upon This Consideration they went together to search for *Saturninus* at his *Garden-House*: where it was neither *Primus* nor *Aponianus*, nor *Messalla* that Preserv'd him (though they did all they could) but the Privacy of the Place where he was hid, that is to say the Vault of a Spare-Bath. Here he dismiss'd his Guards, and from thence slipt away to *Padoua*. By This Recess of the Lieutenant General the entire Command of the Two Armyes was lodg'd in *Antonius*, without any Opposition from his Colleagues, and the Soldiers highly pleas'd. Some would have it that *Antonius* Himself had a Hand in These Two Mutinyes, in a Prospect of engrossing the whole Power to himself.

4. Matters went yet Worse with *Vitellius*, and the Feud was more deadly: for they had to deal with, not only the Fears and Jealousies of the Common Soldiers, but the Generals Themselves were Falt. *Lucilius Bassus* the Captain of the Gallies at *Ravenna* had drawn over a Great Party of his Soldiers into the *Flavian* Interest.

terest. They were wavering before, being most of them *Dalmatians* and *Pannonians*, which Provinces had some Dependence upon *Vespasian*. The time set for the Execution of the Design was in the Night; the *Rendezvous* to be the *Principia* or the Place of Arms, and none but the Conspirators themselves to be privy to the Plot. The Night came, and *Bassus*, whether for Shame or Fear, did not so much as stir out of his House. The Commanders of the Gallies in the mean time, fell into an Outrageous Tumult upon *Vitellius's Images*; Breaking them to Pieces, and putting some few to the Sword that resisted, and so the Common People, that were set upon Change, went over to *Vespasian*. After This Rout, out comes *Lucilius* and takes the whole Action upon himself. The Fleet at the same time makes Choice of *Cornelius Fuscus* for their Admiral, in the Others place, who posted away to them without any Delay. *Bassus* was now taken into a kind of Honourable Custody; put aboard, and sent to *Hadria*, where *Mennius Rufinus* a Captain of a Wing that lay there in Garrison made him a Prisoner: but he was presently set at Liberty again, by the means of *Hormus* a Freedman of *Vespasians*; who was also reckon'd among the Generals.

So soon as the Defection of the Navy was publickly known, *Cacinna* summon'd several of the Principal *Centurions*, together with some few Soldiers; (the Greater part being out of the way, or upon Duty) to the Place of Arms; purposely Chusing an Opportunity for the greater Privacy. He enter'd on This Occasion into a High *Encomium* upon the Character and Bravery of *Vespasian*, the Power of his Interest, and the Strength of his Party, with a Touch upon the Revolt of the Navy, and a Remarque upon it, that *Vitellius* could not subsist without it: *France* and *Spain* fallen off, and averse; and no Depending, even upon *Rome* it self: and still whatever he say'd of *Vitellius* was taken by the Wrong Handle.

Handle. They all took the Oaths of Fidelity to *Vespasian*; first Those that were in the Plot, and Those afterward that, in the Confusion of a Surprize to see such a Turn, follow'd their Example: Breaking down *Vitellius's Images* at the same time, and dispatching Messengers to *Antonius* with the Tidings of it.

This was no sooner made known in the Camp, but the Soldiers betook themselves presently to the Place of Arms; and There finding the Images of *Vitellius* broken and thrown down, and the Name of *Vespasian* set up in their Stead, they stood for a while at Gaze and Speechless, but after a Short Pause they all brake out by consent into This following Exclamation.

But is the Honour of the German Army sunk to This now? To deliver up Themselves and their Arms, like Slaves; and all This without a Battel, or so much as a Blow striking? And what was the Enemy they had to encounter, but the very Legions that They themselves had Beaten? Nay and the Best of Them (the First and the Fourteenth) were not as yet come up: beside that These Two also were defeated in the same Action with the rest. And to what End was all This, but for a Present of so many Thousand Armed Men, like a Drove of Brutes, to Antonius, an Exile? Now at This Rate, Eight Legions were no more then an Appendix to one Miserable Navy. But Bassus and Cæcinnæ were pleased so to order it, that as they had already Rifled the Prince's Houses, Gardens, and Treasure, so they were resolved to leave him no Soldiers neither; Though without either Maims or Wounds, and so scandalously Mean, that their very Enemyes had them in Contempt.

The Soldiers were *One and All* upon the same Toppique, and every Man Outrageous more or less as his Passion mov'd him. The Fifth Legion began the Dance, by setting up *Vitellius's Images* again; and laying *Cæcinnæ* by the Heels, they gave his Command af-

terward to *Fabius Fabulus* Lieutenant of the Fifth Legion, and *Cassius Longus* the Camp-master. In this Heat they had the Ill ~~Hap~~ to stumble upon some few Innocent Gally-Soldiers that knew nothing of the matter, and them they kill'd. The next thing they did was to break up the Camp, cut off the Bridge behind them, and so back again to *Hosfilia*, and thence to *Cremona*, to joyn the Two Legions, the *Italica* and the *Rapax* (being the First and the one and Twentieth) which *Cæcinnæ* had sent thither before with a Body of Horse, in a Prospect of making himself Master of the Place.

5. When *Antonius* came to understand the Divisions of the Enemy, as well in their Strength, as in their Affections; he thought it a Fit time to fall upon them out of hand, before either their Generals could be settled in their Authority; the Common Soldiers in the Sense of their Duty; or the Legions United in their wonted Agreement and Courage. He gave it for granted that *Fabius Valens* was already upon his way from *Rome*, and that the First News of *Cæcinnæ's* Treachery would Quicken him in his Journey; over and above that he was a Good Soldier, and a Friend to *Vitellius*. There was an Apprehension also of a mighty Body of *Germans* by the way of *Rhetia*, and such a Strength of *Auxiliaries* that *Vitellius* had sent for out of *England*, *France* and *Spain*, as would have maintain'd a War it self, if *Antonius* had not by Precipitating the Battle, prevented the Mischief and gain'd a Victory beforehand.

He advanc'd with his whole Army to *Bebriacum*; two days journey from *Cremona*, where he set his Legions at work the next day upon the Trenches, and in the mean time sent out Parties of his *Auxiliary Cohorts* upon adventure, into the Territory of *Cremona*, under a pretence of Scouting and Foraging; but in truth, to wont them to a Military Licence, and flesh them

them with Civil Spoil, or Booty: He himself conducting them with Four thousand Horse eight miles from *Bebriacum*, to give them the more scope to act in: the Scouts in the mean time (as is usual) making the best of their advantage. It was now toward the fifth hour of the day, when a Horseman, all in Post-hast, brings an account that the Enemy was at hand with some few forerunners, and that the March of the Army, with the Trampling of the Horses, was heard far and near. While *Antonius* was bethinking himself what to do, *Arrius Varus*, upon a pique of Honour, with a Brave Party of Horse made a Bold push upon the *Vitellians*, kild them some Men, and put them in some Disorder: but being overborn with Numbers he was beat off with loss; and they that before were the First in the Charge were now the Last in the Retreat. This hot-headed Action was so much against the Will and the Judgment of *Antonius*, that he foresaw and foretold the Event. But he did not fail of encouraging his Men however, both by Words and Example. He divided his Troops into two Bodies, leaving a Passage open betwixt them to receive *Varus* and his Party. The Legions were all order'd to their Arms, and the Foragers call'd off from Pillaging, to join in the Action of the War. *Varus's* Men in a Confusion, and himself trembling in the middle of them which struck a Terror into the rest. The Whole and the Wounded came all crouding in together, and betwixt their own *Panick Fear*, and the *Defilees*, the Distress was very great. But *Antonius* yet in all this Tumult and Hurry forgot nothing of the Part of a great General, and a valiant Man, but putting Life into the Faint hearted, and supporting those that shrunk, he signaliz'd himself upon all occasions, in view, both of the Enemy, and of his own People: by interposing with Counsel, Hand, and Voice in all emergencies of Hazard, or in cases where there was least hope of any good to be

done. Nay his Bravery transported him so far in the conclusion, that he stopt one of his own Cornets in his flight; took away his Colours himself, and advanced with them against the Enemy. This was so Generous an Action, that it put a stand to about a Hundred of the Runaway Horse, out of pure shame, even in the middle of their Flight.

This happen'd in a Narrow Passage; a River behind them, and the Bridge broken down, which, with the Steepness of the Banks, and the uncertainty of the Depth of the Channel, did all together, contribute to the Obstructing of their Course. Under the favour of this Accident, they retriv'd the Fortune of the Day. For the *Vitellians* Charging them loose and out of Order, and the Other receiving them Close and Firm, they stood the Shock and worsted the Enemy. *Antonius*, upon this Disaster, made his Advantage of the Confusion, and following the Blow, carry'd all before him, while the Rest of the Soldiers were either Pillaging, Spoiling, taking Prisoners, Horses, Arms, or some other sort of Booty as the Humour led them. And such a shouting all this while of Joy and Triumph, as brought back the very Fugitives and Stragglers out of the Fields and their Hiding Places, to take part of the Victory.

They got sight after this of the Ensigns of the two Legions *Rapax* and *Italica*, about some Four Mile from *Cremona*: for so far they had advanc'd upon the Reputation of the First success of their Cavalry, at the beginning of all. But when their Fortune fell off, they were quite undone for want of Conduct, and the very word of Command. They understood nothing of Opening and Closing their Ranks; the Methods of Relief or Attack; or the Advantage of falling upon an Enemy under the Fatigue of Long Marches and Hard Duty. But in a word it was their Lot to be overthrown, and to be at last convinc'd in their Adversity,

Adversity, of the Advantage of an Expert Commander, though they did not much value him in their Prosperity.

When *Antonius* found the Enemy stagger'd and wavering, he made a Push with the *Mælian Auxiliaries*, under the Command of *Messalla* to second him: who accounted those Troops, though but of a Later Standing, a Match even for the Legions Themselves: especially so near *Cremona*, where the Hope they had of coming off by a Fair Retreat, made them have the Less mind to stand it out. The Combat was Sharp, and Doubtful, and *Antonius*, without Dispute, had the Better on't, but he was yet so sensible of the Hardships of That Day, by Wounds, and otherwise, both upon Man and Horse, that he Chose rather, at present, to Refresh his Troops, than to Prosecute his Victory. About the Dusk of the Evening up came the whole Body of the *Flavian Army*; and finding so many Fresh Marks of a Bloody Battel, and such Monstrous Piles of Carcasses, as if the Main Cause of the whole War had been decided at That Blow, they cry'd out to carry them immediately to *Cremona*, they were a Conquer'd People they said, and the Place might be taken either by Composition, or by Storm. This was the Countenance they gave it in Publique, but the Thoughts of their Hearts look'd quite Another way.

What? (said they to themselves) *here's an open Town, and nothing to hinder the Taking of it by Assault, People will venture as far by Night as by Day, and Pillage a great deal Better in the Dark, than in the Light. If we stay till to morrow, there will be Petitions and Propositions for a Peace, and so we may come to be paid at last, for the Loss of our Limbs, and all other Hazzards, with a Complement upon the Subject of Clemency, and Glory; while the Generals and Great Officers engross the whole Profit of the Booty to themselves. Where a Place is taken by Force, the Spoil goes in Course to the Soldiers; and to the Com-*
mander

mander in chief, in case of Delivering it up. The Soldiers had now taken up such a Prejudice against the Centurions and Tribunes, as Interest'd Persons, that not a Man of them open'd his mouth, but he was presently run down with such a Din and Clattering of Arms, that no body could hear him: and not without a Direct Menace, that if no body else would lead them on, they would give the Assault themselves.

Antonius did all that was possible, by his Presence and Authority to Quiet them, and so soon as he had the Liberty of a Hearing, he put himself into the Crowd with these Words in his Mouth *It is not my Purpose,* says he, *to derogate from the Merit of so many Brave Men, by Less'ning, either the Glory of their Actions, or the Reward. But you are yet to Understand, that there is a Great Difference betwixt the Functions of a General, and of an Army. The Soldiers part is Fighting, and Vigour of Execution, but the Commander's Business is Foresight, and Counsel: Nay and Delay, in many Cases, rather than Precipitation. For my own share,* says he, *as I have hitherto discharg'd the Soldiers Part with my Sword in my Hand upon all Occasions, and Contributed that way to the Victory; so will it now become me to Assist you in the Matter of Order and Conduct, which are the Peculiar Offices of a General. Do but bethink your selves. Here's an Enemy's Town to be Storm'd; and in the Dark of the Night too; when the Aggressors lye expos'd to all manner of Snares and Surprises, why if the Gates were set open, you should not enter them without some Knowledge of the Place beforehand; and the Benefit of Day-Light, that you might see your way before you. But you should certainly be very ill advis'd, to think of such an Adventure, when you can neither see the Height of the Walls; nor where to make your Approaches, or so much as Resolve, in fine, whether to make your Attempt by Shot, Battery, or Mine.* He put it then to the Soldiers one by one, whether they had brought any Axes, or Other Necessaries along with

with them for an Assault? They told him, No: Well then, says he, and will you pretend to beat down Walls and overturn Towers with your Swords and Darts? Or what if you should have Occasion to cast up a Mount under the Cover of a Hurdle, a Mantellet, or the like; there must you stand Gapeing like Silly Creatures at the Statelynes and Strength of the Enemy's Turrets and Fortifications, for want of wherewithall to carry on the Attack. Had not you better put it off for One Night longer, till your Machines and Engines of Battery may be brought up, and the Main Poynt secur'd? Upon This, the Suttlers and Baggage were sent away immediately to *Bebricum* under a Strong Guard of his Freshest Horse, for all manner of Necessaryes and Provisions that he wanted.

6. This did not please the Soldiers at all; insomuch, that they were upon the very Poynt of a Mutiny, when the News came of Certain Straglers out of *Cremona* that were taken by some of their Scouts under the very Walls of the Place: by whom they understood that Six *Vitellian Legions*, with the whole Army that lay at *Hofilia*, had taken a March of Thirty Mile that Day, upon the Intelligence of a Rout given to their Companions; with a Resolution to bring it to a Battel; and that they would be up with them presently. They were thus far Deaf to their General's Counsel, till at last the Terroure of This Story brought them over to him to hear Reason: so that he presently order'd the Third Legion to stand drawn up, on the *Cawsey* of that which they call the *Posthumian Way*; with the *Galbiana*, the Seventh, on the Left, in an Open Field; and then the *Claudiana*, with the Defence, as it happen'd, of a Common Ditch before it. On the Right, were the Eighth and the Thirteenth Legions, the Former in a Plain Field, and the Other in a Bushy Thicket. This was the Order of the Standards, and Ensigns, but the Soldiers were jumbled together in the Dark,

Dark, Friend and Foe as it fell out. The *Pretorian Band* was ranged next the Third Legion, the *Auxiliary Cohorts* in the Wings, and a Guard of Horse upon the Flank and Rear: *Sido* and *Italicus*, the *Suevian Kings*, with their Best Men in the Front: But the *Vitellian Army*, instead of Refreshing themselves at *Cremona* when they were half dead for want of Food and Rest, and pushing it to a Shock the next Day, when they should have found the Enemy Weaken'd and quite Spent with Hunger and Cold: These *Vitellians*, I say, for want of Counsel and Conduct, brake in about the Third Hour of the Night upon the *Flavian Army*, as they stood ready drawn up, and in Posture to receive them.

I cannot be positive in the Order of This Attack: for it was both in Heat, and in the Dark. Some will have it that the Fourth Legion, the *Macedonian*, had the Right Wing; The Fifth and the Fifteenth with some Detachements out of the *British Legions*, the Ninth, the Second, and the Twentieth, compos'd the Main-Battel. The Tenth Legion, the Two and Twentieth, and the First, made the Left Wing: but the Soldiers of *Rapax* and *Italicus* were dispers'd up and down every where. The Horse and the *Auxiliaries* serv'd where they thought fit. The Combat lasted the Whole Night; Various, Doubtful, and Bloudy: and with great Slaughters on Both Sides, one after the Other, in their Turns. Strength, and Courage, Nay their very Eyes were Useless to them in the Dark, when there was no Discerning a Friend from a Foe. Their Arming was the same on Both Sides, and they had the same way of getting the *Word*, by asking the same Question a Hundred times over, [*Qui Vive.*] The Colours were intermingled and carry'd from place to place at the Discretion of those that took them. But it went hardest with *Galba's* New-rai'd Legion (the Seventh) Six Prime Centurions slain, several Ensigns taken, and the
Standard

Standard it self had gone too, if the Centurion *Attilius Varus*, with the Loss of his own Life, and a Considerable Slaughter of the Enemy, had not Defended it. The *Flavians* were now sinking apace when *Antonius* brought up a Seasonable Enforcement of *Prætorian* Soldiers to support them ; who beat off the Enemy at First, and were soon after Worsted themselves. For the *Vitellians* had by this time brought up their Engines of Battery, which they mounted upon the Top of the *Posthumian Way* in the open Air, where every Discharge did Execution, whereas their Shot among the Trees and Bushes was as good as thrown away before, and had little or no Effect. But the Sixteenth Legion had one Machine there among the rest, of a Prodigious Force and Size, for it threw Mighty Stones that miserably annoy'd the Enemy. They gave it the Name of *Balista*, somewhat of the Nature of our *Cross-bow*. This Invention made Terrible Havock ; and the Mischief would have been greater if it had not been prevented by the Glorious Bravery of a Couple of Common Soldiers ; that furnish'd themselves from among the Dead with Two Targets, and under the Cover of That Defence convey'd themselves secretly up to the very Engine ; destroy'd the Ropes, Pullys, and Weights that held it together, and at the same time lost their Lives in the Service. We find no mention of their Names but the Matter of Fact no body questions.

The Night was now far spent, and the Fortune of the Battel hovering, when the Moon got up, and gave the Armyes an Imperfect Sight one of Another : but by a False Light ; for Rising upon the Back of the *Flavians*, the Stretchings out and Enlarging of the Shadows both of Horses and Men misled the Enemy in the Judgment of the Distance and consequently into a False Ayme : for in Shooting at the Shadows, the Arrows fell short of their Bodyes : whereas the *Vitellians*, with the Moon in their Faces, were a Fair Mark to their

their Adversaries; who fought with them Effectually out of the Dark into the Light.

Now so soon as *Antonius* and his People could see and Distinguish One Another, he try'd all the Ways imaginable of Encourageing and Supporting his Party: working upon some by Shame, Others by Reproche, some again by Instigations of Honour, Others by the Popular Arts of Flattery and Fair Words, but never forgetting to keep up their Hearts with the Hopes and Promises of Reward. Somewhat he had, in fine to say, to every Body, beginning with the *Pannonian Legions*. *What is it, says he, that you have taken up Arms again for? Not, I suppose, to be beaten over again. But if it be to Atone for your Late Miscarriages, and to set your selves right again with the Honourable Part of the World, This is the Place and the very Nick of Time for the Doing of it. As for You, says he to the Massians, that were the Inflamers and Beginners of This War; to what End were all your Menaces and Challenges to the Vitellians, if you have not the Heart at last now to look them in the Face?* This was his way to all People, but he treated the Third Legion more at Large, by Minding them of the Victories they had from time to time obtain'd; as That under *Marc Antony* against the *Parthians*, That under *Corbulo* against the *Armenians*, and Another Victory of later Date against the *Sarmatians*. He turn'd his Speech next to the *Prætorians*, but with Great Indignation and Contempt. *As for Your part, says he, you must either Conquer or Perish, for after Another Defeat you are no longer Soldiers but Peasants, and never to be own'd again by any other Generall or Army, you see your Arms and Ensigns, and certain Death before you if you are overthrown: your Shame is gone already, and only your Lives left you to Lose.*

Upon This Poynt of Time there was heard a Mighty Shout, and What was it but the Third Legions Salutation,

on, after the *Syrian* Custome, to the *Rising Sun*. It pass'd however, either by Chance, or Design, for a Greeting betwixt the Two Armyes upon the coming up of *Mucianus*. *Antonius* improv'd the Rumour, and Marching up directly, to the Enemy, as upon the Encouragement of Those Imaginary Supplies, the *Vitellians* gave way as Men hurry'd on by a Brutall *Impetus*, without any thing of Deliberation or Conduct. When *Antonius* found them Shrinking, he follow'd his Blow, and with one Close, Home Charge, brake them all to pieces: and it was in a Place too, where there was no Possibility of Rallying, for the Machines and Carriages that Block'd up the Way. The whole Passage, in fine, was cover'd with the Pursuers. The Slaughter was the more remarkable, for an Instance of One Soldier in the Medly that had the hard Hap to kill his Own Father. You shall have the Names, and the Story, upon the Credit of *Vipsanius Messalla* the Reporter of it.

Julius Mansuetus, a *Spaniard*, and a Soldier in the *Rapax-Legion*, left a Son behind him under Age when he went into the War: This Young Man grew up and was afterward list'd a Soldier in the Seaventh, or the *Galba-Legion*. It was his Fortune to Encounter and Mortally to Wound his own Father in the Battell, and it so fell out, that upon the Stripping and Riffing of him, (though half dead already) they came to know one Another. The Son upon This Discovery, took up the Body in his Arms, and most tenderly besought the Ghost of his unhappy Father not to impute This to his Son as a Parricide, for it was in truth a Publique Crime and the Civil War was to answer for it. But alas! says he; *What is one Private Soldier to the Main Cause?* With These words he imbrac'd the Body, digg'd a Hole in the Ground, and so pay'd his Father his last Funeral Duty. This was taken Notice of far and near, and became quickly the Discourse of the whole Army,

Army. Cursing and Lamenting the Unnaturall Miseryes of an Intestine War. But Friends and Relations fared never the better for This Hypocriticall Pitty: for the War went on nevertheless; and it is but a Matter of Course for People to Condemn what they do not like, and then to Do what they Condemn.

Upon their coming to *Cremona*, they found a New and a Hard piece of Work yet behind, that they were not aware of. The *German* Soldiers in the War against *Otho*, having joynd their Camp to the Walls of the Place, and then Fortify'd it with other additionall Works for their better Security: the *Flavianists* were not a little startled at That way of Proceeding, and the Generalls themselves at a Loss what Measures to take. It would not be Adviseable, they thought, to venture upon an Assault, with an Army that was now quite Harra's'd out with perpetual Duty Day and Night; and no Retreat within Distance neither in Case of Need. And Then to think of Going back to *Bebriacum*; which it would not only be a Tedious and an Intollerable March, but it would over and above Frustrate the Victory already obtain'd, and prove the Undoing of all they had Done. Or should they sit down now to Fortify in Form, with so Strong an Enemy at hand, the Danger would be the Sallying out upon them before they were Entrench'd. But above all the Rest, the Generalls greatest Difficulty was from their own Soldiers; for Delay was worse then Death to them, they liked nothing that was safe; but Temerity pass'd with them for Valour and they grounded their Hopes upon it. As to the Matter of Slaughter, Wounds, and Bloud, the Prospect of Booty made all Those Difficultyes seem easy to them.

Upon These Considerations *Antonius* gave order for a Generall Assault. The Fight began at a Distance with Arrows and Stones; wherein the *Vitellians* had the Advantage of the Higher Ground: but upon
Coming

Coming nearer, hand to hand, every Legion had it's Particular Post assign'd it; what Gate what Work they should attack. By This Method of Distinction, they did not only see how every Man Behav'd himself, Well or Ill, but likewise contracted a General Æmulation who should do Best. The Eighth and the Seventh (call'd *Claudiana*) had the Right Hand of the Camp. The Thirteenth went in a Hurry to the *Brescian Gate*. And here they made a little Pause, till they could get themselves a Provision of Spades, Axes, Hooks, and Ladders out of the Neighbouring Villages. And then under the Protection of a *Target-Force* over their Heads, they advanc'd up to the Walls: The *Vitellians* Tumbling down vast Stones upon them to break and disorder their Frame of Defence: which afterwards by Force of Pikes and Lances was Loosen'd and disjointed, and the Men under it destroy'd with a Great Slaughter: both Sides being Equally Skill'd all this while in the *Roman Art and Discipline of War*.

The Service was so Hot, and the Soldiers so weary, and in truth so Cross and Deaf to all Offices of Encouragement, that the *Flavians* were upon the very Poynt of Desponding when their Commanders fetch'd up their Hearts again, by minding them that *Cremona*, and the Pillage of it, was the Prize at Stake. It is hard to say whether This was the Conceit of *Hormus*, according to *Messalla*, or of *Antonius*, as *Caius Plinius* will have it: But most Certain it is, that whether the One or the Other, it was an Action yet, how Lewd soever, that answer'd the Characters both of their Lives and Manners. The *Flavians* upon This Irritation, without any Regard to Wounds and Hazards, fell immediately to Sapping the Ramparts and Battering the Gates: some of them getting upon their Companions Shoulders, Others, mounting a Second Stage of Targets, where they lay'd hold of the very Hands of their Enemyes, and Siez'd their Arms. In This Con-

fiel some that were wounded, Others that were not; some Gasping, Others Expiring; they came all tumbling down together, and made a Representation of Death in all manner of Shapes. But the Seventh and the Third Legions were the *Heroes* that Signalliz'd themselves beyond all the rest; and *Antonius* Himself in the Head of them, with the Choycest of his *Auxiliaries*. The *Vitellians* found by this time that they were not able to stand the Shock, and that all the Weapons they threw glanced off from the Enemies Engines of Defence, without doing any Execution, so that without any more adoe, they cast down the *Balista* it self, their Principal Machine; which, as it Crush'd all un- it to pieces where it fell; So it drew the Battlements and the upper part of the Ramparts along with it: and there fell likewise at the same time and Place, a certain Turret that was broken down by a Battery of Stones.

While the Seventh Legion was pressing upon This Breach, the Third, with their Axes and Swords forced the Gate. It passes without Contradiction that *Caius Volusius* a Common Soldier of the Third Legion was the First Man that enter'd the Place. He mounted the Works; and beat down all Opposers, giving all People to Understand with his Hand and Voyce that the Town was taken: whereupon the Rest follow'd him; and the *Vitellians*, in This Consternation, leap'd down the Ramparts to Shift for themselves. The whole Distance, in fine, betwixt the Camp and the City was all cover'd with Gore and Dead Bodyes: beside that, there were yet New Difficultyes to Encounter: as the Height of the Walls; the Strength of the Stone-Towers; the Gates fortify'd with Iron Bars, and the Soldiery upon the Walls with Sword in hand ready to make all Good; the Town Populous, and *Vitellians* in their Hearts, and a World of People gotten together from all Parts of *Italy* to a Fair at That time that was held

held there ; which, as it was a Strengthening to the Defendents by the Number, so it was a Temptation on the other hand to the Assailants in Respect of the Booty.

While Things were in This Posture, *Antonius* order'd the Houses of Pleasure in the Suburbs to be set on Fire (being Curious and Stately Buildings) to try what good might be done upon them That way for the Saving of their Estates. He took Possession of the Houses that were next the Walls, and overtop'd them, and Those he secur'd with a select Number of the Best Men he had, who with Tiles, Timber, and Fire-brands forced the Defendents from their Post ; and at the same time, the Legions, in a Close Body with a Fence of Bucklers over their Heads, stood ready for the Assault, the Machines playing all this while with Stones and Arrows. The *Vitellians* found themselves sinking by little and little, and the Better sort of them were the First that Compounded ; for there was no Contending with Fate. If *Cremona* should happen to be taken, their Condition they thought would be Desperate, and Themselves out of all Hope of Mercy. For the Victor's Revenge would fall Heaviest, they thought, upon the *Tribunes* and *Centurions*, where there was somewhat to begotten, and not upon the Beggary Sort that had nothing to lose. The Common Soldiers alas never troubled their Heads with the Thought of Consequences and Events, and their very Meanness was their Security : So that they stood up still for *Vitellius* ; some of them Sauntering up and down in the Streets, Others withdrawing themselves into Hiding-Holes, without so much as Solliciting for a Peace, even when they had given over the War. The Heads of the Army fell now to rasing out the Name, and taking down the Images of *Vitellius*. They did likewise set *Cæcina* at Liberty, who was at That time in Chains, tiring him out with Tears and Supplications, for the Favour of his

Intercession, and He, on the side, as Froward and Insolent as They were Servile, for there is not so Wretched a Spectacle in Nature as a Brave Man at the Feet of a Haughty Imperious Traytor. Soon after This, they exposed their Sacred Flags of *Insula* upon the Wall, in Token of their Submission; and *Antonius* thereupon put a stop to any further Hostility. Upon This, Advancing with their Eagles and Colours, the *Vitellians* follow'd them without Arms, and their Eyes fixed upon the Ground; A Doleful Troup of Forlorn Wretches. The *Flavians* gathering about them treated them at first with Hard Words, and then with Menaces. But when they saw with what Constancy and Patience they suffer'd all Reproaches, and with what Resignation they bare their Loss, it came into their Heads, that These were the very Men that govern'd themselves with so much Temper and Moderation upon their Late Victory at *Bebriacum*.

But when *Cæcinnæ* came to shew himself in his *Consular Robes*, with his *Lictors* before him to Clear the Way, the Conquering Party Clamour'd outrageously against him for his Pride, Cruelty, and Treachery: so Odious a Thing is Wickedness even to the Wickedest of Men themselves. *Antonius* however kept the Peace by sending away *Cæcinnæ* under a Safe Convoy to *Vespasian*. The Inhabitants of *Cremona*, in the mean while, pass'd their time very uneasily among so many Armed Men, and it had certainly come to Blood, if the Officers had not very Dextrously pacify'd the Multitude.

Antonius, while This Humour was a Foot, call'd an Assembly, and treated them with the Formality of a Solemn Oration; speaking very Honourably of his Own Party, and with no less Respect and Courtesy of the Other; but of *Cremona* betwixt both, and keeping himself upon the Reserve. The Army had undoubtedly their Hearts set upon the Plunder of the Place, partly for

for the Booty sake, (the Common Cause,) and partly for an Old Grudge they bare the People, who were strongly suspected in *Otho's* War to have sided with *Vitellius*. Beside that when the Thirteenth Legion was left there to attend the erecting of an *Amphitheatre*, they made a Sport and Mockery of it, but like City-Wits, without either Sense or Good Manners. It stuck in their Stomachs too, the Spectacle of the *Sword-Play*, or *Fencers* that was exhibited by *Cæcinnæ* there, to the Honour of *Vitellius*: and then the making it a Second time the Seat of the War. It was further Objected against them, that they had supply'd the *Vitellians* with Provisions, and that some of their very Women were found among the Dead upon the Field of Battel. And it was now Another Inducement to them, that though the Town was Rich of it self, the Pomp and Hurry of the Fair-time made it look much Wealthier than it was: This was the State of Things with Respect to the Soldiery.

As to the Commanders, All Eyes were set upon *Antonius*, both for his Reputation, and his Fortune, and no Great Notice taken of the Rest. Upon his Entering the Town, he went immediately to the Bath; and finding the Water a little too Cool, he dropt an Unlucky Word, that *it would be Hotter ere long*. This was over heard and Maliciously thrown upon him by an Invidious Construction, as if it had been a Signal to the Burning of the Town, which, in truth, was already in a Flame. But there were Forty Thousand Armed Men broken into the Place, and a Greater Number yet of Followers of the Camp that were more Licentious and Ungovernable than the Other. There was no Regard either to Age, Sex or Dignity; but the People were all expos'd indifferently to Rapes, Murders and Other Insolences: Old Men and Women that were worth nothing in the Market, serv'd yet for Matter of Frolique and Derision. When it so fell

out that some lovely Youth, or Beautiful Virgin, in her Prime, fell into the Hands of the Soldiers, it was a Common thing to tear them Limme from Limme betwixt them, in a Contest who should carry them off; and for the Competitors themselves to destroy one another in the Quarrell. And it was much the same Thing in the Case of any Other Booty, either in Mony, or Mony's Worth; as Rich Moveables, Golden Vessels and Pretious Donatives out of the Temple. In time they robb'd one Another, and the Stronger Robb'd the Weaker, taking away from him both Life and Pillage together. And it was not enough neither to make Prize of what they found Above Ground, and in Sight, without putting People to the Torture for Hidden Treasure, whether there were any Concealment or nor: carrying Fire Brands all this while in their Hands too, to set the Temples and Other Buildings on Fire as fast as they Rifled them; which they made a part of their Diversion. It was no Wonder in an Army so divided in Speech and Manners, and made up of so many Several Partyes, as *Romans*, *Confederates*, and *Strangers*, to find in Proportion a suitable Diversity of Passions and Opinions: which was the Case; One Approving, what Another Disliked, and Nothing upon the Main, unlawful to all. But *Cremona*, in fine, took up Four Dayes the Rifling, and the Burning, and when every thing else, Sacred and Prophane, was lay'd in Ashes, the Temple of *Mephitis* was the Only Thing that Scap'd: Some ascribing the Deliverance to the Situation of it, for it stood without the Walls; Others to some Sovereign Power and Virtue in the Goddess her self.

This was the End of *Cremona*; Two Hundred Eighty and Six Years from the Building of it. The Foundation of it was lay'd in the Consulates of *Tiberius Semonius* and *Publius Cornelius*, at the time when *Hannibal* was designing for *Italy*, and intended it for a Rampart,
either

either against the *French*, on the Other Side of the *Pe*, or against any Other Attempt by the way of the *Alpes*. This Place, what with the Multitude of the Inhabitants, the Convenience of Navigable Rivers, the Fertility of the Country thereabout, and the Strength of several Alliances contracted in the Neighbourhood, This Place, I say, became very Considerable, and in all Forreign Wars scap'd well enough, how Unfortunate soever in Civil.

Antonius was so Sick and Asham'd of what he had done, and of the Odium he had drawn upon himself, that to Attone for't in some Measure, he put out a Proclamation for setting all the *Cremona* Prisoners at Liberty; while *Italy*, at the same time, enter'd into a Solemn Agreement among themselves, *One and All*, not to take any of them off their Hands for Slaves; which was Another way of Spoyling their Market. When the Soldiers saw they could not sell their Prisoners they fell to Killing them: and This being once known, their Friends and Relations dealt privately for their Ransom. Soon after This, the People that had for some time been scatter'd up and down the Country, came back again to *Cremona*: where the Temples and other Publique Works were repair'd at the Charge of the Burghers, and at the speciall Instance of *Vespasian*.

The Ayr was so tainted at present with the Poysonous Steame of so many Putrid Carcases, that the *Flavians* were not suffer'd to make any long stay upon the Ruines, for fear of a Contagion, but rather drew off a matter of Three Mile from the Town, where they Rally'd the Stragling and Disbanded *Vitellians*, trembling to think what would become of them, and so Lifted every Man over again in his own Troup and Company. They were sent afterward to *Illyricum*, for fear of New Practices in a Civil War. From Hence there were Couriers dispatch'd away into *Britany* and *Spain*, with Tidings of the Victory. *Julius Cæsar*, a

Tribune, was sent into *France*, and *Alpinus Montanus*, a Captain of a Cohort, into *Germany*. This was done in a kind of Ostentation or Triumph; the Former being of *Triers*, and the Other an *Eduan*, and Both for *Vitellius*. They took care also to secure the Passes of the *Alpes*, out of a Jealousy they had of the *German*s good Will to *Vitellius*.

7. Some few Dayes after the Departure of *Cæcinnæ*, *Vitellius* sent away *Fabius Valens* also to the War, and in the mean while withdrew himself from the Publique, under the Colour of Attending the Cares and Duties of the Government. There was now no longer any Talk of Military Preparations, and Exercises: none of the Popular Ways of Cajoling the Soldiery and the People, either in Word or Action, but there he lay in his Grottos and Privy-Walks Guzzling and Gourmandizing, like a Beast that is put up to be Fatted; without so much as the least thought of any Thing Past, Present, or to Come.

While he lay Doseing and Dreaming Thus in the Groves of *Aricia*, he was a little Quickned with a Piece of News was brought him, of the Treachery of *Lucilius Bassus*, and the Defection of the Navy: which was seconded soon after, by Another Intelligence half Good half Bad; that is to say that *Cæcinnæ* was False; and that the Army had put him in Chains for't. This Stupid Prince was much more sensible of the Good News on the one hand then of the Bad on the Other: and upon That Transport of Joy he went back again to the City in a kind of Exultation, and Triumph: and There in a Set Speech and a Full Assembly he cry'd up the Faith and Bravery of the Soldiers to the Skyes. *Publius Sabinus* the Captain of the Guard, was an Intimate Friend of *Cæcinnæ*'s, it seems, and for that Reason Discharg'd his Trust, and Committeed; and *Alphenus Varus* put in his Place. He went then to the Senate with a High-flown Harangue in his Mouth; and they

they were not wanting neither on the Other Side, in a Fawning, Fulsome Return. There was a Bitter Sentence pass'd upon *Caccinna*, and *Lucius Vitellius* was the First Man that appear'd against him, and so it went thorough the whole Body in a well Dissembled Indignation; To see, as they say'd, a Consul betray the Common-Wealth; a General, his Prince; and a Minion or Favourite, under a Thousand Obligations, to betray his Benefactor and Patron. Now This was only an Artificial way of Venting their own Passions under the Colour of a Respect for *Vitellius*. And not one Word of Reproach all this while upon any of the *Flavian* Commanders, but only in general, that the Army was much to blame. And so for *Vespasian*, they never so much as mentioud his Name, and kept off as much as possible from the least touch upon his Conduct and Proceedings. There pass'd at this time a most Ridiculous Request, and as Ridiculous a Grant. *Caccinna* was now out of his Consulship, within one Day; and *Roscius Regulus* petition'd for the Remainder of his Time and obtain'd it. So that in One and the same Day, (the Last of *October*) he both took the Consulship upon him, and resign'd it: a thing never heard of before (as was Noted by Men of Observation and Experience) to put One Magistrate in before Another was out, without either some Failing in the Creation, or some Express Law made to Justify it. *Caninius Rebilus*, 'tis true, had the Consulship confer'd upon him for one Day and no more, in the time when *Caius Caesar* was *Dictator*, but the Necessities and Circumstances of the Civil War were some sort of Privilege for Doing things in a Hurry.

There was a great Talk in Those Dayes about the Death of *Junius Blæsus*: a Famous, and a Remarkable Passage, and This was the Story. While *Vitellius* lay desperately Sick in the *Servilian Gardens*, he took Notice one Night of a Great many Lights or Illuminations

ons in a Turret that stood within Sight of his Window; and ask'd the People about him what might be the Meaning of it? They told him, that *Cacina Fuscus* had a Great Treat there, and a World of People at it; *Junius Blasus* for One; and the Best Man in the Company. At This rate they went on; and made every thing more then it was: the Splendor and the Magnificence of the Entertainments; the Froliques, the Lascivious Lewdness of the Conversation, and in fine, all things else at Large. Nay there were those among them that did not stick at Personal Imputations and Reflections; particularly upon *Fuscus* Himself and Others; but above all the Rest upon *Blasus*; with an Invidious Admiration how he could have the Heart to Squander away his time in the Luxury of Riots and Revels, when his Prince lay a dying. It was Evident by this time to all People that understood any thing of the Humour of Courts and Princes, that *Vitellius* was already Exasperated, and a way open to the Destruction of *Blasus*. *Lucius Vitellius* had the Menage of the Commission; a Mortal Enemy to *Blasus* out of the Envy he bare him, for having somewhat a Better Reputation in the World then himself.

The First thing *Vitellius* did, was to address himself to the Emperor, his Brother. He had no sooner enter'd the Door of his Chamber, but he took up the young Prince in his Arms and cast himself down at the Feet of the Father; who in a Surprise ask'd him the Reason of this Disorder. Sir, says he, I am not come hither with Tears and Supplications, to attend you upon my Own Account; nor is it for my self, or for my Own Sake, that I am thus Sollicitous: but the Anxiety of my Distress is to think, at your rate of Proceeding, what will become of your Self, and your Children. What can be Vainer then to Amuse your self with any Apprehension of Danger from *Vespasian*: having so Many German Legions to encounter him; so Many Provinces of Men of Faith

Faith and Courage, that will stand by you in all Extremities; and a whole World of Sea and Land betwixt you, to keep him at a Distance. No, no; the Enemy you have to Fear lies in your own Bosom, and That's the Enemy you are to have a Care of; an Enemy that derives himself from the Junii, and the Antonii; and sets up for a Branch of the Imperial Line: an Enemy that makes Court to the Soldiers, with all the Popular Arts of Donatives and Fair Words; and an Enemy that hath already drawn their Eyes that way as toward the Rising Sun. And what does Your Imperial Majesty in the mean while, but, without Distinguishing either Friend or Foe, indulge a Rival that makes the Agonies of his Master his Diversion? Why do you not give him to Understand by the Just and Necessary Severity of one Night's Work, how much his ill natur'd Gayeties are out of Season? A Night that may make him know and Feel to his Cost, that Vitellius yet Lives, and Governs: and in Case of the Worst, that he hath a Son to succeed him that will Revenge the Father. Vitellius stood a while in Balance betwixt the Hazzard of a Delay, and the Scandal of owning so Horrid a Wickedness Bare-fac'd: But he came in the End to a Resolution of attempting it by Poyson; which was more and more confirm'd by the Cheerfulness of Vitellius's Visit to *Blasus* when he lay adying; and more yet by an Unmanly Expression he let fall upon his Return, in These very Words. Now, says he, have I Feasted my Eyes with the Sight of the Death of my Enemy.

Blasus, over and above the Dignity of his Extraction, and the Politeness of his Manners; was all along Firm to Vitellius from the very Beginning, for he had been Courted and Solicited to go over, by *Cecinna*, and the Chief of That Party; when they began to fall off from Vitellius, and before ever *Vespasian* pretended. But he stood his Ground against all Temptations like a Just and Steady Man, and so far from any Ambitious Design upon the Empire, that his very mode-

moderation advanc'd him within a very little of being thought Worthy of it.

8. *Fabius Valens*, in this interim, with his Dissolute Train of Capons and Concubines, kept marching on still, though not with the Diligence and Expedition of an Army that was advancing to make War. He was encounter'd in his Progress by several Expresses one after another, with the News of *Bassus's* Treachery upon the Navy at *Ravenna*: so that if he had but vigorously prosecuted his Journey as he should have done, he might either have come up time enough to prevent *Cacina's* Revolt (for he was as yet but wavering) or he might have joyn'd the Legions before the Blow was struck. Some about him were of Opinion for his Crossing the Country thorough By-Ways, so as to avoy'd *Ravenna*; with a Party of his Friends, and Good Guides along with him and so to make all the Hast he could to *Hofilia*, or *Cremona*. Others were for drawing the *Pratorian Cohorts* out of the City, and so Forcing their Passage. But *Valens* trifled away those Opportunities in Formalities of Deliberation, that should have been employ'd upon Action; and at last, when neither of the Advices pleas'd him, he took a Middle way, which in a difficulty was the worst of all, when a Man is neither Daring enough on the one hand, to encounter a Danger, nor Provident enough on the other to divert it. Now the *Medium* he pitch'd upon was to sollicite *Vitellius*, by Letters, for Relief; who thereupon sent him an Enforcement of Three Cohorts, with a British Body of Horse: which were too many for a Feint, or a Pretence, and too few for an Attack. But *Valens* in all his Extremities was not reform'd one jot yet from his old Scandalous Practice of unlawful Pleasures, polluting all Places where ever he came, with Adulteries, and other Extravagant Lusts: for he had Power and Mony at command, which with a Luxurious Appetite is enough to consummate the Miseries of a Sinking Fortune.

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He came at length, upon the arrival of his Horse and Foot, to find the error of his Proceedings, for as they were not enough to Force the Enemy, supposing them never so Honest: So was there great Reason on the other hand, to suspect their Integrity. But yet betwixt the Shame of Doing a Base Thing, and the Reverence they had for the Presence of their General, they were kept for a while in some sort of Awe. But Obligations of This kind are seldom long Liv'd, among Men that Value neither their Lives, nor their Credit. *Valens* under This Apprehension sent the Cohorts before to *Ariminum*, and order'd the Horse to secure the Rear: while he Himself with some few Brave Men in his Company that had stood Right in all Fortunes, turn'd off into *Umbria*, and so to *Etruria*. At This Place it was that *Valens* got the first Notice of the Defeat at *Cremona*, whereupon there came a Bold Thought into his Head, which would have been a Glorious Exploit if it had succeeded. His Project was to get Shipping and put to Sea: and if he could but land a Body of Men any where upon the Province of *Narbon*, his Opinion was, that *France*, and *Germany* might be easily engaged to the raising of a New War.

Valens was no sooner departed, but *Cornelius Fuscus* advanc'd with an Army against *Ariminum*; and with the Help of his Gallies upon the Coast begirt the Place both by Sea and Land: where he found the Defendants already under a Panick Dread. He possess'd himself after This, of the Plain of *Umbria*, and of that part of *Picenum* also toward the *Adriatique*. Italy was at This time Divided betwixt *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*, and the *Appennine Mountains* betwixt them. *Fabius Valens*, putting himself aboard in the Bay of *Pisa*, was forced by rough Seas, foul Weather, and Cross Winds into the Port of *Hercules Monæcus*, where he was generously received by *Marcus Maturnus*, the Intendent of the *Maritim Alps*: a Man unchangeably True to *Vitellius*, even

ven when the whole Country thereabouts was gone over to the Other Side.

This *Maturus*, upon some Discourse with *Valens*, press'd him by all means not to run so Desperate a Risque, as to expose his Person among the People in the Province of *Narbon*. This Caution so far stagger'd *Valens* himself, and those about him, that it put a check to the Resolution: for *Valerius Paulinus*, *Procurator*, and a Person of great Authority in Those Parts; a Brave Soldier; and an old Friend of *Vespasian's*, even before his Greatness, had already given the Oath of Allegiance in the name of *Vespasian*, to all the Cities thereabouts, and he had likewise enter'd all Those upon the Roll that *Vitellius* had discharg'd, and voluntarily offer'd themselves to the Service: beside the maintaining of a Garison in the *Forum Julii*, which was the very Key of the Coast. The Interest and Reputation of *Paulinus* was so much the greater too, by his being a Native of the Place: and a Man of Great Credit among the *Prætorian Cohorts*, having been formerly their *Tribune*. The Burghers had also an Esteem for him as their Countryman, and they were the forwarder to serve him, in hope of being the Better for it another Day. The *Vitellians* were down in the Mouth already, and upon the Hammering of These Pompous Stories into their Heads, *Fabius Valens* made away immediately to the Ships; with only Four Spearmen, Three Select Friends, and as many Centurions, to bear him Company. *Maturus* and the Rest that staid behind, were left at Liberty, either to Swear to *Vespasian*, or not, as they thought fit. *Valens* in fine was Safer undoubtedly at Sea than a Shore, but what to do there, he was not as yet resolv'd: only he found the Choice easier what to Avoid, than what to Trust to. He was driven in the End by Contrary Winds upon the *Stoechades*: certain Islands belonging to *Marseilles*; where he was taken up by Gallies that were sent by *Paulinus* to seize him.

9. Upon the taking of *Valens*, the Provinces went all over to the Conqueror, and the First Legion in *Spain*, call'd the *Adjutrix*, was the First that led the way: which for *Otho's* sake was an Enemy to *Vitellius*; and was follow'd by the Sixth and the Tenth. *France* was not long after: nor *Britany*; and in a more especial manner: *Vespasian* having signaliz'd himself there for a Great Captain in the Command of the Second Legion under *Claudius*; but not without muttering and opposition elsewhere: For there were several Centurions and Soldiers of *Vitellius's* promoting, that having a Prince they had try'd already, were not willing to change their Master.

Upon These Heart burnings, and the Talk every where of an *Intestine War*; the *Britains* took Courage, and at the Instigation of *Venusius*, enter'd into a Rebellion. This *Venusius*, over and above his own Natural Fierceness, and the Violent Aversion he had to the very Name of a *Roman*, had yet a more Powerful Incentive in the Person of *Carthismandua*; the Queen of the *Brigantes*, and a Princess of an Illustrious Descent; who made her self yet more considerable, by a most Dishonourable Act of Treachery upon King *Caractacus*; whom she first betray'd, and then deliver'd up to *Claudius Cæsar* for the Glory and Ornament of his Triumph. This was the making of her Fortune; and of Wealth came Luxury: and in the License of that Riotous Humour, she cast off *Venusius* her Rightful Husband, and took *Velocatus* his Armour-bearer into his Place, both in her Bed, and Government. This Lewd Extravagance prov'd in a short time the Ruine of her: the People were for the Husband, but the Wanton, Cruel Queen and her Party for the Adulterer; and all in a Confusion. *Venusius*, upon this Provocation, got an Army together, and with the Help of a Desertion from the *Brigantes* themselves, made a War upon the Queen, and put her to such

such an Extremity, that if it had not been for some Enforcements of Horse and Foot that she obtain'd from the *Romans*, she had been utterly lost: but after several Encounters with Success, those supplies brought her off in her Person, while the Kingdom went to *Venusius*, and the War to *Us*. Betwixt the Ignorance and Carelessness of the Commanders, and the Seditious Humour of the Legions, Matters went very ill with *Us* at that time in *Germany*: so that what with Foreign Force, and False Brethren among our selves, the Empire was brought to the very Brink of Destruction. But of the War itself, (which was long) with the Causes and Events of it, we shall say more hereafter.

The *Dacians* at the same time began likewise to be troublesome: a People at the Best without Faith, but now without Fear too, by the withdrawing of the *Mæsan* Army. They contented themselves at the Beginning to stand still awhile, and look on; but when they came to find *Italy* all in a Flame, and the Provinces every where didided among themselves, they took the Opportunity of breaking in upon the Main Camp of the Wings and Cohorts, and made themselves Masters of both sides of the *Danube*. And they were now in a Fair way to have done as much for the Legions, if *Mucianus*, being already inform'd of the Victory at *Cremona*, had not brought up the Sixth Legion and prevented the Mischief: for it would have gone hard he saw with the Empire, if Two Foreign Powers the *Germans* and the *Dacians*, should have fall'n in upon them at the same time from several Quarters. It was a wonderful Providencce, the arrival of *Mucianus* upon that precise Point of time, with his Eastern Forces, and to have Matters so well over at *Cremona* in the interim. But this is not the first time that Fortune hath befriended the *Romans*.

*Pontei*us Agrippa, after a Year spent in the Government of *Asia*, was now made Lieutenant-General of *Mæsia*: with a Competent Strength assign'd him out of the *Vitellian Legions*, which was look'd upon as a Point of Political Prudence; both in keeping them dispers'd and in the hampering of them in a Foreign War. And the People were, at this time as Unquiet elsewhere too. As for Example. There was one *Anicetus*, a Freed-man of *Polemo's* the King of *Pontus*; and a Person formerly in Great Place and Authority, but at present highly Disgusted at the Reducing of the Kingdom to a Province. This *Anicetus*, a Barbarous Bond-Slave in *Pontus*, and formerly the King's Admiral, put the whole Country all on a sudden into a Commotion, by Lifting and Inveigling the Inhabitants into the Party of *Vitellius*, and working upon their Necessities by the Hopes and Assurances of Rapine and Booty. When by These Arts and Practices he had gotten together a Considerable Strength, he took *Tarpezus* by Surprize; an Antient City of *Asia* upon the uttermost Borders of the *Euxine Sea*, and Founded by the *Greeks*. There was a Cohort cut off upon the taking of it, which in time past was in the King's Pay; but coming afterwards to be made Free of *Rome*, they only made Use of Our way of Arming and Discipline, but stuck to the *Græcian* Methods still, in the Dissolution of Order and Manners. He set Fire to the Navy too, without any Opposition or Obstruction: For *Mucianus* having order'd the Soldiery and the Best of the Gallies away to *Constantinople*, the Sea and the Coasts were all open: which gave the *Barbarians* more Scope for their Insolences and Pillage. And thereupon they built themselves in all hast a sort of Boats that they called *Camææ*; the Sides streight and narrow, and the Bottoms broad. In a Rowling Sea, as the Waves rose, so they Rais'd the Sides of the Vessel with so many

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Boards, let one into another; and put together without either Brass or Iron-work; till in the end they Clos'd in the Top, like the Roof of a Chamber, (from whence they took their Name.) In this manner they lay wallowing upon the Waves with a Double Prow, and a Provision of Oars to Row any way without Danger, at their own Discretion.

Vespasian, upon This, order'd a Detachment to be drawn out of the Legions for Present Service, under the Command of *Virdius Geminus*, an Officer of great Conduct and Experience. This Captain finding the Enemy in Disorder, and scatter'd every where up and down to look for Booty, took that Opportunity to fall on, and forced them from the Shore to their Boats again, following the Pursuit so hard, with some Gallies they had patch'd up in a Hurry, that they got up to *Anicetus* as he lay in the Mouth of the River *Cobibus* under the Protection of the King of *Seduchezi*; who he had gain'd over to his Interest by Money and Presents. The King talk'd Big at first, and put on the Countenance of a Resolution to stand by his Suppliant thorough all Extremities. But when it came to the Point whether he should Betray him for a Reward, or run the Hazard of a War to defend him; he shew'd himself a True Barbarian in the Breach of his Faith: for he deliver'd up *Anicetus* to Death, upon a Composition; render'd the Fugitives, and by This Turn put an End to that Servile War.

This was a Joyful Day to *Vespasian*, even beyond his Wish, and the Comfort of it was yet more augmented by the Tidings of the Battle of *Cremona* that were brought to him soon after in *Egypt*. Upon That Intelligence he posted away to *Alexandria*, in a Prospect of finishing the Work by Famine, and Fiction, that was so far advanced already by Arms: taking for granted that it was Morally Impossible for *Rome* to subsist without Supplies from *Egypt*. The First thing

thing to be done was to carry the War into *Africa* (lying all along the same Coast) and to assault it both by Sea and Land; in which Case they had little more to do than the Shutting up of the Magazines for the gaining of their Point by dividing the Enemy.

10. These mighty Changes in the *Universe* made way for Alterations in the Fortune of the *Empire* too, by transferring the Government from one Hand to Another. *Antonius Primus* did not shew himself the same Modest, Innocent Person, after the Battel of *Cremona* that he seem'd to be before: whether it was that he took the Bus'ness, or at least the Difficulty of the War to be over; or that he came now, out of an Impotency of Mind to Discover in his Prosperity the Pride, Avarice, and other secret Corruptions of his Heart, which till then he had Conceal'd. He treated *Italy* as a Conquer'd Country, and the Legions, effectually, as his own Creatures and Subjects: doing all that was possible both by Words and Actions to secure the Soldiery to himself. And then to gratifie them in the Gust of a Popular Liberty, he frankly remitted it to the Legions to Chuse *Centurions* into the Places of those that were Slain: by which device they made sure of the most Turbulent Spirits they could pick up. So that the Soldier was now no longer under the Command of the Officer, but the Officer overborn by the Violence of the Soldier.

By These Methods of Disorder and Sedition, he made way to his Advantage, and without any Apprehension of *Mucianus* coming up; though he might with more Security have affronted *Vespasian* Himself. The Winter being now at hand, and the *Po Waters* out, the Army march'd Light, and without Baggage: leaving behind them at *Verona* the Ensigns and Standards of the Victorious Legions with the Aged, Sick, and Wounded, and a Mixture of others also in a State of Bodily Health: reckoning upon it that the War being so far

spent, the Cohorts, the Wings, and a Detachment of Commanded Men out the Legions, would be sufficient to do the Work. The Eleventh Legion was now come up too, how backward soever at first, but when they saw how things succeeded, they were ashamed of themselves, for not putting in time enough for a part in the Honour of the Action. There were also Six Thousand *Dalmatians*, New rais'd-Men; under the Titular Command of *Poppæus Sylvanus*, Lieutenant General. I call it Titular, for every thing was in truth, under the Government and Direction of *Annius Bassus*, Lieutenant of the Legions, who managed accordingly with great Industry and Temper. For *Bassus* knowing *Sylvanus* to be a Man of neither Experience, nor Dispatch, and one that trifled away his Opportunities in Talking when he should have been Doing, took upon himself the Command and Conduct of Matters, under the Semblance of Obedience and Respect. He had likewise an Enforcement of Choice Men out of the Fleet at *Ravenna* that had a mind to serve in the Legions; and *Dalmatians* put into their Places.

While Matters were in This Posture, *Antonius* made a stand at *Fanum Fortune*; and there to consider of the main Point. For he had heard that the *Prætorian Cohorts* were already upon their March out of *Rome*: giving also for granted that the Passes upon the *Apennine* Mountains were all preposse'd and Fortify'd against him, beside the Hazzard of a Sedition in a Ruin'd Country for want of Provisions, the Soldiers crying out already in a Tumultuary Manner for their *Clavarium*. (A kind of Donative) But there was neither Money nor Corn to be gotten: which was partly the Soldiers Fault who were so Hasty and Greedy, that what they got, instead of a Contribution, was rather a Pillage than a Relief. The Victors, in fine, had so little Reverence for Humanity, Honour or Justice, that

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a Common Trouper, (as we have it upon Great and Good Authority) had the Face openly to own the Killing of his own Brother in the last Combat : and not only so, but to demand a Reward of the Commanders for the Action. The Answer they gave him was This, that *they were not at present in Condition to do so much for him as he deserv'd.* This is all we hear of the Matter : and with this Complement they put him off : for it would have been against the Laws of Nations to encourage such a Villainy, and as much against the Reason of the War to Punish it.

There happen'd such another Case in the First Civil-War, of a *Pompeian* Soldier that Kill'd his Brother in the Battel against *Cinna* at *Faniculum* : but *Sisenna* tells us that so soon as ever he found what he had done, he laid Violent hands upon himself. So much more sensible were our Forefathers both of the Glory of well-doing, and of the Shame of Doing amiss, than We are at Present. It will not be Impertinent to apply These and the like Memorials in their Due Time and Place when ever we want either Example for the encouragement of Vertue, or Consolation in Cases of Misfortune.

Antonius and the Other Commanders being now at *Fanum*, were all of Opinion for the sending of Horsemen before upon the Scout to View the whole Coast of *Umbria*, and to try if they could find out any Passable Way thorough the Craggs of the *Appennine*, remanding at the same time the Standards, Ensigns, and Soldiers that they left at *Verona*, and having given Order beforehand for a Supply of all Sorts of Provisions to be brought them by Water, Some of the Commanders were for putting things off, for *Antonius*, they thought, took too much upon him, and so they lik'd *Mucianus* the Better of the Two. Now This *Mucianus* was gall'd at Heart at the Successes of *Antonius* ; and to think again, that if the Town should be taken without him, he

could have no Pretence to any part in the Honour of the Exploit. While Matters were in This Suspence, *Mucianus* ply'd the Generals *Primus* and *Varus*, with Mysterious Letters and Discourses : about their march; one while upon the Advantage of a Vigorous Execution out of hand, and then again upon the Prudentials of taking Time and Consideration, and These Disagreements so artificially Qualify'd and Compounded, that what soever happen'd he was still sure to be in the Right. But for *Plotius Griphus*; (who was newly raised by *Vespasian* to the Dignity of a Senator, and the Command of a Legion) to Him, I say, and Other of his Friends and Confidants he deliver'd himself plainly enough; to wait till he came up: So that all his Party fell severely upon the Precipitation and Temerity of *Primus* and *Varus*, and spake as Favourably of *Mucianus* as he Himself could desire. Upon *Mucianus*'s sending These Letters to *Vespasian*, *Antonius*, contrary to his Expectation, lost Ground in the good Opinion of his Master. And this Practice put him out of all Patience, imputing his Misfortunes still to the Calumnious Contrivances of *Mucianus*; and venting his Spleen against him in Harsh Words too, being naturally Foul-Mouth'd, and Insolent to the Highest Degree, as appear'd by an Arrogant Letter he wrote to *Vespasian*, which did not look like the Letter of a Subject to his Prince, beside several Skewing Reflexions in it upon *Mucianus*.

In this Letter he made it his Boast *That the Raising and Engaging of the Pannonian Legions, and the bringing over of the Mœsians, was the single Work of Antonius: His Courage and Resolution that forc'd the Alpes; Master'd Italy and cut off all Communication with the Rhœtians and the Germans. And who was it, says he, but Antonius again, that Surprized and Routed the Vitellians, by taking the Advantage of their Legions being scatter'd and out of Order: Charging them first with Horse, and then*

then with Foot, till they got the Chace of them for one whole Day and Night, which was the most Glorious Exploit, perhaps, in the whole War. As for the Loss of Cremona, it was but one Town, and the Chance of War, whereas in other Civil Wars, more mischief has been done, even to the Razing of many Goodly Cities. He serv'd his Prince, he said, with his Sword in his Hand, and not by the Talking Method of Letters and Expresses. He would not derogate, he said, from the Honour of Those that accommodated Matters in Mœsia: but their Bus'ness was only the Peace of a Province, whereas his Heart was set upon the Safety of Italy, and the Empire. It was upon His Account, in fine, that the Strength of France and Spain came over to Vespasian. But all This, says he, is to no Purpose, if only Those who had no part in the Danger of the Service shall run away with the Honour and the Reward of it.

Mucianus was no Stranger to all this, and it bred a Mortal Fewd betwixt them: but Antonius was the Franker Enemy of the Two: Mucianus the more Cautious and Reserv'd, and consequently the more Implacable.

11. It was a Great Weakness in Vitellius, after the Terrible Defeat at Cremona, to dissemble the truth of the Matter and suppress the Story: for instead of putting a stop to the Mischief it self, He only put one to the Care and Consideration of a Remedy. Now if he had but fairly confess'd the Matter, and soberly advis'd upon it, His Condition was so far from Desperate, that he had Means yet left him, for a Hopeful After-Game. But he took rather the clear Contrary Course, and by pretending that the World went well with him, he spoil'd all by his Dissimulation. They were all so wonderfully Silent at Court upon This Subject, that War was not so much as Mention'd in his Presence: and then all over the City the Discourse was expressly forbidden; which was the Surest way to Publish it. Now if

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People had been left at Liberty: they would have contented themselves with the Bare Truth of Things; whereas this Prohibition made them represent Matters worse thn they were. Nay the *Flavian* Commanders Themselves did their Parts also towards the Amplifying of the Rumour: for as they took any of *Vitellius's* Spyes they carry'd them up and down the Camp, and when they had shew'd them the Glory and the Strength of their Victorious Army, they sent them back again to their Master, who had them privately Examind and then put to Death. But there was one memorable Instance above all the rest, of a Generous Bravery in the Case of *Julius Agrestis*, a *Centurion*. He had taken a great deal of Pains to Reason *Vitellius* into the Resolution of a Man of Courage, and when he saw the Thing was not to be done, he prevailed at last, that He himself might be sent out to learn the State of the Enemy's Army, and the Story of *Cremona*. This being granted, he went no Sneaking way to Work to Impose upon *Antonius* as a *Spye*, but told him, in Plain Terms, his Commission, his Intent, and his Business, and so desired the Liberty to see, what was to be seen. So *Antonius* sent People along with him to show him the Field of Battle: the Ruins of *Cremona*, and the Broken Legions. Upon the *Centurion's* Return with the Report of what he had seen, *Vitellius* would not believe one word he said, but charged him with Corruption and Treachery, over and above. Well! says *Agrestis*; Since This Evidence will not serve the Turn, and that my Life or Death are things so Indifferent to You, I shall provide you Proof of it to put all out of doubt: and so he went out and confirm'd what he had said with his Bloud. Some will have it (tis true) that he was put to Death by *Vitellius's* Order, but as to the Loyalty and Resolution of the Man, that's agreed upon at all hands.

Vitellius,

Vitellius, upon This, like a Man frighted out of a Sleep, posted away *Fulius Priscus* and *Alphenus Varus* immediately with *Fourteen Prætorian Cohorts*, and the whole Body of Horse, to secure the Passes upon the *Appennine*. These were follow'd with a *Marine Legion*, and it was such a Power, in short, both for Number, and for the Choice of Men, and Horse, that under any other Prince, it would have been a Force not only sufficient for a Defence, but formidable even for an Aggression. The Remainder of the Cohorts was Committed to *Lucius* the Emperour's Brother, for the Guard of the City, while He himself in this *interim* abated nothing of his Customary Lewdness and Riot. He was highly distrustful, and his Diffidence made him Rash, and Suddain, as appear'd in his way of calling Assemblies, and Choosing Officers, which was done all in a Hurry, and Consuls declar'd by Anticipation, for several Years to come. He was forward for New Alliances; confer'd Latin-Immunities upon Strangers; granting Exemptions to some, and Privileges to Others, which the Wultitude gaped after, Fools purchased, and Wise Men despised: looking upon Those Profusions as Nullities, that could neither be given, nor received with the Honour or Safety of the Common wealth.

He came at last, at the Request of his Army, which was at that time before *Meuania*, up to the Camp Himself, with a long Train of Senators at his Heels. Some for Pomp, but more for Fear; and in a Distraction what to do, only when he had Choice of Councils before him, he would commonly take the worst. As he was once Haranguing his Soldiers, there came fluttering over his Head so Prodigious a Flock of Birds of ill Presage, that the very Air was darken'd with them, and this Prodigy was follow'd with as ill boding an Omen. There was a Bull, that being design'd for a Sacrifice, brake loose from the Altar; overturn'd the Sacrificing Vessels, and was at last

last knock'd down a great way from the Place where the Sacrifices were usually kill'd. But the most Horrid Portent of all Portents was *Vitellius* himself: a Prince that was neither cut out for a Soldier, nor for a Statesman: a Prince that understood nothing at all of War, neither the Discipline or the Duties of it; when to Protract, or when to Quicken it, or the Military Methods of Defence and Attack: He knew nothing of all This, but as he was told it. He was so Timorous that his Lips and his Knees would tremble at every Idle Rumour, beside that, at the Best, he was seldom Sober. In the Conclusion he grew Sick of the Camp, and upon the News of the Navy's Revolt at *Misenum*, he went back to *Rome*: the last Blow though never so small still making the deepest Impression upon him; and on the other hand, he was as Careless of Matters of the greatest Importance. What could he have done better in the World, when his Army was in Heart, and entire, and the Enemy in a manner starving betwixt Hunger and Cold, then to have Attack'd them in their Posts upon that Odds? But *Vitellius*, instead of pushing at the *Appennine*, when he might have carry'd all before him, he was for the dispersing his Troups, and Sacrificing the bravest Men he had; Contrary to the Opinion of the Best Officers about him, as they would have told him if he had but ask'd the Question. But *Vitellius's* Flatterers and Favourites kept Honest Men and Sound Advice at a distance, and had so Vitiated the Prince's Pallate that he found nothing agreeable, but what was Pernicious to him.

Now to see the Mischief that one Bold Man may do in a Civil-War. *Claudius Faventinus*, a Centurion that *Galba* had cast off in Disgrace, was the Man that Debauch'd the Fleet by Counterfeit Letters in *Vespasian's* Name, tempting the People to a Defection, upon the Promises of Honour and Reward. Now *Claudius Apollinaris* the Admiral, being neither thorough True nor thorough

thorough False, *Apinius Tiro* (who had been formerly Prætor, and was at that time as it happen'd at *Minturnæ*) took the Work out of his Hands, and put himself at the Head of the Revolt, and stagger'd several Free Towns and Colonies thereabouts: the *Puteolani*, standing for *Vespasian*, and *Capua* for *Vitellius*, intermixing all this while, Town Quarrels with the Publique. These Differences went so high, that *Claudius Julianus* having been Admiral at *Misenum*, and having made himself very Popular by the Gentleness of his Government, *Vitellius* pitch'd upon Him as the Fittest Man to menage the Exasperated Spirits of the Soldiers. So he gave him the Command of a City-Cohort, and a Body of *Sword-Players*.

The Camps had no sooner faced one another, but *Julianus* and several Others, without any more Ceremony, went over to *Vespasian*, and presently seiz'd upon *Tarracina*; a Place much more Considerable for the Strength of the Walls, and the Situation, than for the Faith, Courage, or Skill of the Defendents. This was no sooner come to the Knowledge of *Vitellius*, but he dispatch'd away his Brother *Lucius* with Six Cohorts and Five Hundred Horse, to make Head in time, against the War that was coming on out of *Campania*: and so he left part of his Troups at *Marnia*, under the Leaders of the *Prætorian Cohorts*. *Vitellius* was miserably Uneasie all this while, but yet the Shouts of the Soldiers, and the Outcries of the People that were all in an Uproar, calling for Arms, put him a little in Heart again; insomuch, that he treated the Sottish Multitude, that never went beyond Tumult and Bawling, in the Style (by a wretched Mistake) of *Legions* and *Armies*. Under These Circumstances he was prevail'd upon, at the Instance of his Freed-Men (for as to his Pretending Friends, the Greater they were the falser they were) he order'd a Meeting of the Tribes, and They that gave in their Names were Lifted and Sworn. But the
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Crow'd was so overgrown, that he was fain to divide the Charge of that Province betwixt the *Two Consuls*: Taxing the Senators at such a Proportion, in Money and Slaves; the Gentlement of *Rome* at the same time also offering the Command of their Purles and Persons; and the very Freedmen themselves, in a seeming Emulation, begging leave to do the like. So that by this way of Menage, the Offices that were done purely out of Fear, pass'd for the Effects of Zeal and Good Will. Now there were Those that did not so much pity *Vitellius* for his Misfortune, as for the Invidious Circumstances of his Station, neither was He wanting in any Thing to Himself that might move Tenderness and Compassion: as in Words, Tears, Actions, large and unreasonable Promises; and All at the rate of a Man in a Fright, and at his Wits end with Fear. Nay and he was now so far come down as to content himself with the Title of *Cæsar*, which he had rejected before, out of a Superstitious Phancy upon the Name: beside that lying at present under a Dread, Sense or Nonsense was all indifferent to him, in a Case where Wise-Men and Fools are heard both alike. But it fared with This, as with Other Inconsiderate Actions, that are Strong at first, and then fall off at Leisure. So was it here with the Senators and Gentlemen that gave *Vitellius* the Slip. They began, by little and little, and not without some Reluctancy, and behind his back; but in the End, they own'd their Dislikes Bare-fac'd; and *Vitellius* in mere Shame quitted the Pursuit of what he saw he could not attain.

12. As the Loss of *Meuania*, and the Apprehension of as good as a new War succeeded upon't, struck a Terror into all *Italy*, so the sneaking Departure of *Vitellius*, on the other hand, brought as much Reputation and Advantage to the *Flavian Party*: for the *Samnites*, the *Peligni*, and the *Marfi* immediately revolved in a kind of Emulation who should go first; and then to
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attone for the not preventing *Campania* in their Defection, they put it to a Competition who should do most for his New Master. But it was so sharp a Winter, and the Snows so deep upon the Mountains, that the Army would have had much ado to pass, even without any Opposition. And the Difficulties would have been yet more insuperable, if by great Good-Luck, *Vitellius* had not been forc'd back again. It may be noted that this was not the first time that the *Flavians* had been more beholden to their Fortune than to their Conduct. Upon these Mountains they met *Petilius Cerealis*, one that was well acquainted all the Passes and Cross-ways, and had made an escape from the *Vitellians* in a Country man's Habit. This *Cerealis* was nearly related to *Vespasian*, and so much a Soldier, that his Character gave him a Title to Command. We have Authorities for it, that *Flavius Sabinus*, and *Domitian* might have got away as well as *Cerealis*: and *Antonius* did undoubtedly send them several Messages that came to the Right Hands, with particular Hints and Directions of Time and Place, and by what Ways and Means they might gain their End. *Sabinus* excus'd himself, that he was Old and Crazy, the Work requir'd Strength and Vigour, and he had not a Body for such an Enterprize. *Domitian* had a good Will to the Proposal, but durst not trust the Guards *Vitellius* had set upon him, for fear there might be some Trick in't; though they frankly offer'd themselves to joyn with him in the Escape: Beside, that for pure Love and Kindred-sake, *Vitellius* would never have been severe upon *Domitian*.

Upon the arrival of the Heads of the Army at *Car-fula*, they set apart some few Days there for refreshment, till their Legionary Forces should come up. The Place in it self was pleasant, and very Commodious for a Camp. It had a fair Prospect, Forrage and all manner of Provisions in abundance; Stores and Magazines

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at command, with Fair and Opulent Cities at their Backs to supply all their Wants; beside, that they flatter'd themselves with the hope of Tampering the Enemy (at that time but Ten Miles off) into a Desertion. The Soldiers, that were altogether for War, not Peace, and for Conquest rather than Accommodation, did not at all relish this way of Proceeding. Nay, they thought much to wait, even for their own Legions. *They were willing enough, they said, to take their share in the Booty, but not in the Hazard.* This gave Antonius a Fair Occasion of Calling the People together, and of treating them with a Discourse upon this Subject.

Vitellius, says he, hath yet some Forces left him, that are already wavering, give them but time to deliberate, and only to pause upon it, they'll fall off and leave him: but on the contrary, if you force them to a desperate Push, 'tis Despair and nothing else that can make them Dangerous. Fortune hath a great Hand in the first Scene of a Civil War, but 'tis the Office of Conduct and Prudence to perfect the Victory. The Naval Army of Misenum, and the Lovely Coast of Campania, are both fallen off you see, and Vitellius not one Foot of Ground in the whole World to trust to, but betwixt Narnia and Tarracina. Have we not gotten Honour enough at the Battel of Cremona, and drawn upon our selves Envy more than enough, in the Rubbish and Ruins of it? Why should you be more Eager for the Taking of Rome, than for the Preserving of it? In fine, your Glory and your Reward will be infinitely Greater in the Saving of the Senate and People without Blood, than in the Burying of both in a common Ruin.

This Lecture made them Soft and Easy for the present, and soon after, came the Legions, who carry'd such a Dread before them, by the Fame both of their Resolution, and Numbers, that the *Vitellians* Hearts fail'd them upon it, and instead of Military Shouts of Provocation

Provocation and Encouragement to Action, there was nothing heard, but either of Desponding, and Intimidating one another, or else driving Bargains for Changing of Parties, and every Man contriving how to shift for himself, by making Friends in time, and laying their Persons and Commands at the Feet of the Conquerour.

By these People there was Intelligence given of a Garrison of Four Hundred Horse that lay at *Interamna*, a place hard by there: whereupon *Varus* was sent away thither immediately, with a small Party to Storm the Fort. Some few that resisted were cut off in the Attempt, but the rest threw down their Arms and called for Quarter, all but those that fled to the Camp, and they, where-ever they went, carried Fright and Confusion along with them: still crying up the Strength and Courage of the Enemy, to excuse in some measure the Dishonour of loosing the Place. And so it was besides, that as no Criminals were punish'd on the one side, so no Revolters pass'd unrewarded on the other. So that the Question was now brought to this single Point; to wit, who should be the greatest Traytor: Nay, the very *Tribunes* and *Centurions* deserted as well as their Neighbours. The Common Soldiers all this while stood Firm to *Vitellius*, till their Generals, *Priscus* and *Alphenus* quitted the Camp, and went back to him: which President gave some sort of Credit to the Desertion.

About that time *Fabius Valens* was assassinated in the Prison at *Urbis*, and his Head exposed for a Spectacle to the *Vitellian* Cohorts to shew them what they had to trust to: for it was bruted about that *Valens* was gotten away into *Germany*, and there at work upon Levies and Recruits, but the sight of the dead Body put them all into a Desperation: and the *Flavians* took a Fancy upon it, that the Death of *Valens* would certainly put an end to the War. This same *Valens* was, by Birth, of *Anagnia*; of an *Equestrian* Family; loose in his Life
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and Manners: and he did not want Wit neither, such as it was; but that which other People call *Buffoonery*, past with him for *Gallantry*, and *Good Humour*. In the *Juvenalia* under *Nero*, he play'd the part of a *Mimick*; first upon a kind of Necessity, and then upon Choice; which he perform'd with more Address than Honour. In this Command, as Lieutenant of a Legion, he sided with *Verginius*, and in so doing, effectually, defam'd him. He took away the Life of his Lieutenant-General *Fonteius Capito*, either because he was a Traytor, or because he could not Make him one. He was False undoubtedly to *Galba*, but True then to *Vitellius*, where his Fidelity was set off by the Perfidy of other People. The *Vitellians* being now out of all Hope, had no more to do but to give themselves up to the Enemy; and they were out of Countenance at the very thought of that too: so that they march'd down into the Plain below *Narnia*, in a Military Order, and with their Colours display'd, where they found the *Flavian* Army ready drawn up, and in Posture for a Battel. Upon the *Vitellians* advance, the *Flavians* open'd to receive them, and so surrounding them, they were treated by *Primus Antonius* with great Tenderness and Respect, ordering part of them to stay at *Narnia*, and part at *Interamna*, and some of the Conquering Legions along with them, with Orders to let all those live Easily that would live Quietly, and to Govern those by Force that should be Troublesome.

13. While *Antonius* and *Varus* were together at *Car-sula*, they slipt no Opportunities of pressing *Vitellius*, by Letters and Messages, to bethink himself of some seasonable Composition: and provided he would lay down his Arms, and remit himself, and his Children to the Clemency of *Vespasian*, they would undertake, they said, to secure him in his Life and Fortune, and to put him into Possession of what agreeable Privacy he himself should make Choice of in *Campania*, for his

his Retreat. *Mucianus* wrote as much to him also, as this comes to, and *Vitellius* by fits entertain'd the Proposal, and treated with him as to the very Particulars; as the Number of Servants, the Condition or Quality of the Place. Now *Vitellius* was sunk to that degree of Sottishness, that he himself would have forgotten he was a Prince, if others had not minded him of it. But on the other side, the great Men of *Rome* dealt secretly with *Flavius Sabinus* the Governour of the City, to set up for himself, and to put in for his Part in the Glory and the Reward of the Victory with his Brother.

They held him in hand, that the *City Guards* were properly his Province, and that for the Cohorts of the Watch, and their Bond-men, he might depend upon them: beside, that the Fortune of the Cause will refuse nothing to the Victor. Why should he Truckle upon a Point of Honour, to *Antonius*, and *Varus*? *Vitellius*, alas! they said, had but an inconsiderable Number of Troops, and those Heart-broken too, with the daily News of Crosses and Disasters. The Common People, they told him, were fickle and uncertain, and if he would but once declare himself, and own the Party, they would be as frank of their fulsome Flatteries to *Vespasian* as ever they were to *Vitellius*. If *Vitellius* could not support himself in a State of Prosperity, how should he think to recover himself in his Adversity? But in fine, he that gets Possession of the City will have the Honour of finishing the War; which would be an Office only proper for *Sabinus*: He, to secure the Empire to his Brother, and *Vespasian*, to give a Preference to *Sabinus* above all other.

The Spirit of this Discourse was not well adapted to the Infirmities of a Feeble Old Man, and one that lay under a strong Suspicion too, of a secret Envy he bare to the Fortune of his Brother. For *Flavius Sabinus* was not only the Elder Brother, but while they were both in a Private State, much Superior to the o-

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ther in *Reputation* as well as in *Fortune*. Nay, they say, he became bound for him also to save his Credit; and took a Mortgage upon his Estate for the Money, which gave People a Jealousy, though they carry'd a Fair Out-side, that they were not well together at Heart. But the more Charitable Construction was this, that *Sabinus* being in Years, and good Natur'd, he made a Scruple of Dipping his Hands in Blood: having had Discourses likewise with *Vitellius* about a Peace, and laying down Arms upon reasonable Terms.

After divers Private Meetings about it at Home, they came to a Resolution, at last (according to the Story) in the Temple of *Apollo*, with Two Witnesses to the Agreement; *Cluvius Rufus* and *Silius Italicus*. They were out of Distance to be over-heard, but as far as People might guess by Countenances and Gestures, *Vitellius* had the Look of a Mean Abject Creature, and *Sabinus* had in his Face a Remarkable Softness and Compassion, without any thing of Vanity and Exultation. Now if *Vitellius* could as easily have wrought upon others, as he was gain'd upon himself, *Vespasian* might have enter'd the City without Blood. But the True Friends of *Vitellius* had not Patience to hear of Capitulations, but ran altogether upon the Hazard and Dishonour of such a Treaty; and in Conclusion, that they had nothing to Trust to, but the Will and Pleasure of a Victorious Army, for the Performance of Articles.

Vespasian, they told him, was not of a Spirit to let *Vitellius* live, though but in the Capacity of a private Person. Nay, the Conquer'd Party themselves would never endure it: so that Pity in this Case would have been as much as his Life was worth. 'Tis true, they said, that *Sabinus* was now in Years, and had seen enough of the World in both Fortunes, to make him willing enough to part with it upon some Conditions: But what will become
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of your Son Germanicus, they cry'd then? *What Post of Honour have you reserv'd for him? You were held in hand we know with large Promises of Money, Equipage, Delicate Retreats, and Houses of Pleasure: But when Vespasian comes once to the Empire, there will be no Security, either for himself, his Friends, or his Army, so long as his Rival is above Ground. Fabius Valens, you see, was made a Prisoner, and kept in safe Custody, upon the Prospect of an after Game, and yet that Prudential did not serve his Turn. Much less must Vitellius expect to scape the Practices of Primus and Fulcus, and of Mucianus especially, the Head in effect of the whole Party. Caesar, you know, could never think himself safe so long as Pompey was alive. Nor Augustus, till Antonius was out of the World. And will Vespasian be Braver do you think? One of the meanest of his Father's Train, when he was Collegue with the Emperor Claudius. Why do you not rather, they cry'd, consult the Honour of the Charges you have born, and of your Family, and act like the Son of a Father that had been thrice Consul, and Censor, by supplying the want of Courage with an In-vincible Despair? You have the Soldiery sure, and the People to friend, and nothing in fine to fear, but the inevitable Fate of all Mortals. The Conquerors and the Conquer'd must all die indifferently: but the main Point is this at last, whether we finish our Course with Infamy or with Glory.*

This was Heroical and Brave, but *Vitellius* was Deaf to all manly Counsels, and his Heart effeminated with Anxiety and Pity: out of an Apprehension, that if he stood it out, his Wife and Children would fare the worse for't: His Mother died at a great Age; some Days before this happen'd, and in a Good time, to prevent the Sight of a Ruin'd Family, which was then at hand: having gotten nothing by her Son's Advancement but Affliction and a Good Fame.

Upon the Eighteenth of *December*, word was brought from *Narnia*, that the Legions and Cohorts were revoked; and thereupon, *Vitellius* mov'd out of the Palace in a Deep Mourning, with a Train of his Family and Servants; and his little Son in a Chair, like a Corps to a Burial, along with him: the People plying him all the way with Nauseous Flatteries and Unseasonable Acclamations: and the Soldiers looking on, in a kind of a Stern, Menacing Silence. No Creature could be so hard and insensible, as not to be mov'd with that Spectacle. To see a *Roman Emperor*, and a Prince that had but lately given Laws to the Universe, quit the Seat of his Fortune and Command and march thorough a Lane of Soldiers and Citizens to the Resignation of his Empire. There was certainly never such a Thing seen or heard of before. *Cæsar* the Dictator was cut off by a Party of *Assassins*. *Caius* by a Secret Conspiracy. The Night and a Convenient Hiding-Place cover'd *Nero*. *Piso* and *Galba* died in a manner in the Field. But the History of *Vitellius* runs thus.

As he was among his Soldiers in his Camp, and the Women at gaze looking on, he took that Opportunity of delivering himself in a few Words upon the Miserable State of his present Misfortune. *For the sake of Peace, and the Common-wealth*, says he, *I am now content to resign; only let me recommend my self, my Brother and my Wife, together with the Helpless Condition of my Poor Innocent Children, to your Care and Kindness.* With that Word he took up his Son in his Arms, and having presented him to the Company, first one by one, and then altogether: he fell into so Violent a Fit of Weeping, that his Passion would not suffer him to go one Word further. In this Confusion he took his Sword from his side to make a Present of it to *Cæcilius Simplex* the Consul that was there present, as a Reconveyance to him of the Sovereign Power of Life and Death.

Death. But the *Consul* absolutely refusing it, and the Assembly it self being as much against it, *Vitellius* withdrew, in a Resolution to divest himself of all his Regalities, and depositing them in *the Temple of Concord*, to betake himself to his Brother's House for his Retreat. The Clamour was now more Impetuous, and the People more Outrageous than before. They would have nothing to do they said with *Private-Houses*, let him come to the Palace; and so they blockt up all other Ways but that to the *Via Sacra*. This put *Vitellius* to such a Loss, that he was fain to go back again to the Palace: but the Rumour was got thither before him, that he had renounc'd the Empire: and *Flavius Sabinus* had already taken Care, with the Tribunes of the Cohorts to keep their Men in Order; so that things look'd now with *Vespasian* as if the Government had dropt into his Mouth. Divers of the Principal Senators, Men of the *Equestrian* Quality, the whole City-Militia and the Watch, went all in Throngs to the House of *Sabinus*: and there it was that they came first to understand, the Muttering and Menaces of the *German Cohorts*, and how strangely the People stood affected to *Vitellius*. But *Sabinus* was now gone too far to come off, and every Man as his Fear led him, push'd him forward to Action, how averse soever to it, for fear the *Vitellians* should fall upon them, when they were scatter'd, and consequently weak, and in no Condition to receive them. But it fell out in this as in other the like Cases, they were all in at the Advice, but few at the Danger.

Not far from the *Lacus Fundani*, a smart Party of *Vitellians* had an Encounter with a Detachment of *Sabinus's*. It was but a slight Skirmish, and the Action a kind of a Surprise, but the *Vitellians* had the better of it. *Sabinus*, upon this, play'd the best of his Game, and seiz'd a Tower in the *Capitol*, where, with his other Troops, he had a mixture also of Senators and

Gentlemen : whose Names would be Superfluous, in regard that upon the Promotion of *Vespasian*, there were so many false Pretenders to the Honour of that Service. Nay, there were some Women also that took their part in the Fortune of that Adventure, as *Verulana Gracilia* ; a most Illustrious *Virago*, for one. And she did not expose her Person, either upon any Secondary Account of Children and Relations, but for the very Cause sake, and the War it self. The *Flavians* were now beginn, but with so loose a Guard upon them, that *Sabinus* got out about Midnight, and fetch'd his own Children, and *Domitian* the Son of his Brother into the *Capitol*. He sent away several Expresses also to the *Flavian* Officers, to let them know that the *Capitol* was besieg'd and could not hold out without Relief. After this, he lay quietly the rest of the Night, though he might have gotten away if he would. But though the *Vitellians* were Stout and Brave in Cases of Danger, they were not yet so Good at the Fatigues of Work, and Watching ; beside that a Violent Shower of Rain falling just at that time, People could neither Hear nor See what pass'd.

About break of Day in the Morning, before any Action appear'd betwixt the Two Parties, *Sabinus* dispatch'd away *Cornelius Martialis*, a Prime Centurion, with a Complaining, Chiding Letter to *Vitellius*, and a Charge upon him, for Breach of Faith and Articles, which was all represented to him by way of Expostulation, and Reproach, in these Terms.

That all his Pretences of Delivering up the Empire, were but a Formal Piece of Hypocrisy, and the Contrivance of a manifest Imposture upon so many Warby Men. What made him think of his Brother's House, when he went off from the Assembly ? a Place so Publique, as if it were on purpose to draw Peoples Eyes upon him. Why did he not chuse rather to go to *Aventine* to his Mother, where he might have been Private, and out of the way
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for Medling in any Court or State Affairs; which would have been much better for his Pretended Purpose. But now, Vitellius, on the clear contrary, went back directly to the Palace; as if it had been to resume the Imperial Seat he had so lately quitted. From thence he issued out his Armed Troops; polluted the Publique Places of the City with Innocent Blood, and without so much as sparing the Capitol it self. Sabinus gave them to Understand that for his Part he did but do the Office of a Gown-Man, and an Ordinary Senator, so long as the Dispute was kept on foot betwixt Vespasian and Vitellius, by the Dist of Arms, and Battles; the Forcing of Towns, and the Gaining of Cohorts from one over to the Other. But when Spain, Germany, and Britany were fallen off, Vespasian's Brother was still true to his Allegiance, till Vitellius himself alter'd the State of the Case, by new Proposals of Conditions and Pardon. And he would find, to his Cost, in the Conclusion, that though the Conquerour may value himself upon the Honour of the Peace, the Benefit and the Comfort of it goes to those that are Overcome. If he Mistook himself in the Measures of His Agreement, what's that to Antonius, whom he hath so Disingenuously deceiv'd? Or what is it again to the Young Son of Vespasian? A Doughty Exploit, no question of it, to get the better of a Child, and an Old Man! But why does he not rather Rouze himself, and try it out with the Legions: and when he has once cast the Point upon That Issue, let him take the Chance of the War for the rest.

Vitellius had little to say for himself; and That, with trembling too. But his Answer in Effect was This, that it was the Soldiers Fault not His, for they were so Hot and Fierce, that his Soft and Easy Nature did not know how to deal with them. Immediately upon This he advised Martialis by all means to slip away out of the House and be gone, for the Soldiers would most certainly Murder any Man that they

found an Agitator for a Peace. *Vitellius*, in short, was no longer an Imperial Prince, but the Passive Cause and Colour of the War; and without the least Power, one way or other, either to Command, or to Forbid. *Marialis* was hardly got back again to the Capitol, when the *Vitellians*, all in an Uproar and Confusion, without any Officers in the Head of them, came running like so many Mad-men, from the Great Market-Place, and the Temples bordering upon it, up to the Hill that leads to the Capitol, and there drew up, and from thence gave the Assault. Now there were formerly certain open Galleries upon the Ascent on the Right Hand as a Body goes up, and from These Galleries the Defendents beat off the *Vitellians*, (having only their Swords in their Hands) with Stones and Tiles. They had not time enough to send out for Shot and Machines, so that they began to cast in Fireworks into the Foremost Galleries, and follow'd them so close, that upon the Onset they had certainly forc'd their Passage thorough the Gates, (though Half Burnt as they were) if *Sabinus* had not presently set up a Counter-mure in the Breach, out of the Ruines of Broken Statues, and other Venerable Antiquities, that were beaten to Pieces and made use of for That Office.

The next Two Attacks they made, were toward *Lucus Asyli* for One, and by the Ascent of a Hundred Steps that leads up to *Rupes Tarpeia*, the Other: the Enemy little dreaming of either. The Assault was Sharper and Nearer hand, by the *Asylum*, where the Houses being Contiguous, there was no keeping down the Assailants from the Roofs: and Those Roofs were carry'd up too, in a long Course of Peace and Prosperity, to the very Floor of the Capitol. It may be a Question here, whether This Glorious Pile of Building was Fired by the Assailants, or by the Defendents; whether to gain the Place, or to keep the Enemy at

a Distance, though the Latter Opinion carries it. But let That be as it will, There it was that the Fire began, and it pass'd thence into the Galleries next the Houses; and after that to the Timber of the *Eagles* that supported the Roof, which being Old and Dry, minister'd Fuel to the Flame. At this rate was the *Capitol* consum'd to Ashes; the Gates all shut; and without any Pretence either to Defend it or to Pillage it: the Greatest Indignity, Calamity, and Scandal, without all Dispute, that ever befel the State of *Rome* from the Founding of the City; And no Foreign Enemy to have the least hand in it neither. Nay and the Gods Themselves, Propitious to them, to all Other Purposes, if their own Iniquities had not held the Hand of Providence it self.

We have here seen the Seat of the Great and Good God *Jupiter*; as it stands transmitted down to Us by the Auspicious Presages of our Fore-Fathers: and not without the Testimony of a Divine Approbation, in a Pledge for the Glory of the Empire: This City, I say, that neither *Porfenna* upon the Rendry of it, nor the *Gaules* upon the Taking of it, did ever presume to Prophane or Violate, is now irrecoverably destroy'd by the Impetuous Passions of their own Princes. The *Capitol*, 'tis true, was once burnt before in a Civil War, but by a Particular Malice; whereas the Siege was now Publique; the Burning Publique, and the whole Action Publique: and all These Publique Doings were not for the Defence of their Country, but for the Support of a Faction. The First that vow'd the *Capitol* was *Tarquinius Priscus*, in the *Sabine* War, and He it was that laid the Foundation also, in hope it might come to prove afterwards the Ground-work of a more Glorious Structure: *Rome* being as yet but in its Infancy. *Servius Tullius* came next, and after him came *Tarquinius Superbus*, and Both did their Parts toward the Finishing of the Design: the One by the
Contribution

Contribution of his Allies, and the Other upon the Taking of *Suessa Pometia*, out of the Profit of the Spoils. But the Glory of Perfecting the Work was Reserv'd for an Age of Liberty.

After the Expulsion of Kings, the *Capitol* was Dedicated by *Horatius Pulvillus* in his Second Consulate, and in so Magnificent a manner, that whatever *Rome* might do afterward in its most Flourishing Estate, toward the Ornament of the Bounty, it could hardly add any thing yet to the Value of it. Some Four Hundred and Five and Twenty Years after This, the *Capitol* was burnt again, and Rebuilt upon the same Spot: *Lucius Scipio* and *Caius Norbanus*, Consuls. The Care of it came next to *Sylla*, (the Conquerour) who undertook it, but did not Dedicate it, which was the only thing he wanted, to make him as happy in his Fortune, as in his Name. We find frequent Mention made among the Works of the *Cæsars*, of the Name of *Lutatius Catulus*, till the time of *Vitellius*, when That Fabrick was consum'd, with much more Confusion and Amazement to the Defendents, than to the Aggressors. For the *Vitellians* wanted neither Presence of Thought, Conduct, nor Resolution, in all Difficulties that occur'd, whereas the Soldiers of the Contrary Party were Faint and Timorous; the Commanders Stupid and Heavy like a Man Mop'd, and without either Tongue, or Ears, and One that would neither be govern'd by Other Peoples Counsel, nor was wise enough to govern Himself. In This Fluttering Levity of Mind he was carry'd back and forward with every Foolish Fancy, countermanding in one Breath, what he had Commanded in Another. So that it came to This in the End, as in Other Desperate Cases; every Body would Order and there was no Body to Execute. In the Conclusion they all threw down their Arms and every Man shifted for himself the best he could.

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In This interim, the *Vitellians* brake in with Fire and Sword, and a Great Slaughter. Some Few Brave Men that disputed their Passage, were cut off upon the Attack, as *Cornelius Martialis*, *Emilius Pacensis*, *Gasperius Niger*, and *Didius Scava*. *Flavius Sabinus*, without either Resisting or Flying, was taken up, as they found him, Unarm'd: and so was *Quintius Atticus* the Consul; who was not more Remarkable for his Office, then for his Vanity and Weakness, in the Bitter Edicts he had publish'd against *Vitellius*, to the Honour of *Vespasian*. The Rest made a hard Shift to slip away; Some in the Disguise of Slaves, Others took Sanctuary among their Friends; and some again were conceal'd in Packs of Goods. Some got the Word and made such Use of it one with another in Question and Answer, that the very Confidence in the Out-facing of it, was as good as a Hiding-Hole.

Domitian, at their first entring the Place, lay Close in the House of the *Sexton*, and was there by the Advice of his Freed-man dress'd up in a Linen Garment like one of their *Priests*: so that in That Habit he pass'd for one, and got away into the House of *Antonius Primus* near the *Velabrum*, a Confident of his Fathers: and there he absconded. When his Father came afterward to the Empire he caused the *Sexton's* Quarter to be demolish'd, and a Little Chappel to be built in the Place of it, and dedicated to *JUPITER the PRESERVER*. There was also an Altar rais'd, and an Inscription order'd of the whole History upon a Marble Table. When *Domitian* himself came to the Government, he dedicated a Mighty Temple to *JUPITER the GUARDIAN*; and deposited his own Statue in the Lap of the God.

There were now brought to *Vitellius*, in Chains, *Sabinus* and *Atticus*, who gave them not one Cross Word or Look, which was a Terrible Mortification to Those that thirsted after their Blood, and a Reward of their Wickedness.

Wickedness. The Outcry that was begun by the Foremost was quickly seconded by the Rabble, with Clamours for Execution, and not without a Mixture of Menaces and Flatteries as the Occasion requir'd. While *Vitellius* was just upon the point of Interposing on the Behalf of the Prisoners, they ran him down with Noise and Tumult, and in the mean while fell Furiously upon *Sabinus*, with Stabbing, Hacking and Mangling of him, till at last they cut off his Head and drag'd his Body to the Common Sink of Infamous Malefactors.

This was the Miserable End of *Sabinus*: a Man in Himself not Despicable, and one that had born Office Five and Thirty Years in the Commonwealth: wherein he acquitted himself with Great Honour both in War and Peace. Upon the Matter of Integrity and Justice, no Creature could ever Tax him, unless perhaps that he was somewhat too Free of his Tongue, which was the Only Thing his very Enemies could charge upon him, in the whole Seven Years of his Command in *Messia*, and in his Twelve Years Government in the City. As to the Character of the Man toward his Latter End: Some took him to be False, and Cowardly; Others judg'd him to be rather Moderate and Tender of spilling Blood. But This however is not to be deny'd, that before *Vespasian* mounted the Throne, *Sabinus* was the Pillar of the Family. Many People have thought that the Death of This Man was no Unwelcome News to *Mucianus*, and that it fell out in a Good Time for the Publique Peace, in putting an End to a Dangerous Emulation, betwixt Two State-Rivals; The Colleague of the Emperor and the Brother. The Multitude was still violently bent upon the Death of *Atticus* the Consul, but *Vitellius* strenuously oppos'd it, and not without a Plausible Retribution of Gratitude and Justice: for upon a Solemn Enquiry, who it was that first set
Fire

Fire to the Capitol, *Atticus* took it upon himself, and by That Means discharg'd the *Vitellians* of the Envy of That Suspicion. But whether This was the very Truth of the Case, or only an Invention to serve a Turn may be a Question.

14. *Lucius Vitellius* being now Encamped at *Feronia*, and bent upon the Destruction of *Tarracina*; the *Fencers* and *Seamen* that durst not shew their Heads out of the Walls, were Coop'd up in the Town. The Captain of the *Gladiators* was *Julianus*, and *Apollinaris* commanded the *Seamen*, as we have said before: a Lazy, retchless sort of People, that in the looseness of their Manners were liker *Fencers* than *Soldiers*. There was no Care taken, either about their Watches, or their Walls, to keep the One in Order, or the Other in Repair: but Day and Night went away in Rioting, and Pleasure, as Musick, Treats and the like, so that the whole Coast rung of their Debauches, and the *Soldiers* in the mean time hunting up and down for Curiosities to subminister to Their Luxury: and not one word of War all this while but in their Cups.

It was not many Days before, that *Apinius Tiro* had been abroad Taxing and Squeezing the Free-Towns; which he did to such a Degree, that he did his Party much more Hurt than Good. In this *interim* comes a Servant of *Verginius Capitos* out of the Town to *Lucius Vitellius*, having run away from his Master, with This Proposal to him; that the Castle was unman'd, and with the Assistance of such a Party of *Soldiers* he would undertake to put it into his hands. The Thing was in short agreed upon, and a Party of Light-Arm'd Cohorts convey'd in the Dead and Dark of the Night, up to the Tops of the Mountains that Commanded the Place: and from thence, after a short Stand over the Heads of the Enemy, they fell pouring down upon them as to an Execution rather than a Battle; overbearing all before them: some without any Arms at all;

all; Others but half Arm'd; and some again betwixt Sleep and Waking, together with all the Surprizing Confusions of Hideous Darkness, Frights and Terrours, the Clang of Trumpets, the Shouts and Clamours of Enemies over and above. Some few of the *Sword-men* Sold their Lives as dear as they could, and the Rest with the *Townsmen* made away to the Ships: where they found things rather worse than before: the *Vitellians* doing Execution indifferently upon them Both without Distinction. There were Six Gallies that got off upon the first *Alarm*, and the *Admiral Apollinaris* aboard, the Rest were either seiz'd in the Port, or else Sunk off at Sea by the Multitudes of the People that crowd'd in and overcharg'd the Vessels. *Julianus* was taken and brought to *Lucius Vitellius*, where he was first Scourg'd, and then put to Death before his Face. There goes a Scandalous Story of *Triaria* the Wife of *Lucius Vitellius*; how Barbarously and Insolently she Behav'd herself, Triumphant and Insulting with her Soldiers Sword by her Side over the Miserable *Tarracina* that was then in Rubbish. *Lucius* himself sent his Brother a Lawrel, as an Intimation of the Victory; with a Desire to know whether he would have him come back again presently to *Rome*, or stay to make a Thorough Conquest of *Campania*. This was a Happy Pause, both for *Vespasian*, and for the *Common-wealth*; for if the Soldiers, in the Rage of Hot Bloud, and in the Flush of their Successes, (which would have made them so much the more Insolent) had march'd away directly for *Rome*, it would have endanger'd the Ruin of the City: for *Lucius Vitellius*, how Loose soever in his Morals, was yet a Man of Industry; and one that for want of Virtue had made himself Considerable by his Vices.

15. This was the Face of Things with *Vitellius*, when *Vespasian's* Army march'd away from *Narnia* to *Otriculum*, and There kept the Festival of the *Saturnalia* at Liberty and Leisure. The Pretended Occa-
sion

sion of This Unlucky Delay, was their Staying for *Mucianus*: but some took it as if *Antonius* had not dealt fairly in it, for there was a Talk went about of a Private Correspondence he held with *Vitellius*, and that he was offer'd a Consulship, and his Daughter in Marriage, with a vast Portion, upon Condition of Betraying and Deserting his Party. There were Others again that look'd upon all This only as an Idle Story, and a Contrivance to oblige *Mucianus*. But some there were that would have it to be the Sense of all the General Officers, rather to shew the City a War at a Distance, than to bring it up to the Walls; for the Best of the Cohorts were already fallen off from *Vitellius*, and he was now left so Naked, that he had nothing to Trust to, but by delivering up the Empire. But this Prospect was wholly disappointed. first by the *Precipitation*, and then by the *Faintheartedness* of *Sabinus*, for after the Temerity of his taking up Arms, he gave up so strong a Piece in the *Capitol* only to *Three Cohorts*, as might have been maintain'd against a whole Army.

But why should the Fault be laid upon one Particular Person, when they were All to Blame? Did not *Mucianus* Retard and Obstruct the Progress of the Victory, by his Dubious way of Writing? And did not *Antonius* Trifle away Time too in unseasonable Compliances to divert the Envy of the Proceeding from Himself. And so for the Rest of the Commanders, when they thought the War was as good as over, they found out a way to bring it to a more Remarkable End. And so for *Petilius Cerialis* when he was sent away before, cross the Country of the *Sabines*, with a Thousand Horse to get into *Rome* by the way of *Via Salaria*; he whiled away his Time so long till they were all Alarum'd at once, with the Siege of the *Capitol*. This Intelligence brought *Antonius* in all Hast to *Saxa Rubra*, by the *Flaminian Way*, where arriving about Midnight, the Succour came too

too late, for he was there given to understand that *Sabinus* was murder'd, the *Capitol* laid in Ashes, the City in a Consternation, and every thing as Bad as Bad could be; the whole Town over and above rising in Arms for *Vitellius*. *Petilius Cerealis* was also worsted upon an Encounter with a Body of Horse, through his own Rashness, of Charging as if he had been to deal with a Routed Party, the *Vitellians* receiving them with a mixt Body of Horse and Foot. This Skirmish happen'd among the Blind Passages, and Cross Turnings, upon the Skirts of the City, where the *Vitellians* had this Advantage of the *Flavians*, that whereas the Former were Perfectly well acquainted with every Nook of the Houses and Gardens thereabouts, the Latter knew not one Step of their Way, which put them in a very great Confusion: beside that the Horse were not all of a Mind, having several among them that came over at *Narnia*; and kept themselves upon the Reserve, for the Stronger Side. *Tullius Flavianus*, that had the Command of a Wing, was made a Prisoner; and the Rest most shamefully ran away, but the *Vitellians* follow'd the Pursuit no further then *Fidena*. This Success brought the Common People over in Abundance, and the Burghers also betook themselves to their Arms; such as they could pick up, but they had very few or no Bucklers among them. In this Posture however, they call'd for the Word of Command to *fall on*. *Vitellius* gave them his Acknowledgment, and bad them without any Delay make a Bold Push for the Defence of the Town. After this, he call'd a Senate, and there were Deputies chosen, and dispatch'd away to the Armies, to dispose them, in the Name of the Common-wealth, toward an Amicable Agreement. But some of the Commissioners fared better than Others. Those that were sent to *Cerealis*, escap'd narrowly with their Lives, for the Soldiers would not so much as hear of any Proposals of Peace. *Arulenus Rusticus* the *Prætor* was wounded, and
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to aggravate the Scandal of the Crime, it fell not only upon an *Ambassador* and a *Prætor*: but upon a Man of singular Worth in his own Person: His Train was all broken, and scatter'd; one of his Officers Kill'd for Clearing the Way before him, and if it had not been for a Guard that the Captain allotted him, the Ambassadors had been Murder'd under the very Walls of the City: in Affront to the Sacredness of their Character, even among the most Barbarous of Nations But those that apply'd themselves to *Antonius* met with a fairer Reception, not upon the Good Nature of the Soldiers, but the General had a Greater Power over them.

There was in Company with These Commissioners, one *Musonius Rufus*, a Gentleman of *Rome*, and a Pretender to the Philosophy of the *Stoicks*. This Man took upon him to read Lectures to the Soldiery *Pro* and *Con* upon the Benefits and the Mischiefs of War and Peace. The Pedantry was so Ridiculous to some, and so Nauseous to others, that he could not be Quiet for their Pushing and Justling of him up and down, till they brought him at last betwixt Reasoning and Menaces to give over the Foppery of that Way of Philosophizing so much out of Season. *Vitellius* wrote also to *Antonius* by the *Vestal Virgins*, to put off the Battle but for one Day; for the Gaining of that little time, would be as much as a Peace was worth. The *Virgins* were Honourably receiv'd, and so dismiss'd again with this Answer: That after the Murder of *Sabinus*, and the Firing of the *Capitol* there was no Room for a Peace, or any moderation to be expected. But yet *Antonius* did what he could, to compound the Matter so far, with his Soldiers, as to content themselves with Encamping that Day at the *Milvian Bridge*, and to defer the Entering of the Town till the Day Following. The End of this Proposal was to gain Time, and to Prevent the Outrages that the Soldiers might other-

wife commit in the Rage of Hot Blood: to the Ruin of People, Temples, Altars, and all that's Sacred, without Distinction. But this would not pass with Those that look'd upon Delay, to be only so much Time lost.

By this, the Standards and Colours began to show themselves, Glittering upon the Tops of the Mountains, under the Semblance of an Army, though in truth no better than a Medley of Common People. They drew toward the Town in Three Bodies; One by the *Flaminian Way*, Another along the Banks of *Tibur*, and the Third toward the *Gate Collina*, by the *Via Salaria*, scattering the Burghers, with their Horse, in a Trice. The *Vitellians* advanced also in Three Bodies to Encounter them: and there pass'd several Skirmishes before the Town with Different Success. The *Flavians* indeed had commonly the better of it, as the more Expert Commanders of the Two. Those were hardest put to't, that acted on the Left Hand among the *Defiles* toward the *Salustian Gardens*, while the *Vitellians*, from the Top of the Walls, kept them off with Stones and Piles; from Morning till toward Evening, when the Horse that enter'd at the *Collina-Gate* came upon their Backs and Surpriz'd them. There were Divers Sharp Encounters in the *Campus Martius* too. The *Flavians* had both Fortune and Victory on their Side, while the *Vitellians* were purely supported by their Despairs, and rallying again, and again, still as often as they were defeated, till they came into the very City. The People were rather Lookers on, then Parties to this Tragedy, and made no more of the Spectacle than a Frolique: clapping and animating both Parties one after another as the Humour led them; and still as any of them Shrunk, and betook themselves to Hiding-Places for Sanctuary, they call'd to have them taken out and cut to Pieces: by which Means they engross'd the Greatest part of the Booty to themselves and ran away with

with the Spoil while the Soldiers follow'd the Execution. Never so Barbarous and so Scandalous a Mixture of Cruelty and Lewdness as was to be seen in the City at that time; Fighting and Tearing one anothers Hearts out in one Place, Bathing and Gourmandizing in another: Lust and Murder; Living Prostitutes and Dead Carcasses jumbled together in a Confusion, with all Voluptuous Excesses of a Luxurious Peace, and at the same time the Licentious Outrages of a most Impious War: and these Contradictions too, so Notoriously Gross, that whether the City was more Mad, or Wanton, might be a Question. Not that it was a New Thing neither, to hear of a *Civil War* in *Rome*. There were Two Battles fought in *Cinna's* time, and a Third in *Sylla's*, wherein they were Both Conquerors: and the War was as Cruel as any we have had since. But the City labour'd at present under a kind of Inhuman, Insensible Security over and above. They were now Celebrating their *Saturnalia*, and rather than not enjoy the Pleasures of the *Festival*, they converted the Common Calamity into a Rejoycing, and without any Regard to Parties, found a Relish in their very Miseries.

The *Prætorian Camp* was the Main Difficulty they had to Encounter, and therefore the *Vitellians* put the Bravest Men they had to defend it, as the last Retreat they had to trust to: while the *Flavians*, on the other hand, (especially the Old *Prætorian Cohorts*) were as intent upon the Taking of it, and employ'd all the Arts, Methods. and Instruments of Attack, that might be Serviceable to That Purpose; as Target-Fences, Engines of Battery, Platforms, Fire-Works, &c. calling out one to another, that the Gaining that single Point would crown all their Past Dangers and Fatigues. The City, they said, was the *Senate's* and the *Peoples*, the *Temples* were the *God's*; which were Both in the Right hands already, but the *Soldiers* Province

was the *Camp*. It was his Home, and his Honour, they cry'd, and if it were not immediately recover'd, they must continue in Arms all Night. The *Vitellians* on the Other hand, how Inferiour soever in Number and Fortune, made a shift yet to Puzzle the Victory, and to Protract the Peace; to Pollute the Temples and the Altars with Bloud, and pleasing themselves, with the Last Comfort of the Miserable, in Doing all the Mischief they could. Several were found Dead, Others Gasping, about the Turrets, and upon the Battlements of the Walls. Others upon the Forcing of the Gates advanced directly up to the Conquerour, and then dy'd every Man of them with his Face toward the Enemy; so Tender were they of That *Punctilio* of Honour, in the very Article of Death.

When *Vitellius* saw that the Town was taken, he was carry'd in a Chair the Back Way, out of the Palace, to his Wife's House at *Aventine*; propounding, if he could but lie there that Day conceal'd, to get away at Night to *Tarracina*, to his Brother, and the Cohorts there; but betwixt Levity and Fear, the one Sticking to nothing, and the other Dreading every thing, he changed his Mind, and went back again to his Palace, which he found Desolate and Empty, and not so much as one Domestick to be seen in't: Or perhaps they were all gone out of the way purposely to avoid their Master. The Frightful Horror of this Solitude and Silence put *Vitellius* to his Wit's End: especially seeing so many Apartments lock'd up, and upon opening the Doors nothing at all to be found in the Chambers.

When he had tir'd himself out with wandering, and searching, he made Choice at last of a *Shameful Hole* to Hide in; where he was discover'd, and Lugg'd out by *Julius Placidus* the Tribune of a Cohort, and so led thorough the City, all in Raggs, with his Hands ty'd behind him; a Scandalous and a Deplorable Spectacle,

etacle, the Generality of the People insulting over him, and no Creature pitying him; for the Odious Infamy of his End had left no Room for Compassion. As he was upon the Way in this Condition, a *German* Soldier made a Desperate Blow toward him, but whether at himself, or not, or whether in Anger, or to put him the sooner out of his Pain, or whether it was levell'd at the *Tribune* Himself or not, This is all uncertain: but so it is that the *Tribune's* Ear was cut off and the Soldier Himself immediately cut to Pieces. Upon the way as they were Haling *Vitellius* along, they would be Poking of him now and then with their Daggers to make him hold up his Head and look about him, for the greater Aggravation of his Calamity: and so they shew'd him, in his Passage, the Downfal of his Statues, the Tribunal, and the Place where *Galba* was slain, casting the Body at last into the *Gemoniæ*, as they had done by *Flavius Sabinus* before him. He let fall one Glorious Expression however, in the Depth of his Extremity, and very well becoming his Character. The *Tribune* that had him a Prisoner was insulting over him; [*You shall do well to remember, says Vitellius, that I was once Your Prince.*] The Soldiers fell upon him in that Moment, by Consent, and with that Generous Word in his Mouth, he fell down Dead of the Wounds they gave him. The Multitude showing themselves as Implacable and Malitious to him now at his Death, as they had been Fauning and Servile to him Living.

His Father's Name was *Lucius Vitellius*, and he was full Fifty Seven Years of Age when he Dy'd; He had pass'd thorough the Dignities of a *Consul*, and a *Higb-Priest*, and had gotten himself an Universal Esteem among all the Great Men of *Rome*: not upon the Foundation of his Proper Industry and Merit, but purely upon the Fame of his Illustrious Father, for there were several that contributed toward his Promotion to the

Empire, that did not so much as know the Face of him: and never any Prince made such an Interest in an Army, by the Methods of Honesty and Honour, as He did; even in Despite of a most Notorious Pusillanimity and Sloth. But to give him his Due, he was a Plain-Dealer, and Open-Handed, two Dangerous Qualities if they be not very Discreetly managed. It may be said of him, rather that he deserved Friends, then that he found them; for Friends that are purchas'd with Bounties are rather Mercenary than Virtuous. It was well undoubtedly for the Common-Wealth, that *Vitellius* was destroy'd, but they that betray'd him to *Vespasian* had very little to brag of, when they themselves had been Traytors to *Galba*.

The Day was so far gone already that it was now too late to call a Senate, beside that the Senators themselves and the Magistrates had withdrawn in a Fright out of the City, or else shifted away into some Private Places among their Friends. But now the Danger was over, *Domitian* address'd himself to the *Flavian* Commanders; the Soldiers saluting him with one Voice as **Emperour**, and so they attended him in Arms to the House of his Father.

THE
FOURTH BOOK
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
CORNELIUS TACITUS.

1. **T**HE Death of *Vitellius* put an End to the War, but gave no Peace. The Victors with an implacable Malice pursued the Conquer'd, and killing whom they met, fill'd the Streets with Carcasses, and the Temples and Places with Blood; nor contented with that, they dragg'd out those who had hid themselves, and whomsoever appear'd young and personable, without distinction of Soldier or Citizen, they cut him off. Rage which from their recent Hatred could be contented with nought but Blood now Fate turn'd to Avarice. The pretence of searching for *Vitellius*, laid all

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things open and unguarded. That was their License for breaking open Houses, and who resisted, died for't. The needy Rabble struck in with them, Slaves betray'd their Masters, and Friends their Friends. Shrieks and Out-cries were heard every where, and the City appear'd in all the Forms of Ruin, as when Sack'd by an Enemy, so that the invidious Libertinism of the *Othonian* and *Vitellian* Soldiery was again wish'd for. The *Partizans* firm and powerful to kindle the War, prov'd unable to temper their Victory; for in promoting Troubles and Disorders, the worst have the greatest Power, but Peace and Quiet are the Result of Ingenious Arts.

2. The Title and Lodgings of *Cæsar* were possess'd by *Domitian*, who neglecting publick Business gave himself up to Incest and Adultery, and behav'd himself as the Emperor's Son. The Command of the Guard was given to *Arrius Varus*; the Ministry to *Primus Antonius*, who stript the Palace of Money and Servants, as if he had been Plundering *Cremona*. The rest, modest or ignoble, as they had no Fame from the War, so neither shar'd they in the Conquest. The City fearful of new Troubles, and prepar'd for Slavery, required that *Lucius Vitellius* should be seiz'd on returning from *Terracina* with his Cohorts, that so the remainder of the War, might be extinguish'd. The Horse was sent before to *Aricia*. The Legions stopt at *Bovillæ*. *Vitellius* delay'd not, but surrendred himself and Cohorts to the Discretion of the Conqueror. And his Soldiers threw away their unfortunate Arms, rather out of Rage than Fear; they being put into Order, they past thro' the City guarded, none shew'd the least submission, but all Fierce and Sad, remain'd unmov'd at the Shouts and Laughs of the insulting Vulgar: Some few, who shew'd their Impatience, were trod down by those about them; the rest were sent to Prison, not one let fall the least misbecoming

becoming Word, but in the midst of Adversity secur'd their Fame and Honour. Then fell *Lucius Vitellius*, equal to his Brother in Vice, but more Vigilant, who having no share in his Prosperity, yet in his adverse Fortune, obstinately adhered to him.

3. About this time *Lucilius Bassus* was sent with the Light Horse to compose Affairs in *Campania*; those municipal Cities rather disagreeing among themselves, than bearing any Grudge to the Prince; at the first appearance of the Soldiers they were quieted, and the Lesser Colonies pardon'd; the Third Legion winter'd at *Capua*, which the Noble Families took ill, since no Provision was made for *Tarracina*, so much more easie it is to repay an Injury than a Benefit; Gratitude being a Burthen, but Revenge reckon'd as Gain. The only Comfort they had, was that the Servant of *Verginius Capito*, who, as we have said, betray'd the Town, was hang'd with those very Rings which he had receiv'd as a Reward from *Vitellius*. At *Rome*, the Senate placing their Hope and Joy in *Vespasian*, decreed him all the Honours which were usually granted to their Emperors for the Civil Dissensions which began in *Gaul* and *Spain*, and having past thro' *Germany* and *Illyricum*, had visited *Egypt*, *Judea* and *Syria*, with all the rest of their Provinces, the whole World thus expiated, seem'd now to draw to a Conclusion. The Letters they receiv'd from *Vespasian*, encreas'd their Joy, tho' endited as if the War had been on foot, so they seem'd at first view; tho' he spoke as their Prince modestly of himself, but magnificently of the Republick. Nor was the Senate wanting in their Respects, conferring the Consulship on him, and his Son *Titus*, and the Pratorship, and the Consular Power, on *Domitian*.

4. *Mucianus's* Letters, writ to the Senate, occasion'd much Discourse; for if a private Man, Why did he assume this publick way of declaring himself? In a few Days he might have deliver'd himself in his Place; it was
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also too late to inveigh against *Vitellius*, and carry'd no show of Liberty with it, but nothing could have been more insolent against the Common-wealth, or more opprobrious to the Prince, than his boasting that the disposal of the Government was in his Power, and that he had given it to *Vespasian*. Nevertheless, covering their disdain, and flattering him openly, they decreed the Triumphal Ornaments for his Service indeed in the Civil War, but his Expedition against the *Sarmatians* was pretended. The Consular Ornaments were granted to *Primus Antonius*, and the Prætorian to *Cornelius Fuscus* and *Arrius Varus*. Then they went about Religion, and enacted the *Capitol* to be Re-built. All were specifi'd in the Speech of *Valerius Analicus*, the design'd Consul, to whom the rest assented most, with head and hand, some few Eminent for Place or Flattery, with set Orations; when the turn came to *Helvidius Priscus*, the design'd Prætor, he gave his Opinion honourable to a good Prince, and free from falshood, which was applauded by the Senate, so that this Day was the beginning to him of much Offence, and much Glory.

5. The Matter seems to require that mentioning here, one whom I shall have occasion often to remember, I briefly recount his Life, Studies, and the Fortune he had try'd. *Helvidius Priscus* was born in the first Region of *Italy*, in the Free City of *Tarracina*, his Father's Name was *Cluvius*, the first Centurion of a Legion. He employ'd his Excellent Parts in the most Sublime Studies, not as many do, under that specious Name, to hide their Sloth, but that arm'd against all the Attacks of Fortune, he might worthily undertake the Business of the Common-wealth. He follow'd the Opinion of those who taught, That nothing was Good, but what was Honest; nor Evil, but what was Dishonest; and that Power, Nobility, and other Qualities, not inherent in the Mind, were neither Good nor Evil;

Evil; he marry'd the Daughter of *Petus Thrasea*, being then Quæstor only, from all the manners of his Father-in-Law, he imbib'd nothing so greedily as Liberty, Citizen, Senator, Husband, Son-in-Law, Friend, in all the Duties of Life he was still the same. A despiser of Wealth, obstinate in a good Cause, nor to be remov'd for Fear.

6. Some there were who thought him too covetous of Glory; Ambition being a Passion, the last laid down, even by the most Wise. In the Fall of his Father-in-Law he was sent into Banishment, but returning under *Galba*, he cited *Marcellus Eprius* to Answer to the unjust Information he had Exhibited against *Thrasea*. It is a Question whether this Revenge was more Noble or Just, notwithstanding it divided the Senate into Factions, for in the overthrow of *Marcellus* the whole Host of Informers had been routed. The Contention at first was hot, and maintain'd with notable Orations on both sides, at length *Priscus* perceiving *Galba* to be dubious, and at the Request of many Senators desisted from following the Suit; Mankind judging differently of the Matter, some commending his Moderation, others blaming his Resolution. When the Empire was confirm'd to *Vespasian*, that same day it was resolv'd to send an Embassage to him; hence arose a sharp Contest between *Helvidius* and *Eprius*. *Priscus* would have had them nam'd by Magistrates, sworn for that purpose, but *Marcellus* requir'd they might be chose by Lot; this being also the Opinion of the Consul design'd.

7. *Marcellus* was the more particularly concern'd, for fear if the Choice proceeded by Nomination, he himself might be shamefully rejected. The Quarrel at first began with some slight Invectives which soon advanc'd to continued bitter Harangues: *Helvidius* demanded why *Marcellus* should fear the Decision of the Magistrates? He had Wealth and Parts, therefore could
not

not miss being prefer'd, if the Memory of his former Crimes did not make him despond of it. Then Lot and Turn could not distinguish the manners of Men, therefore the Suffrages and Votes of the Senate were found out, to penetrate into the Fame and Behaviour of every Man. That it concern'd the Utility of the Common-wealth, and the Honour of *Vespasian* to send the most Upright and Innocent of the Senate, that they might season the Ears of the Emperor with their honest Counsels. That *Thrasea*, *Sorannus* and *Sontius* had been *Vespasian's* old Friends, if their Accusors escap'd Punishment, yet they ought not to be honour'd by this Judgment of the Senate, the Prince would be inform'd whom he also might embrace, and whom reject; the best Props of a good Government being good Friends. That it was enough for *Marcellus* to have seduc'd *Nero* to the ruin of so many Innocents, that he might enjoy with impunity his Rewards, but that he ought to leave *Vespasian* to better Advisers.

8. *Marcellus* replied, *That not his Opinion, but that of the Consul design'd was impugned, that according to antient Presidents, the Choice of Embassadors was perform'd by Lot, that there might be no room left for Ambition, or Malice, that no Reason had happen'd for the changing so old a Custom, or that an Honour should be done the Prince to the Reproach of any; every Man being able to carry a Compliment. That they should rather take Care lest the Perverseness of some might irritate the Prince's mind, jealous in his new Power, and watching the Words and Gestures of every Man, that he well knew the times wherein he was born, and Form of Government our Fathers and Grandfathers had Constituted. That he admir'd the old, but would follow the present State; he wish'd for Good Emperours, but would obey all: That Thrasea fell by the Judgment of the Senate, as much as by his Oration. Nero's Cruelty making use of that disguise, whose Friendship was as odious to him, as Banishment to others. Helvidius might value himself*

himself upon his Constancy and his Fortitude, and be compar'd to Cato and Brutus. But he was of that Senate who were all Servants alike: that he advis'd Priscus not to set himself above the Prince, or think to Controul Vespasian, old in honours, and the Father of so many Children. For as Evil Princes affected to Rule without any restraint, so even the best requir'd that their Subjects should use a mean in the Exercise of their Liberties. These things debated with much heat distracted the Senate. They who were for choosing by Lot prevail'd, many being desirous to retain their old Customs, the most Eminent also closing with them, for fear of Envy if themselves should have been chosen.

9. There follow'd also another Contention. The Prætors of the Treasury (for the Treasury was then manag'd by Prætors) complain'd of their want of mony, and beg'd a Regulation in the Publick Expences: This business being so very material, and the remedies attended with so many difficulties, the Consul design'd would have had it reserv'd for the Prince, but *Helvidius* was for determining it in the Senate. Whilst the Consuls were taking the Votes, *Vulcatius Tertullinus*, a Tribune of the People, interceeded, forbidding the decision of so great a matter, the Prince being absent; *Helvidius* also declar'd for the building the Capitol at the Publick Charge, and *Vespasian* should help. This declaration of his the most moderate past by then, and soon forgot it, but some there were who remembered it.

10. Then *Musonius Rufus* Commenc'd an Action against *Publius Celer* affirming that by his false Testimony *Basea Soranus* was Condemn'd. Here the Informers were again struck at. Nevertheless he being so notoriously vile and scandalous could not be protected, for the memory of *Soranus* was sacred, but *Celer* from a Philosopher turning Evidence, accusing and betraying his Friend, whole Tutor also he had been,

been, was justly abhorr'd by all Men. The next Session was appointed for hearing the Cause, at which time *Priscus* and *Marcellus*, with others (Mens minds being bent to revenge) were as much expected as *Musonius* and *Publius*.

11. Things being in this State, the Senate divided, the conquer'd Party enrag'd, the Conquerours without Authority, no Law observ'd, nor Prince to Govern, *Mucianus* enter'd the City, and drew into himself the whole Administration of Affairs. *Primus Antonius*, and *Varus Arrius* soon lost their Power with the People, when it was perceiv'd *Mucianus* hated them, tho in shew he pretended otherwise. The City quick in spying Faults turn'd to him, he alone was Courted and Admir'd by all; nor was he wanting to himself, having a Guard, changing his Houses and Gardens of his Diversion, as his Provision, Gate and Retinue, maintaining the State and Power of a Prince without the name. The Death of *Calpurnius Galerianus* struck a Terror into all; he was the Son of *Caius Piso*, nor had he engag'd himself any ways, but being of a Noble Family and comely Personage, was Courted by the Commonalty; nor were there some wanting, who in the City as yet distracted, and delighted with any new report, vainly nam'd him to the Princes place. *Mucianus* for fear his being put to death in the City, should make too much noise, order'd him to be convey'd under a Guard forty Miles off; there he perish'd in the *Appian* Way, his Veins being opened for that Purpose. *Julius Priscus*, Praefect of the Praetorian Cohorts, slew himself rather out of Shame than Necessity. *Alphernus Varus* surviv'd with the infamous scandal of a Coward. *Asticus* the Freed-man atton'd for his Evil Credit, with a servile Death.

12. The City receiv'd the News of the overthrow in *Germany* with much unconcernedness. The Slaughter of our Armies, the Seizure of our Camps, the Defection

Defection of *Gaule*, were talk'd of as things indifferent. That War, its Rise, and with what Vigour it was maintain'd on every side, I shall here relate. The *Batavians* whilst they liv'd on the other side of the *Rhine* were part of the *Cotti*; being thence expell'd by Civil Dissention, they seated themselves in the Extreme parts of *Gaule* which had no Inhabitants, and withal seiz'd upon a Land situated amongst the Flats, with the Sea before it, and the *Rhine* behind, and on each side. By their Alliance with the *Romans* they suffer'd not in their Riches, as it often happens in unequal Confederacies, they only supplied the Empire with Arms and Men, and for a long time were Employ'd in the *German Wars*. Afterwards they became more famous by the Conduct of some Cohorts sent into *Britain*; Commanded, according to their Custom, by the Noblest among them. They had also at Home a Body of Horse, who skill'd in Swimming, could in whole Troops armed and managing their Horses, pass and repass the *Rhine*.

13. *Julius Paulus*, and *Claudius Civilis* sprung from a Royal Stock, bore the greatest sway amongst them. *Fonteius Capito*, by a false Accusation of Rebellion, put to death *Paulus Civilis*, who was sent in Chains to *Nero*, and acquitted by *Galba*: under *Vitellius* he hardly escap'd, the Army earnestly demanding his Execution. Hence arose his Rage, and from our Confusions his hope. *Civilis* having a Genius much above the pitch of those barbarous Nations, and behaving himself like *Sertorius*, with all the cunning of *Hannibal*, as indeed in the deformity of his Face he something resembled them, would not declare open War, lest our Armies should treat him as an Enemy, but pretended himself the Friend and Ally of *Vespasian*; having receiv'd Letters from *Primus Antonius* to divert the Aids demanded by *Vitellius*, and under pretence of Disturbances in *Germany*, to keep the Legions he had sent for

for, with him. *Hordeonius Flaccus* advis'd the same by word of Mouth, out of Good-will to *Vespasian*, and his Care for the Common-wealth, whose Ruin must have follow'd if the War had been renew'd, and so many Thousand arm'd Men had pass'd into *Italy*.

14. *Civilis* determin'd to Revolt, conceal'd nevertheleſs the ſecret purpoſe of it, as judging it beſt to manage himſelf according to the Event of Affairs, and after this manner began his Innovation. The ableſt of the *Batavians* were preſſ'd to the War by Order of *Vitellius*; This in its own Nature was grievous, but much more ſo, by the unſupportable Avarice and Luxury of the Officers, who forcing old and unable Perſons, releas'd them again for Money; ſuch as were under Age and Beautiful (as many of their Youths are of a tall becoming Stature) they dragg'd to Proſtitution. This made them Odious, and the Authors of the Sedition perſuaded the People to reſiſt their being preſſ'd. *Civilis* aſſembled the Nobility, and the moſt forward of the Gentry into a ſacred Wood, under pretence of Feaſting them, the Night far advancing, and perceiving them warm with Wine and Joy, beginning with the Praise and Glory of their Nation, he recounts to them the Injuries, the Inſolencies, and all the Miſeries of Servitude they then labour'd under, *That they were no longer accounted as Allies but Slaves, nor now under a Governour who with his expensive Retinue, and insolent Command had yet been ſo terrible, but were deliver'd over to petty Præfects and Centurions, who when glutted with Spoil and Blood were remov'd, for new Maſters and new Methods of Depredation. That the Muſter was at hand when Children were to be forc'd from their Parents, and Brethren from their Relations never to ſee one another more; That the Roman Strength was never at ſo low an ebb, having nothing in their Camps but Spoil and Old Men to guard it; That they*
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should only open their Eyes, and fear the empty Name of Legions; that they had a Strength of Horse and Foot of their own; That the Germans were ally'd to them, and Gaul well affected; That the Romans themselves would not dislike the War, the Misfortune of which they might impute to Vespasian, or be call'd to no account if they succeed.

15. He was heard with great Applause, and having bound them with barbarous Rites and Execrations in a firm League and Association, he sent immediately to the *Caninefates* to invite them into the Confederacy; that Nation inhabits part of the Island, of the same Lineage and Language with the *Batavians*, equal to them also in Courage, but inferiour in Number. He also secretly solicited the *Batavian* Cohorts, who had formerly been Auxiliaries in *Britany*, but sent from thence into *Germany*, and at that time residing at *Magontiacum*. There was amongst the *Caninefates* one *Briuno* of a brutal Courage, but high Birth, his Father had often hostilely attempted us, and securely laugh'd at the feeble Expeditions of *Caius* the Emperor. This Person pleas'd best upon the account of his Descent from so rebellious a Race; being put upon a Shield, and carry'd about after their Country manner, was elected their General, who calling in the *Frisians*, a Nation beyond the *Rhine*, invaded the Camp of two Cohorts next the Sea; the *Romans* did not fore-see this sudden Attempt, neither if they had, were they strong enough to repel it, so that their Camp was taken and plunder'd: The Suttlers and Traffickers wandring abroad as in the Security of Peace were also cut off. Thence they proceeded to attack the Castles, which by reason they were not defensible were set on Fire by the Captains of the Cohorts: The Ensigns, Standards, and what Troops were left, assembled in the upper part of the Island under the Conduct of *Aquilus* a Chief Centurion,

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and compos'd an Army rather in Name than Power; for *Vitellius* had drawn out the Strength of the Cohorts, and in their room had arm'd a feeble Rabble, taken from the nearest Villages of the *Nervians* and *Germans*.

16. *Civilis* judg'd it for his Interest to continue his Diffimulation, blam'd the Præfects for quitting their Castles, assur'd them that he alone with his Cohort would repress the *Caninifates*, and that every Man should return to his Station. This fraudulent Advice was soon detected, it being evident he design'd only the Destruction of our Troops, which had been easily effected, by reason they were so dispers'd: and from manifest Arguments, which the *Germans* (pleas'd with the War) could not conceal, it plainly appear'd that *Civilis* not *Briuno* was the Head of the Conspiracy. This Plot not taking he proceeds to open Violence, and places the *Caninefates*, *Frisians* and *Batavians* each by themselves in order of Battel: The *Romans* drew up against them not far from the *Rhine*, opposing also their Ships which they had order'd thither after the burning of their Castles. After some slight Skirmishing, the Cohort of the *Tungrians* revolted to *Civilis*, so that our Men astonish'd with Treachery, were beat down on all sides, as well by their false Friends as by their Enemies. The like Perfidiousness happen'd in the Fleet, some of the Rowers being *Batavians*, and pretending unskillfulness, hinder'd both the Mariners and Soldiers from doing their Duty; at length openly oppos'd them, and forc'd the Ships to the Enemies shore, murdering all the Masters and Centurions who would not take part with them; the whole Fleet of Four and Twenty Ships either revolting or carry'd away by force.

17. This Victory got them Reputation for the present, and was of Advantage in its Consequence; for they got both Arms and Shipping, which they wanted before

before, and were celebrated thro' *Gaul* and *Germany*, as the Restorers of Liberty. The *Germans* sent Ambassadors and offer'd their Assistance; and *Civilis* by Policy and Presents, endeavour'd to gain the Friendship and Good-will of the *Gauls*, sending back to their own Cities the Captains of the Cohorts whom he had taken Prisoners, and leaving it to the Choice of the Cohorts themselves, whether they would abide with him, or return home; preferring those which staid, and presenting those which departed with the Spoils of the *Romans*. He also secretly admonish'd them of the Miseries they had endur'd for so many Years past, and of their Servitude which they had miscall'd a Peace: That the *Batavians* tho' free from Taxes, had yet taken Arms against the Common Tyrants of Mankind. That the *Roman* Army was beat the first Encounter, What might they not then hope for, if *Gaul* would shake off the Yoke? How feeble was the Force of *Italy*? purchasing their Slavery with their own Blood. That they should not think of the Misfortune of *Vindex*, it being the *Batavian* Horse that defeated the *Adui* and *Arverni*, that *Verginius* was supported by the *Belgians*, and upon the whole matter that *Gaul* was ruin'd by its own Forces. But that now they were all on one side, and well vers'd in the *Roman* Discipline that the *Veteran* Troops were with them, which had baffled *Otho's* Legions: That *Syria*, *Asia*, and the *East* might be fond of their Slavery, being accusom'd to serve Kings; but that many in *Gaul* were then alive, who were born before Tributes began. That *Germany* had of late recover'd their Liberty by the overthrow of *Quintilius Varus*, tho' by it they provok'd an *Augustus Caesar* to the Field, and not a *Vitellius*. That Liberty was impress'd even upon Beasts, but that Valour was the special Ornament of Man, and always assisted by the Gods. That now they were fresh and at leisure, they might fall

upon the wearied, and the busy; and whilst some sided with *Vespasian*, and others with *Vitellius*, there was an occasion offer'd to harm both.

18. Thus he (intent upon *Gaul* and *Germany*) had made a fair advance for the Monarchy of those two Potent Nations, if his Purposes had taken effect. But *Flaccus Hordeonius* who by Connivance had promoted the first Attempts of *Civilis*, hearing the Camps were surpris'd, the Cohorts cut to pieces, and the whole Roman Name expell'd the Isle of the *Batavians*, dispatch'd away *Mummius Lupercus* his Lieutenant, who commanded a Camp of Two Legions. *Lupercus* taking the Legionaries about him, some of the *Ubii*, and the Horse of the *Treviri* who were near at hand, he pass'd them over in haste, as also a Wing of the *Batavians* who had long before been corrupted, but made a show then of great Fidelity, that they might do a more considerable Piece of Service, in betraying the *Romans* on the very Day of Battel. *Civilis* plac'd round him the Standards of the Roman Cohorts lately taken, that his Soldiers might be encourag'd with the Objects of their Glory, and his Enemies deterr'd with the Memory of their overthrow. He plac'd in the Rear his Mother and Sisters, as also the Wives and young Children of all the Soldiers; an Encouragement to Victory, or their Shame if they should happen to flee. At the Onset the Singing of the Men, and the Howling of the Women, much exceeded the feeble Shouts of our Legions and Cohorts: The *Batavian* Wing flying, and immediately turning upon us, made bare the left Flank, however, the Legionary Soldiers (tho' in so great Danger) retain'd their Arms and Ranks. The Auxiliaries of the *Ubii* and *Treviri* fled shamefully, and the *Germans* pressing upon them, gave an Opportunity to our Legions to retire to their Camp called *Vetera*. *Claudius Labeo* Praefect of the *Batavian* Wing, of a contrary Faction to *Civilis* at home, lest his Death should administer

administer Discontent to the People of the Country, or his being detain'd, prove the Cause of a Dissension amongst them, was sent away into *Frisia*.

19. In the mean time the Messenger sent by *Civilis* to sollicite the Cohorts of the *Batavians* and *Caninefates*, reach'd them at *Mogontiacum*, ready to march towards *Rome* by Order of *Vuellius*: Upon receiving the Message they immediately grew Insolent, demand'd their Subsistence for Marching, their Donative, their Double Pay, the Augmentation of their Horse, all which *Vitellius* had promis'd, and which they insisted upon, not in hopes of obtaining, but that they might have an Excuse for Mutining. And all that *Flaccus* gain'd by yielding to several of their Demands, was, that they more vehemently ask'd, what they knew he neither would nor could grant; so that despising him, they march'd towards lower *Germany*, to joyn *Civilis*. *Hordeonius* consulted the Tribunes and Centurions, whether it was not best to reduce them by Force, having thus quitted their Obedience: But his innate Cowardice, and the Fears of those about him, who had an ill Opinion of the Faith of their Allies, and no Confidence in the Legions compos'd of raw Men, alter'd that Resolution; and it was held more advisable to keep within their Trenches, and let the *Batavians* pass. Soon repenting of this ill taken Measure, those also blaming it who a little before had advis'd it, he writ immediatly to *Herennius Gallus* Governour of *Bon*, and Lieutenant of the First Legion, to intercept their Passage, and that he with his Forces would hang upon their Rear. And indeed they had been destroy'd, if *Hordeonius* and *Gallus* had march'd their Troops, and attack'd them before and behind; but *Flaccus* quitted that Design also, and in a second Letter advis'd *Gallus* not to interrupt them. Hence it was suspected that the War was fomented by the Lieutenants, and all the Mischiefs which had happen'd, or were fear'd, were im-

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puted not to the Cowardice of the Soldiers, nor the Strength of the Enemy, but to the Fallhoods and Villany of their Leaders.

20. The *Batavians* drawing near to *Bon*, sent Express to *Herennius Gallus* to acquaint him with the Intention of the Cohorts : *That no War was intended against the Romans, for whom they had so often fought, that tir'd with a long and fruitless Service, they desir'd only Ease, and to see their own Country, that if none Resisted them they would offend none, but if they met with Opposition, they would make their way with their Swords.* The Soldiers urg'd their Lieutenant, hesitating what Answer to make, to try the Fortune of a Battel. He had with him Three Thousand Legionaries, some few *Belgian* Cohorts collected in haste, with a Rabble of Peasants, and Followers of the Camp, Cowards in their Nature, but Bold before any Danger appear'd. They sallied out of all the Gates of their Camp, with a Design to enclose the *Batavians*, far inferiour to them in Numbers. They, skill'd in the antient Arts of War, threw themselves into the form of a Wedge, with their Front, Rear and Flanks well guarded, and by that means broke thro' on their Ranks. The *Belgians* first gave way, then the Legion turn'd and fled towards the Camp with much Trepidation. Here the greatest Slaughter was made, the Trenches were fill'd with dead Bodies ; nor did they suffer from the Enemy only, many were smother'd, and several kill'd by their own Weapons. They past by *Cologn* quietly, nor acted any Hostility the rest of their Journey, excusing the Battel of *Bon* as forc'd upon them, and done for their own Safety, whilst they entreated for Peace but were refus'd it.

21. *Civilis* upon the arrival of these old Cohorts, had under his Command a Compleat Army, but staggering in his Resolution, and considering the *Roman* Power, he caus'd all, with him to swear Allegiance to
Vespasian ;

Vespasian; and sends Ambassadors to the Two Legions, who after their Defeat were fled to *Vetera*, to invite them to take the same Oath. Their Answer was, That they would neither take the Advice of a Traytor, or an Enemy; that *Vitellius* was their Prince, for whom they would retain their Faith and their Arms to the last drop of Blood; that a Renegado Batavian should not set up himself the Arbitrer of the Roman Affairs, but expect the Punishment due to his impious Merit. *Civilis* enrag'd with this Answer, calls to Arms the whole Batavian Nation; the *Brucleri* and *Tencleri* joyn'd with him; Expresses are sent into Germany, which associates also, allur'd with Fame and Spoil.

22. Against these threatning Dangers *Mammius Lupercus* and *Numisius Rufus* Lieutenants of the Legions now fortified their Camp, and order'd the Houses to be demolish'd which had been built during the long Peace, that they might not be a Shelter for the Enemy; but not taking that Care of their Provisions which they ought to have done, they suffer'd the Soldiers to seize on it at Discretion, who riotously wasted in a few Days, what would have lasted a long time in case of Necessity. *Civilis* led the middle Battel, compos'd of the Flower of the Batavians, both sides of the Rhine he cover'd with Germans, and order'd the Horse to Gallop about the Fields, that the sight of his Army might terrifie the more: His Ships also were drawn against the Stream. So that on one hand the Standards of the *Veterane* Cohorts, on the other the Figures of the Wild Beasts taken from the Woods and Groves, as each Nation bore, terrified our Men with the complicated Form of a Foreign and Civil War at the same time. The large Compass of our Trench encreas'd also the hopes of the Besiegers, since what was made for Two Legions, was at present guarded but with Five Thousand arm'd Romans, besides a Rabble of Followers, who at the first Rupture

gather'd together there, and had since serv'd in the Drudgeries of the War.

23. Our Camp was situated partly on a rising Ground, and partly on a flat; that upon the Plain *Augustus* had settled for a Curb, and as it were to Besiege the *German*s, not imagining that the Face of Affairs could be so alter'd, as they should ever presume to attempt our Legion; for this Reason he was not very Curious in the Choice of his Place, nor had there been much Labour or Cost bestow'd upon it; concluding our Men, and their Reputation in Arms had been a sufficient Defence. The *Batavians* and *German*s from the other side of the *Rhine*, to the end that their Valour might be more distinguish'd, chose each a different Attack, and began to throw their Darts from afar; but finding most of them stuck in the Towers and Pinacles of the Walls, and that several of themselves were wounded with Stones thrown from above; they chang'd their purpose, and of a sudden with Shouts and Out cries assail'd the Trenches, some with scaling Ladders, others passing over the Target Fence; as they climb'd they were thrust down again with Swords and Pikes, and over-whelm'd with Clubs and Darts; they were always Hot in the beginning, and upon the least Advantage, Bold; but now they stood to't in hopes of Prey, even when they had the worst on't. They also made use of Engines, a thing unpractis'd by them before, and of which they had no Experience nor Knowledge; but some Deserters and Prisoners had taught them to frame a Machin in form of a Bridge, which they forc'd along upon Wheels; from this they fought as upon a Mount, whilst those within it undermin'd the Foundations of the Walls. The besieg'd with Stones shot from their *Balista*, soon demolish'd this rude and ill form'd Engine; and shooting burning Darts, set Fire to the Hurdles and Planks which they had procur'd to cover them in their Assault;

sault ; thus they infested their Enemies with the same Methods of Destruction they themselves were promoting ; the Assailers treated after this manner, began to despair of effecting any thing by main Force, and resolv'd upon a lingering Siege, knowing they had Provisions but for a few Days, and many useless Mouths amongst them ; that Treachery would follow Want, that the Faith of Slaves was Fleeting, they computed also for the many Casualties which happen in War.

24. *Flaccus* advertis'd of the Siege of *Vetera*, sends into *Gaul* to levy Aids, and commits a Band of Men chosen out of his Legions, to the Charge of *Dillius Vocula* Lieutenant of the Eighteenth Legion, with Orders to hasten his March along the Bank of the River ; whilst he fearfully lingred behind, being mortally hated by his Soldiers, who openly declar'd, *That the Batavian Cohorts were sent on purpose from Mogontiacum, that Civilis his Attempts were conniv'd at, and the Germans by his means united to the Cause ; that Vespasian had been strengthen'd by him more than by all that Primus Antonius and Mucianus had done ; that declar'd Enemies and open War might be repell'd, but Fraud and Deceit more unshunnable ; Civilis appear'd in the Field, and Hordeonius drew up against him in his Bed-Chamber, and directed to his Enemies Advantage ? Why should so many arm'd and valiant Soldiers be govern'd by a feeble old Man ? Rather by the Death of a Traytor, let their Fortune and their Valour be absolv'd from so ill an Omen.* In the heat of this Tumult *Flaccus* receiv'd Letters from *Vespasian*, which by reason he could not conceal, he order'd them to be read publicly, and the Messengers to be sent bound to *Vitellius*.

25. This pacified them a little, and so they march'd to *Bon*, the standing Camp of the First Legion ; the Soldiers whereof were much more enrag'd against *Hordeonius* than the former, charging their late overthrow

throw wholly upon him, *That by his Command they were drawn forth to oppose the Batavians, with assurances that the Legions from Mogontiacum should attack them behind; that no Succours coming, many lost their Lives by that Treachery; that these Matters were kept secret from the rest of the Forces, nor so much as mollified to the Prince; else by the help of so many Provinces this Rebellion had been nip'd in the bud.* Hordeonius to oppose them, order'd the Copies of the Letters which he had sent to Gaul, Britany, and Spain for their Assistance, to be read to the Army, and began the ill President, of having all Letters from abroad, deliver'd to the Standard-bearers of every Legion, who read them to the Soldiers, before they came to the General's Hand. Then he commanded one of the Mutineers to be apprehended and bound, rather to exercise his Power, than that one alone was guilty; from Bon he march'd to Cologn, where he met the Aids from Gaul, who at first did the Romans good Service; but finding the Germans prevail, many of the Cities took Arms against us, in hopes of Freedom first, then of Sovereignty. The Wrath of the Legions still increas'd, nor did the Punishment of one Soldier terrify them; the Prisoner accus'd the General of Treason, and deposed, *That he had been the Messenger between him and Civilis, and that this Colour was made use of, to prevent his testifying the Truth.* Vocula ascends the Tribunal, and with a wonderful Resolution, orders the Soldier calling out for help, to be immediately carry'd away to Execution. This terrified the Bad, and encouraged the Good; in the mean time Vocula, by the Consent of all, was elected General, Flaccus resigning his Authority up to him.

26. Want of Pay and Provisions, and Gaul refusing Supplies and Tribute, enraged their Minds already mutinously inclin'd: The Rhine, by an unusual Draught, could hardly bear their Boats, the Stores diminish'd,
and

and Garrisons plac'd along the Bank to keep the *Germans* from passing, destroy'd so much Forage, that it bred a scarcity amongst us. The lowness of the Water was look'd upon by the ignorant as a Prodigy, as if the Rivers and the old Defences of the Empire had forsaken them; and what in Peace had been accounted Chance and Natural, was now call'd Fate and the Anger of the Gods. The Thirteenth Legion join'd them at *Novesium*, and *Herennius Gallus* Lieutenant of the first Legion was added to *Vocula* in the management of Affairs; yet they durst not advance towards the Enemy, but encamp'd at *Gelduba*; where they endeavour'd to raise the Courage of their Soldiers by Exercising, Fortifying, Entrenching, and all the practises of War, and to the end that by Spoils he might enflame their Valor the more, *Vocula* led forth part of the Army to ravage the Country of the *Gugerni*, who had taken part with *Civilis*, the rest remain'd with *Herennius Gallus*.

27. A Bark laden with Corn happened to run upon a shelve not far from the Camp, the *Germans* endeavour'd to fetch her off, which *Gallus* strove to prevent, and sent a Cohort to their Relief; the *Germans* increas'd their Number, and Supplies marching on both sides, it at length came to a Battel, wherein the *Germans* were Superiour, and after a great Slaughter of our Men, became Masters of the Bark. The conquer'd (as it was their Custom) blam'd not their own Cowardice, but the Treachery of the Lieutenant, whom they seiz'd on, drew out of his Tent, tore his Garments, insulted him, and insolently demanded for what Price, and with what accomplices he had thus betray'd them: But *Hordeonius* was charg'd with the whole Envy of the Fact, him they call'd the Contriver of their Ruin, this Man only the Instrument. He terrified with their menaces, charg'd *Hordeonius* with the Treason also, and being put into Bands, at the re-
turn

turn of *Vocula* was set at Liberty, who the next day put to Death the Authors of the Mutiny. Such strange Contradictions met in this Army; an unbridled Licentiousness to commit Enormities, and as patient a Submission to whatever Punishment was inflicted for it. Without all doubt the Common Soldiers were hearty for *Vitellius*, but the Officers inclin'd to *Vespasian*; hence sprung this great variety of Crimes and Punishments, and the unnatural mixture of Rage and Obedience; whilst they who could not be contain'd in their Duty, could easily be punish'd for their Offences.

28. All *Germany* strove to advance the Interest of *Civilis*, and entering into a strict Alliance with him, gave him the chiefest of their Nobles as a Pledge of their Fidelity; whereupon he gave Orders to those which lay nearest to waste the *Ubii* and *Treveri*; and another Party to pass the *Maeſe* to infest the *Menapii* and *Morini*, and the Frontiers of *Gaul*. In every place a Spoil was made, but the *Ubii* suffer'd most, because, being of *German* Extraction, they had renounc'd their Country, and assum'd the *Roman* Name of *Agrippinenses*; Their *Cohorts* negligently stragling from the Bank of the *Rhine*, were cut off in the Village of *Marcodurum*. The *Ubii* in reprisal fetch'd much Booty out of *Germany*, at first without loss, but in length of time they were circumvented and many slain; in all this War more Faithful than Fortunate. By this blow given to the *Ubii*, *Civilis* grew more haughty, and more difficult to be dealt with, and with stricter application press'd the Siege of our Legions; he plac'd his Guards about, that no Messenger might enter, to give them notice of the approaching Succour. To the *Batavians* he assign'd the management of the Engines and the Works; and to the Inhabitants beyond the *Rhine*, who were fond of Fighting, he gave Orders to break down the Trenches; he commanded them being repuls'd to give a fresh As-

sault,

fault, bearing their Loss with great Tranquility, having such a multitude of them with him ; nor did the Night put an end to their Toil.

29. They heap'd up Wood, and setting it on Fire, fell a Feasting, heated thus with Wine, with a fruitless rashness they renewed the Attack, for their Darts being thrown thro' the dark, fell without doing much hurt ; whilst the *Romans* assisted by the Light their Fires had made, dexterously levell'd all those *Barbarians* who either boldly press'd forward, or were conspicuous by their Furniture. This was soon perceiv'd by *Civilians* who order'd the Fires to be put out, and the Fight to be tumultuously continued in the dark : There arose confus'd Noises, uncertain Adventure, no foresight either in striking or warding ; wherever the cry was, thither did they turn, and shoot towards that place : Valour did nothing, Chance govern'd all, whilst the most Valiant fell by the Hands of Cowards. The *Germans* shew'd an unadvis'd Rage, but the *Roman* Soldiers acquainted with Danger, hurl'd their Clubs headed with Iron, and huge Stones to great Advantage, where by the sound they judg'd the Assailants were, or where the scaling Ladders had brought them within their reach, those they repell'd with the Spikes of their Bucklers, and pursu'd them with their Darts ; and several who were got on the Walls they stab'd with their Daggers : Thus was the Night spent, but the Day discover'd a new kind of Assault.

30. For the *Batavians* had built a double boarded Tower, and brought it near the Prætorian Camp which was of easiest Access, but our Soldiers broke it with great pieces of Timber which they threw against it, and thereby did great Mischief to those which stood upon it, killing some, and wounding others. And afterwards set upon them of a sudden, and with that good Fortune and Success, that many of them were cut off, and destroy'd. Our Legions being more skilful in
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the Art of War, did on their side invent many Engines; but that which gave most terrour of all, was a moving Machine which was so Compos'd, that being let down of a sudden, it would snatch up a Soldier or two, and mounting them on high, would by the turning of a Beam let them fall into our Camp. *Civilis* seeing this, was out of Hope to do any good by Attacking us, and therefore resolv'd to do that by length of time Force could not, and to try whether the Faith of the Legions might not be corrupted by Promises, and Rewards, and by various Methods entred into private Treaties with them.

31. These things were done in *Germany* before the Battel of *Cremona*, and signified by the Letters of *Antonius Primus*, who sent *Cecinna's* Edict along with them: and *Alpinus Montanus* a Præfect or Captain of one of the vanquished Cohorts, being then present confess'd the same. This caus'd various motions and Affections in the Mind of the Army; for the Auxiliary *Gauls* who neither lov'd or hated one or the other Side, were easily perswaded to forsake *Vitellius*. But there was more to do with the old Soldiers, for tho upon *Hordeonius* and the Tribunes persuasions they were with difficulty prevail'd upon to take the Oath they yet boggl'd at the name of *Vespasian*, and either left it quite out, or loosely and slightly pronounc'd it.

32. The Letters of *Antonius* to *Civilis*, were afterwards read publickly, and these created suspicions among the Soldiers, because they spoke of the *German* Army as Enemies, and seem'd to be wrote by one of the Faction. The like was both spoke and done in the Camp at *Geldula*, when the Messenger arriv'd there, and thereupon *Montanus* was sent to *Civilis* to exhort him to desist from War, and not to make the pretence of taking Parties, a Cloak for Rebellion, and that if he intended to help *Vespasian*, his desire and purpose was by them accomplish'd. To these *Civilis* replied at
first

first only by subtle and deceitful Evasions, but afterwards perceiving *Montanus* to be of an hot Disposition, and ready to receive any New Impression, began to complain of the many hazzards and dangers he had been exposed in the *Roman Service* for twenty years together. Saying, I have receiv'd a just Reward, and a worthy Recompence for all the Labors I have undergone, the Death of my Brother, my own Imprisonment, and the most severe Words his Army could give, I demand therefore that revenge, which is due by the Law of Nations seeing they have requir'd me to be put to Death. And as for you *Treveri*, what have you and the rest receiv'd but fruitless Service, continual Tribute, Whips, Gibbets, and Slavery under proud and insolent Masters? Behold therefore, if I my self being a Prefect or Captain of one Cohort, with the *Caninefates* and *Batavians*, only have destroyed those Camps of theirs which they fortified in vain, and do now actually besiege them with Sword and Famine, what can be concluded, but that we should push for it with Courage, seeing if we win, we shall recover our Liberties, and if we lose we can be in no worse a Condition than we are. Thus *Civilis* having incensed, dismissed him, however he Conjured him to make as favourable a report as he could, which he accordingly performed, for upon his return he only said that he could not succeed in his Message, and absolutely dissembled the rest, which however afterward came to light.

33. *Civilis*, now bent upon the War, sent the old Cohorts, and the stoutest and most Valiant part of the *Germans* against *Vocula*, under the leading of *Julius Maximus*, and *Claudius Victor* his Sisters Son, retaining the rest of the Army which lay at *Asciburg*, and so suddenly assaulted the other, that *Vocula* had no leisure to put his Men into Order, and hardly so much as to speak to them. However in an Hurry he Commanded the Legions into the main Battle, and the Auxiliaries to the outside. The Horse were immediately ordered to Charge, but seeing the Enemy ready to receive them

them in good Order, they turned their Backs and gave way upon the Foot, so that they were kill'd without so much as fighting. The Cohorts also of the *Nervii* whether by reason of fear or Treachery fled, and giving way toward the Flanks, made a ready passage to the Legions, who began thereupon to be overthrown in the Trenches, and lose many of their Ensigns, when of a sudden the Fortune of the Battle began to change its Face. For certain Cohorts of the *Vascones* Levied by *Galba*, happening to be sent for, came near the Camp at the same time, and hearing the Noise of the Battle fell in upon the backs of the Enemy, and gave a more terrible Alarm, than so small a Number could have done; had not the Enemy been intent another way. Some of them believed that all those which Quartered at *Novesium*, and others that the whole power of *Moguntiacum* was come, and this Error increased the Courage of the *Romans*, because while they expected other Forces, they recovered their own. The most valiant of the *Batavian* Foot were slain, and the Horse escaped, and carried off the Prisoners that were taken at the first. On our side the number of the slain was greater, but they were of less Note, whereas on the other side, the *Germans* lost the very Flower and Strength of their Army.

34. Both the Generals deserved to be beaten for the like fault, for if *Civilis* on his side had sent a greater Force, he had not been enclosed by so small a Number, and by Consequence the *Roman* Camp had been forced. And on the other side *Vocula* was surpris'd, for want of Scouts to give notice of the Enemies approach, and so was almost vanquish'd without fighting; but being afterwards Victorious more by Fortune than Merit, he knew not how to make any advantage of the Victory, for whereas he should have marched immediately towards the Enemy, he trifled away the time, which if he had taken, he might at that instant have raised the Siege of the Legions at *Vetera*. *Civilis* in the mean
time

time endeavoured to induce the Legions to surrender, and gave it out every where that the *Romans* were quite overthrown, and his Forces obtained an entire Victory. For proof of this he Commanded the Banners and Ensigns of the *Romans* to be carried about, and the Prisoners to be produced in sight; but one of them without mincing the Matter, declared boldly how every thing went, and was kill'd by the *Germans* upon the Spot, which did not only Verifie his Relation, but they could see that their own Victorious Army was approaching, by the burning of the Villages, and waisting of the Country as they march'd towards them.

35. When *Vocula* came near the Camp at *Vetera*, he Commanded the Ensigns to be pitch'd as near the Enemy as might be, and some Works to be immediately thrown up for the Security of our Army, and gave Orders that the heavy Baggage should be sent to a place of Safety, that they might have nothing to incommode or incumber them when they went to Fight: But the Soldiers being impatient, demanded to be led on to the Battle without delay, having now learn'd the Practise of threatening their Commanders. So that he was constrain'd to fight, though his Men were fatigu'd in the March, without putting his Army into Order against *Civilis*, who was ready to present him Battle, and repos'd no less Confidence in the faults and follies of his Enemies, than in the Strength and Valour of his own Soldiers. The Fight therefore went very ill on the *Romans* side, and the most Mutinous prov'd the greatest Cowards; however there were some who stood firmly, and repell'd the Enemy with Valour, and by their Examples animated others to do their Duty, when the Soldiers within seeing from the Walls how things past, issued out of the Gate, and setting upon the Enemy, by that Means changed the Face of the Battle. *Civilis* was overthrown by a fall from his Horse; and was thought on

both sides to be either Kill'd or Wounded, and this as it gave Courage to his Enemies, it disheartened his own Men, and was the cause of their flight. But *Vocula* did not pursue his Victory, but only entred *Vetera*, and enlarged the Ditches, and other Works of the Camp, as if it was to be Besieg'd a second time. His often neglect of Pursuing the Victory, caused them (and not without Reason) to have a suspicion of him, as if he had a mind to continue the War. Our Soldiers stood in want of nothing so much as Provision and Forage, and they sent a weak Detachment to bring Provision from *Novesium* by Land, because the Enemies were Possessors of the River. The first Convoy passed securely, because *Civilis* was not yet Recovered of his Wound, but having Advice that another Convoy was sent to the same Place, under the Conduct of certain Cohorts, who marched in Disorder, and had put their Armour and Weapons into the Waggon, and Furl'd their Ensigns, he set an Ambuscade near certain Straits and Bridges, who fell upon them in good Order. The Dispute was long and uncertain, and continued till such time as Night parted them. The Cohorts went right forward to *Gelduba*, and the Camp standing as it was before, was guarded by the Soldiers which *Vocula* had left. There was no doubt to be made, but they would run a very great Risque, being but few, and heavily laden, and therefore *Vocula*, taking with him a Thousand Men, out of Two Legions of those who were Besieged at *Vetera*, determined to Relieve them. But these Soldiers being Headstrong, and despising their Officers, more went than were Commanded, peremptorily declaring they would no longer endure Famine, nor be subject to the Treacheries of their Superior Officers; and those which remain'd murmur'd, saying, they were forsaken, and left a Prey to the Enemy by the marching away of so many of the Army. Upon this grew a
double

double Mutiny, one part Recalling *Vocula*, and the other refusing to return, while at the same time *Civilis* Besiegeth *Vetera*.

36. *Vacula* marched to *Gelduba*, and from thence to *Novesium*. *Civilis* presently took up the Camp at *Gelduba*, so that both Armies being close together, many Skirmishes happened, in which, for the most part, *Vacula* had the best, but the Soldiers, whether Prosperous or not, were equally agreed to Ruin their Leaders; and understanding that Money was sent from *Vitellius*, required their Donative, with greater Insolence, by how much the more, they were increased in number, for they had received a Reinforcement from the fifth and fifteenth Legion. *Hordeonius* immediately distributed the money amongst them in *Vespasians* Name, but this added Fuel to the Fire, and was the Occasion of a farther Mutiny; for the Soldiers fell to Drinking, Riot, and holding Cabals by Night; their Anger encreasing to that Degree, that they took *Hordeonius* by force out of his Chamber and kill'd him, a most shameful Fact and done with so much Impudence that none of the Officers durst speak one word to the contrary, and had not *Vacula* escap'd in the Garb of a Slave, he had suffer'd the like treatment. As soon as the Heat of their Fury was over, they began to consider the Danger to which they had expos'd themselves by so rash and head-strong an Action, and dispatch'd away Centurions and Letters to the Cities of the *Gauls* for Supplies of Money and Men.

37. Being now become like a Mob without an Head, timorous and unactive; as soon as *Civilis* came upon them, they ran away half arm'd, or without any Armour at all, and which was worse, the upper Army would not take part with them. They set up the Images of *Vitellius* in the Camp, when himself was quite down; but the Soldiers of the first Four and Eighteen Legion, bethought themselves at last, sub-

mitted to *Vocula*, and took the Oath to *Vespasian*; upon which they were led to raise the Siege at *Moguntiacum*, where the *Catti*, *Usipii*, and *Matiaci* that besieg'd it were departed laden with Booty, but being met by ours upon the way dispers'd hither and thither, were beaten, and many of them kill'd. The *Treveri* also on their side defended their Confines by casting up Works, and had many bloody Skirmishes with the *Germans*, but afterwards revolted, and by that means sullied the Merit of all those excellent Services they had heretofore done to the *Romans*.

38. While these things were doing *Vespasian*, and *Titus* were made Consuls in their absence, and the City was in great Fear and Perplexity; for besides the real Miseries they endur'd, they were alarm'd with a false Fear of the Revolt of *Africk*, and that *Piso* endeavour'd to create New Troubles. He was Pro-Consul of those Parts, and a Man of a quiet Disposition, but because the Ships could not come by reason of the Winter Tempests, the Common People who were us'd to buy Corn, believ'd that Traffick was restrain'd, and Commerce shut up. These Fears were augmented by the *Vitellianists*, who had not yet relinquish'd their former Affections and Humors, and were not at all ungrateful to the Victors, whose insatiable desires after Profit, neither Foreign War, nor Civil Discords could satisfy.

39. The Senate call'd by *Julius Frontinus* the City Prætor upon the First of *January*, decreed that Solemn Thanks should be given to the General Officers, Armies, and Kings who were on their side; that the Prætorship should be taken away from *Tertius Julianus* (because he deserted his Legion upon their taking *Vespasian's* Part) and given to *Plotius Griphus*. That *Hormus* should be made a Gentleman of *Rome*, and that *Frontinus* should resign his Prætorship to *Domitianus Cæsar*, and that all Letters and Edicts should be publish'd

lish'd in his Name; but at last the Power and Direction of Affairs rested upon *Mucianus*, except that now and then *Domitian* either at the Instance of his Friends or his own Pleasure, would do something himself. The greatest Fear *Mucianus* had was of *Antonius Primus* and *Varus Arrius*, whom (besides the Fame of their great Actions and their Credit with the Soldiery) the People lov'd, because they had neither kill'd nor shew'd Cruelty to any, except in the Field; and 'twas said that *Antonius* had solicited *Scribonianus Crassus* (a Person greatly Illustrious, not only in respect of the Nobility of his Ancestors, but his Brothers being adopted into the Family of the *Cæsars*) to take upon him the Government of the Common-wealth, but that he had refused the Offer, being a Man that was so much afraid of Uncertainty, that even Assurance it self could not easily have stirr'd him to Action. And therefore *Mucianus* judging it convenient to dissemble, because he durst not use Violence towards him, gave him good Words and commended him to the Senate, made him also Promises of the *Nearer Spain*, vacant by the cessure of *Cluvius Rufus*, bestowed Tribuneships and the Offices of Præfects upon his Friends liberally, and when he had swell'd up the Tumor of his Ambition with these windy and vain-glorious Hopes, he began to let it out by degrees, first by infringing his Power by little Arts and Tricks, and afterwards ruin'd it by sending away the Seventh Legion (who were entirely at his Devotion) into Winter Quarters; the Third Legion which depended on *Varus Arrius* into *Syria*, and another Part of the Army into *Germany*. And thus the City being freed from those which could create her Trouble, began to take Breath, and recover her former Estate, the Laws to take their due Course, and the Magistrates to resume their Charges.

40. Upon this, *Domitian* came to the Senate, and made a short and courteous Speech concerning his Father and Brother's absence, and his want of Experience by reason of his Youth, and did it with so decent a Behaviour, that tho' he blush'd and was often out of Countenance, it was taken for Modesty, for his Villanies were not yet come to the Knowledge of the Publick. Afterwards he made a Motion that *Galba* might be restor'd to his Honour, and was back'd by *Curtius Montanus*, who was also of Opinion that the Memory of *Piso* should be celebrated. The Senate granted both, but that of *Piso* took no Effect. After this they decreed, That Restitution should be made of those things which during the War, had been taken away by force; That the Tables of Brass which contain'd their Laws, and were decay'd by long Tract of time, should be view'd and amended; That the Publick Registers and Records should be purg'd of those Faults, which were crept into them by the Flattery of the Times, and the Publick Expences regulated. *Tertius Julianus* was restor'd to the Prætorship, when it was understood that he had fled to *Vespasian*, and *Griphus* kept that Honour. Then the Senate order'd, That the Cause between *Musonius Rufus* and *Publius Celer* should be examin'd and determin'd, in which *Publius* was condemn'd, and Satisfaction made to the defunct *Soranus*. This Day was remarkable for the Severity of the Publick, nor did he as a Private Person want his Praise, for the Judicial prosecution of so Just a Revenge. And on the other hand, *Demetrius* the Cynick was so much blam'd, that he had more ambitiously than honestly pleaded the Cause of a manifest Offender, for indeed *Publius* had neither Eloquence nor Courage to defend himself.

41. Afterwards there was leave given to bring in Bills in order to obtain Revenge against Accusers, and *Junius Mauricus* requested *Domitian* to communicate to them a Copy of those Records and Papers that could

could inform them who had been the Accusers of such and such Persons. But he made answer, *That the Prince's Consent was to be requir'd in a Matter of that Consequence, and that he could do nothing in it himself* Whereupon the Senate and the Chief Magistrates formed an Oath, which they all swore, striving who should be first; and the rest in Order solemnly protested, calling the Gods to witness, that they had never attempted against the Lives of any, nor received any Profit or Advantage from the Calamities of others. But there was some among them Criminal that way, who contended by various Arts and Shifts, for an alteration of the Words of the Oath, and at last pronounc'd it with fear and disorder. The Senators commending those which swore truly, were very hard upon the others, and the Censure fell heavy upon *Seriolanus Vocula*, *Nonius Actianus* and *Cestius Severus*, Persons infamous for their frequent Accusations under *Nero*, and (which aggravated his Cause) *Seriolanus* had been lately with *Vitellius* in order to undertake the same villanous Practices, insomuch that they bent their Fists against him, and would have offer'd Violence, had he not withdrawn himself and departed out of the House. Afterward they fell upon *Pactius Africanus*, endeavouring to throw him out likewise, because he had given in an Information against the *Scribonian Brethren* (famous both for their great Riches and mutual agreement) and by that means procuring their ruin under *Nero*. *Africanus* durst neither confess the Matter, nor could well deny it, but turning himself to *Vibius Crispus* his greatest Opponent, challeng'd him with the like, endeavouring to throw off the *Odium* of his own Crime, by making his Adversary guilty of the same.

42. That day *Vespasianus Masella* got great Reputation both for his Eloquence and good Nature, in that being under Senators Age, he boldly undertook to

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make Intercession for his Brother *Aquilius Regulus*.
Regulus was extremely hated, for the overthrow of the
Noble Houses of the *Crassi*, and of *Orphitus*, and be-
ing at his own Request appointed by the Senate to
be their Accuser, undertook that odious Charge, not
to avoid Danger, but in hope of raising himself out
of their ruins. And *Sulpitia Prætextata* the Wife of
Crassus, with four of his Children, were there ready
to witness against him, if the Senate would please to
take Cognizance of the Matter. *Messala* neither un-
dertaking to defend the Cause nor the Guilty, but only
to oppose himself to the Perils of his Brother, moved
many to Compassion, but *Curtius Montanus* replied in
a most bitter Oration, and went so far that he charged
Regulus with giving Money after *Galba's* Death to him
that slew *Piso*, and that he bit his Head being dead.
Surely (said he) Nero did not compel you to this, nei-
ther did you obtain either Honour or Profit by that Bar-
barity, we may in some sort bear those Defences which
choose rather to ruin others than endanger themselves, but
for your part, your Fathers going into Banishment, left you
clear of all Danger that way; and his Goods being di-
vided among his Creditors, and your Age at that time
incapable of Honour; there was nothing that Nero could
take away from you, or fear in you. It was your own
blood thirsty and covetous mind, which caused you to em-
ploy your Wit (not as yet known or expert at making De-
fences) to the ruin of the Nobility; when at one blow
you overthrew Innocent Children, Reverend Old Men, Ho-
nourable Women, and by this excellent Service in destroy-
ing the Common wealth, obtain'd Consular Spoils, the Sum
of Seven Millions of Sesterces, an Eminent Priesthood. And
besides, you blam'd Nero's dull way of Proceedings, that
he tir'd himself and Accusers, by taking People by retail,
when he might subvert the Senate at a word's speaking.
Keep, (my Lords and Gentlemen) retain always with you,
a Man of such expeditious Counsel, and quick Dispatch,
that

that every Age may be furnish'd with Instruments, and as our Old Men imitate Marcellus and Crispus, so your Young may follow Regulus his Example. Wickedness, tho' it does not prosper, doth sometimes find Followers, What will it then do when it flourishes? If we durst scarce offend him when he was Questor, What shall we do when he obtains the Offices of Prætor and Consul? Or do you think Nero will be the last Tyrant? 'Tis true, they thought so who over-liv'd Tiberius and Caligula, when in the mean time there arose more cruel and detestable than either. We fear not Vespasian, his Age and good Disposition are a sufficient Warrant, but Examples endure longer than Dispositions. We are become cool (my Lords and Gentlemen) nor are we now the same Men, that when Nero was slain, we did not require these his Instruments of Wickedness to be punish'd, as our Ancestors would have done. The best thing that happens after an ill Prince is the first Day.

43. The Senate heard Montanus so freely and with such Content, that Helvidius conceiv'd an hope, that if he took that Opportunity he might overthrow Marcellus also. And therefore beginning his Speech with the Commendation of Cluvius Rufus, who tho' as Rich and Famous for Eloquence as any, had done no Man any Injury in Nero's time, and urging the same Crime, and the Example of others against Marcellus, he so far irritated the Senators, that their Fingers even itch'd against him. Marcellus perceiving this, and making an Offer as if he would go out of the House, said, *We go Helvidius, and leave you to a Senate of your own, Rule as you please in the presence of Cæsar.* After him follow'd Vibius Crispus, both of them being very angry, Marcellus with a threatening Countenance, and Crispus half Smiling. But at the entreaty of Friends they came back again, and reassum'd their Places, and so the Contention growing hotter, the whole Day was consum'd in Brawlings, on the
one

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one there being many and Good, on the other few and mighty bandying together.

44. As soon as the next Assembly of the Senate came, *Cæsar* made a Speech, endeavouring to persuade them to Agreement, and to bury their Grudges with the Memory of the late times, wherein Men were forc'd to do many things against their Minds and Inclinations; and *Mutianus* seconding the same, open'd himself at large in favour of the Accusers, and intreated them that they would not resume the same Quarrels. The Senate when they saw themselves a-bridg'd of this Liberty, medled no farther. But *Mutianus* (lest the Judgment of the Senate should seem to be disregarded, and all Crimes committed under *Nero* pardon'd) commanded *Octavius Sagitta* and *Antistius Sossianus*, of the Order of the Senators, who were return'd from Banishment without Leave, to be reduc'd to the same Islands again. *Octavius* had committed Adultery with *Pontia Posthumia*, and afterwards kill'd her, because she refus'd to Marry him. *Sossianus* had been the ruin of many, and they were both banish'd by a strict and severe Sentence of the Senate, and tho' others were restor'd, these were left still in the same Penalty. But however, *Mutianus* could not escape the Suspicions which Men conceiv'd of his corrupt and sinister Dealings; for notwithstanding *Octavius* and *Sagitta* were wicked Men, and that it was no matter where they liv'd; Yet the Accusers great Gifts, Wealth and Power, occasion'd matter of Jealousy, and not without just Grounds.

45. At last the Minds of the Senators were pretty well reconcil'd by a Cause heard and determin'd according to antient Custom, which was this. *Manlius Patricius* a Senator, made Complaint that he was beaten by the People in the Colony of *Siena* at the Magistrates Command, and not contented with this, they made a Mock-shew of celebrating his Funerals in his own

own sight, with counterfeit Weeping and Lamentations, and many opprobrious Speeches which tended to the Reproach and Dishonour of the whole Senate. The Parties accused were call'd, and upon due Examination and Trial, convicted and condemn'd, and afterwards executed. And an Order was made to admonish the People of *Sienna* to behave themselves with more Modesty and Respect for the time to come. At the same time *Antonius Plautus* at the Suite of the *Cyrenenses* was condemn'd for Extortion and shedding of Innocent Blood, and in few Days after sent into Banishment.

46. While these things were doing, a Sedition of the Soldiers was very near breaking forth. For the Soldiers of the Guard of *Vitellius* which had forsok him in favour of *Vespasian*, demanded their former places, and those which had been pick'd out of the Legions upon promise of the same Places did now demand a performance of the Promise. Those that were of *Vitellius* his Guard were so strong, and in such Number, that they could not be subdu'd without much Blood-shed, and therefore *Mutianus* drew them into a Camp, pretending to Muster, and take an Account of the Arrears due to them. He commanded those of his own Part to stand in several Battalions at a distance one from another, with their Ensigns and Weapons. He then drew out the *Vitellian* Guards (both those which yielded themselves at *Bonilla*, and the rest which were about the City) in a manner unarm'd, and divided them also into several Battalions, setting the *Germans*, *Britains*, and the rest by themselves. They were in a great Amazement when they saw a Field flourishing with Darts and Weapons pitch'd against them, and themselves looking pitifully without Armour, and in a manner clos'd about. But when they began to be drawn hither and thither, they all trembled, especially the *Germans*, as if the separation tended

ded only to sort them out to the Slaughter. Whereupon they embrac'd their Companions, hung on their Necks, and kiss'd them as for their last Farewel, besought them not to leave them, affirming, that in the same Cause they ought all to run the same Fortune. Sometimes they besought *Mutianus*, sometimes the Prince that was absent, sometimes the Gods and Heavens to relieve their Distress, till such time as *Mutianus* calling them honest Men and Soldiers of the same Sovereign, rid them of this vain Fear. On the other side the Soldiers gave a great Shout, and declared themselves in Favour of their Cause, and so the Matter ended for that day. Some few days after, *Domitian* himself made an Oration to them, where he profer'd them Lands and Possessions, but now the Soldiers having laid aside their Fears, boldly refus'd it, praying to have both their former Places and Pay. They were but Prayers, yet being such as durst not be refus'd, they were taken into the Guards. Afterwards they which had faithfully accomplish'd the Number of their Campaigns were honourably dismiss'd; the Criminals were singled out one by one, and discarded at several times, and by this means a dangerous Combination of a Multitude was dissolv'd with Safety.

47. A motion was made in the Senate, whether upon a real or pretended Necessity, that Sixty Millions of *Sesterces* should be borrowed from Private Hands for the use of the Publick, and committed to the Care of *Poppæus Silvanus*, but either the Necessity or the Pretence vanish'd quickly after. Then *Domitian* propos'd a Law, to make void the Consulships conferr'd by *Vuellius*, and the Funerals of *Fabius Sabinus* were celebrated with censorial Pomp, the most honourable Burying of all; A great Demonstration of the mutability of Fortune, which sometimes turns down whatsoever seemeth High in the World.

48. About

48. About the same time *Lucius Piso* Proconsul of *Africk* was kill'd, I shall truly set down the Circumstances of the Murder, if I relate some certain Matters which went before; which seem chiefly to have given occasion to that and other wicked Enterprises of the like kind. The Legion in *Africk*, and the Forces design'd to guard the Frontiers, were under the Government of the Proconsul, in the time of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, till *Caius Caesar* a whimsical Prince, and one that was afraid of *M. Silanus* who had obtained *Africk*, removed the Legion from the Proconsul, and sent a Legat or Lieutenant-General on purpose to Command it; so that the Power over the Soldiers being divided between Two, and the Points of their Commission interfering, created Discord and Division between them, and the Office of the Lieutenant-General, grew to that height by continuing longer in Command, that (the Power of the Proconsul's being eclips'd) they sought rather their own Safety, than the full Exercise of their Office.

49. *Valerius Festus* had the Command of the Legion at that time, a young Man given to Riot and excessive Expence, and withal ambitious of great Things (but very much perplex'd by reason of his near Relation to *Vitellius*) and in some private Conferences, whether he persuaded *Piso* to stand up for the Empire, or oppos'd himself to his Solicitations, is uncertain, for no Man was present, and when *Piso* was slain, most Men favour'd his Destroyer; but this is certain that the Army in *Africk* was ill affected to *Vespasian*: and some of *Vitellians* Party who fled out of the City, laid down to *Piso* the possibility of effecting his Design, by shewing him that the *Gauls* were upon the Point of Revolting, and that the Army in *Germany* was ready to side with him; that his own Person was in Danger, and that an open War was better than a doubtful Peace. At the same time

Claudius

Claudius Ségura out-failing a Centurion sent by *Murrianus*, affirmed, that the said Centurion had Orders to dispatch *Piso* out of the way; that *Galerianus* his Son-in-Law, and several of his Kinsmen were kill'd at *Rome*; and that the only hope he had left, was to venture boldly. That there was but two ways he could have recourse to, either to take up Arms presently, or Sail into *Gallia* and offer himself to Head the *Vexillan* Army. *Piso* remain'd unmovable, and a while after the Centurion came, who as soon as he arrived in the Port of *Carthage*, proclaimed *Piso* Emperor, wishing him all Success and Long life, and requiring the Common People to joyn with him in the same City. The credulous Common People, partly upon Negligence to search out the Truth, or out of the Pleasure of Flattery, flock'd into the Market-place, and fill'd the City with Shouts and joyful Acclamations, and demanded the Presence of *Piso*. But *Piso*, whether upon private Notice from *Ségura*, or his own Modesty, kept himself within Doors, and examining the Centurion, found it only a Snare to entrap him, and therefore commanded him to be slain, not that he hoped to escape himself by so doing, as upon a just Indignation against him, for the late Murder of *Clodius Macer*, and his barbarous Intention to go on from thence to the Murder of a Proconsul. Afterwards he put out a severe Edict to check the looseness of the *Cartaginians*, and forbore to execute his Office, lest any occasion of a new Commotion might arise.

50. But *Festus* having Notice of the Uproar and Consternation of the People, the Death of the Centurion, and other Occurrences, partly true and partly false, as it is the manner of Report to enlarge things in the going, sent a certain Number of Horse to kill *Piso*, who making all the haste they could, came at Day's break and beset the Proconsul's House, entred with their Swords drawn, and tho' they were Auxiliaries

liaries of the Army, and *Moors* chosen on purpose for such a Design, yet they had no knowledge of *Piso* by sight. The first they met with, was Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber; They ask'd him who he was, and where *Piso* was to be found; the Servant finding his Master's Danger, resolutely and boldly answer'd that he was *Piso*, and so was immediately slain upon the Place. *Piso* was quickly after kill'd by means of *Bebius Massa*, one of the Procurators of *Africa* who knew him; a Man that even then sought the Destruction of Good Men, and whom we shall have occasion to mention often in the Course of this History, as a great Instrument of those Mischiefs, and a Cause of those Miseries which afterwards befel us. *Festus* in the mean time stay'd at *Adrumetum* to see how the Matter succeeded, and from thence went to his Legion, where he imprisoned *Cerronius Pisanus* upon a private Pick between them, but under pretence of his being an Accomplice with *Piso*. He punish'd also some Centurions and Soldiers, and rewarded others, not for any Fault or Merit, but because he would make a show as if he had ended a War. He then took up the Quarrel between the *Openses* and *Leptitani*, which from small beginnings, as Robbing of Corn and Cattel, was now maintain'd by open Arms and Hostilities on both sides; the *Openses* being the Weaker side, had call'd in the *Garamantes* a Savage and Thievish People to help them. Whereupon the Fields of the *Leptitani* were every where wasted, and they trembled for fear even within their walled Towns, till such time as the Cohorts came, who put the *Garamantes* to flight recovered all the Spoil, except that which had been carried far into the Country, and Sold among their wild and inaccessible Cottages.

51. After the Battel of *Cremona* was over, there was nothing but successful Tidings came from all Parts. Many People of all sorts put to Sea, tho' in the

the Winter Season to bring News to *Vespasian* of *Vitellius* his Death; and beside, King *Vologesus* sent Ambassadors with the offer of Forty Thousand Horse, if he had occasion. It was a great and glorious Thing to receive the profers of so great an Assistance, but much more so, not to want them. So he return'd Thanks to the Ambassadors, and desired him to send an Embassy to the Senate, and if he might assure himself of Peace with the *Romans*. *Vespasian* now casting his Thoughts towards *Italy*, and the Affairs of the City, had received Advice that *Domitian* had exceeded his Bounds, and acted more like an Emperor than an Emperor's Son, and therefore he deliver'd over the best part of the Army to *Titus*, to prosecute and finish the *Jewish War*, and prepared to depart.

52. But before his departure, it is reported that *Titus* used many Words with his Father, to persuade him not to believe lightly, or to be angry with his own Son, telling him that neither Legions nor Navies were so strong a Defence to a Prince's Estate, as the multitude of Children that Friends may decrease by Time or Fortune, or by various and sundry Over-sights, whereas a Man's Blood cleaveth fast, and cannot be disjoyn'd, but much more to Princes, whose Prosperity though it enjoy'd by all, yet none are more nearly touch'd with his Adversity than his nearest Relations, and how should they two agree together, if he who was their Father gave so ill an Example. *Vespasian* not so much pacifi'd toward *Domitian*, as delighted with the good Nature of *Titus*, bid him be of good Comfort, and take Care of the Charge of the War, which he had committed to him, and that himself would take Care of what regarded Peace, and the Affairs of his own House. He then committed himself to the Seas, which were yet tempestuous, and freighted the swiftest Saylor's with Corn, for the City was in such distress, that they had not above ten days Provision in store.

54. He committed the Charge of Re-building the Capitol to *Lucius Vestinus* a Gentleman of Rome, one of the Principal Men of the City, both for Authority and Credit. He call'd the Soothsayers together to consult about it, how and in what manner it should be Built, and they return'd for Answer, that it was the Pleasure of the Gods, that all the old Materials should be carried away, and that the whole should be Re-built upon the very self same Foundation. The One and Twentieth of *June* being a very fair Day, the space of Ground whereon the Temple was to be built, was bound about with Vine-Branches and Garlands; and then first the Soldiers entred in with fortunate Boughs, whose Names had lucky Significations. Afterwards the Vestal Virgins, attended by many Children of both Sexes, whose Fathers and Mothers were alive, wash'd it, first with River, and then afterwards with Spring-water. Then *Helvidius Priscus* the Prætor, with *Plautus Elianus* the Chief Priest going before him, hallow'd the Floor with the Solemn Sacrifices of a Swine, Sheep and Bullock, and laying the Entrails upon a Green Turf; invoc'd *Jupiter*, *Junio*, and *Minerva* in the first place, and then the rest of the Gods who were Protectors of the Empire, that they would prosper the Work, and be propitious to their own Habitation, which was begun by the Piety and Devotion of Men towards them. And then he himself first touch'd a long Rope, to the end of which a great Stone was fasten'd, and presently the Magistrates and Priests, the Senate and Gentlemen, and a great Crowd of People pressing one another with Desire and Joy, laid hold upon the Rope and drew the Stone to the Foundations, and cast in Pieces of Gold and Silver rough, and Oars of other Metals which had not been yet try'd in the Fire; for the Soothsayers had expressly forbidden, that the Work should be defil'd with Gold, or Stone which had ever been design'd to another use.

use. There was no alteration but this, that the Roof was made higher, and this was was not disallow'd by the Gods, seeing the Disproportion that way wanted Majesty convenient for a stately Building design'd to hold such a Mass of Men.

54. In the mean time when the Death of *Vitellius* was known in *Gaul* and *Germany*, it rather doubled than abated the War; for *Civilis* then laying aside Dissimulation declar'd for himself, and made open War against the *Roman* Empire. The Legions which had serv'd *Vitellius*, wish'd rather for Bondage and Slavery, than to have *Vespasian* for their Prince. The *Gauls* also taking fresh Courage, hop'd now to force themselves from the Yoke, supposing that the same Fortune fell to our Arms in every Place, and indeed there ran a Report that our Standing-Camps in *Pannonia* and *Mæsia* were besieg'd by the *Sarmatians* and *Dacians*, and the like was reported of *Britany*. But nothing persuaded them so much, nor was thought so ominous to the Ruin of the *Roman* Empire, as the burning of the *Capitol*: For the City had been once before taken by the *Gauls*, and they believ'd that because the Seat of *Jupiter* was untaken the Empire remain'd, whereas now the Gods had given the fatal Sign of their Wrath, and the *Druids* also out of their vain Superstition pretended to foretel that the Empire of the World was to take its Seat, and pass beyond the Mountains. Besides all this, there was nothing more common than the Fame that was every where spread about that the Nobles of *Gaul*, sent by *Obbo* against *Vitellius*, did Covenant together before their Departure, That if the *Roman* Common-wealth ceased not to be torn, by the multiplying of Civil Wars, which so frequently succeeded one another, they would attempt to recover their Liberties.

55. Before the Murder of *Hordeonius Flaccus*, nothing broke forth that could give any Light into the Conspiracy, but after he was kill'd, there passed Messages between

between *Civilis* and *Classicus* Præfect of the Wing of the *Treveri*. *Classicus* exceeded all that Country both in the Nobility of his Birth, and the Greatness of his Riches, for he was descended of the Race of their ancient Kings, and his Ancestors were Famous both in Peace and War, and he boasted that both he and they, were always rather Enemies than Friends to the Romans. *Julius Tutor* and *Julius Sabinus* entred into Confederacy with him, the first of these was a *Trevir*, and the other a *Lingon*, *Tutor* was made by *Vitellius* Grand Supervisor of the Banks of the *Rhine*; but *Sabinus* was only spurr'd on by an innate Vanity, and the Glory of a false Original, viz. that his Grand-Mother was carnally known by *Julius Cæsar*, when he War'd in *Gaul*. These three searched the Minds of the best in private, and associating themselves with such as they found fit for the purpose, they appointed a private Meeting in *Coloyn*, for fear the publick Magistrates should take Notice, whom they knew to be abhorrrers of all such like Attempts. Some of the *Ubii* and the *Tungri* were present at the Consultation, but the strongest Part, and they that carried the greatest share in the Business were the *Treveri* and *Lingones*: But however, the Debate was not long, and they agreed *Nemine contradicente*, That the Romans did nothing but Rage in Civil Dissensions; That the Legions were slain, Italy wasted, and the City it self upon the point of being Taken; That the Armies were every one busy in several Wars, and if the Alps were fortified with good and sufficient Garrisons, and by that means their Liberties assur'd, then might the Cities of Gaul at leisure deliberate what Course to take, and by that Method to enlarge their Borders.

§6. This was no sooner said than allow'd, and there was but one Difficulty remain'd, what was to be done with the remainder of *Vitellius* his Army; many were of Opinion that they should be put to the Sword, as

mutinous and perfidious Persons, and such as were stain'd and polluted with the Blood of their Leaders. But at last it was agreed they should be spar'd, for fear of making them desperate; so it was thought convenient to allure them to their Party by fair means, and that there needed only to put the Officers to the Sword, which being once done, the Common Soldiers would easily come over, upon the Sense of their own Guilt, and Hope of Impunity. This was the Result of the Consult, and the first thing that follow'd it, was the sending certain Persons into *Gaul* to kindle Rebellion, and if possible, to blow it into a Flame, whilst they themselves pretended all Respect and Obedience to *Vocula*, till they should find an Opportunity to oppress and ruin him unawares. Things were not carried so secretly, but that *Vocula* got Notice of it, but his Legions wanting of their full Number, and being besides such as he could not firmly rely on, he durst not oppose himself openly, and therefore thinking it best to repel Fraud by Fraud, and make use of their own Weapons against them, he dissembled the Matter for the present, and went down to *Colegn*. *Claudius Labeo* who was confin'd in *Frisia* having corrupted his Keepers, was escaped hither, and promising that if convenient Forces were assign'd him he would go into *Batavia*, and reduce the greatest Part of that Country to the Obedience of the *Roman* Empire, receiv'd accordingly some small Number of Horse and Foot, but when he came there durst do nothing, and tho' he had afterwards gather'd up some additional Forces of the *Nervii* and *Bethasii*, made only some few Incurfions rather by Stealth than in the way of open War.

57. In the mean time *Vocula* depending on the false Promises of the *Gauls*, mov'd towards the Enemy, and when they came near *Vetera*, *Classicus* and *Tutor* went before, on pretence of Discovering the Enemy, and striking up a Bargain with the Leaders of the *Germans*,
they

they both encamped at some distance from the Legion, and entrench'd themselves. Which *Vocula* observing, cry'd out aloud. *That notwithstanding the Civil Wars of the Romans, they were not yet brought to so low an ebb, that they should be despis'd by the Treveri and Lingones. That many Countries were yet Faithful, our Armies Victorious, the Fortune of the Empire entire, and the Gods themselves ready to Revenge their Perfidiousness. That long ago the Sacrovirs and Ædui, and of late Vindex and the Gauls were overthrown in several Battels, who had risen up against the Roman Empire, and that the same Deities would again Revenge themselves on their Perfidiousness and Perjuries. That Julius and Augustus Cæsar knew well the uncertain Temper of the Gauls, that Galba by the abatement of their Taxes had made them Seditious, and that now the Gentleness of their Yoke had made them Enemies, but that when they shall be made poor by Devastation and Spoil, they will be our Friends and humble Servants again.* *Vocula* spoke this with great Fierceness and Courage, but seeing *Classicus* and *Tutor* still continue in their Traiterous Purpose, he retir'd back again to *Novesium*. The Gauls set down at two Miles distance from the Camp, whither the Centurions and Soldiers resorting from *Novesium* were corrupted to a Villany till that time unheard of, that a Roman Army should swear Allegiance to Strangers, and for a Pledge of so dishonourable a thing, either kill their Commanders or deliver them Prisoners into the Hands of their Enemies. *Vocula*, notwithstanding he was persuaded to fly, chose rather to stick to it manfully, and therefore calling an Assembly spake to them in this manner.

§8. *I never spoke to you at any time, wherein I was more careful for you, or less regarded my own Safety. I am willing to bear that my Destruction is determin'd, and in the midst of so many Troubles of my Enemies, expect Death as the end of them all. But as for your part, I am*

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equally mov'd both with Shame and Pity, seeing no Arms of your Enemies are prepar'd against you, for that were not at all against the Profession of a Soldier, but that Clafficus should hope by your Hands to make War against the Romans, and Abuse your Simplicity with a foolish Oath, and the imaginary Empire the Gauls. Are we so far fallen, not only from our Fortune and Courage, but from the Examples of our Ancestors? How often have the Roman Legions chose rather to die than yield? Nay, our very Allies themselves have often suffered their Cities to be raz'd, themselves and their Families burnt to Ashes without any other Reward than the Reputation of their Fame in being true to their Word given. You see the Legions at Vetera, tho' they want all manner of Provisions, support the Siege with Patience, without being shaken either by the Fear or Promises of their Enemies; whereas we on the contrary, besides Men and Amunition enough, a Camp strongly Fortified, have Provision and Stores for a long War. It is not long since you have receiv'd, not only your Pay, but a Donative too, and whether you accepted it as coming from Vespasian or Vitellius, it certainly came from a Roman Emperor. If you who have so often foil'd and overthrow'n the Enemy, stand in fear of a Battel; we have Trenches and Walls, and Ways of prolonging the War, till such time as Supplies of fresh Forces shall arrive from the neighbouring Provinces. And if you are displeas'd with me, you have other Prefects and Tribunes; nay, make choice of any Centurion or Common-Soldier to bead you, if he be but a Roman. Let so prodigious a thing, never be transmitted to Posterity, that Civilis and Clafficus should invade Italy with a Roman Army. If the Gauls and Germans should be lead to the Walls of the City, Will you also bear Arms against your Native Country, and sharpen your Weapons against the Womb of your Mother? Horror seizeth my Mind at the bare imagination of such a Wickedness. Shall Guards and the Apannage of a Prince be assign'd to Tutor the Trevir? Shall
a Bata-

* Batavian give you the Signal of Battel? Will ye be brought so low as to fill up the German Regiments? What Rewards can you expect to find of your Treason, when the Roman Legions shall March out against you? What will you betwixt your old Oath and your new, become but an abomination to the Gods and to Men? O thou most Mighty and Merciful Jupiter, whom we have worshipped with so many Triumphs these Eight Hundred and Twenty Years, and thou Romulus, the Founder and Father of the City, I humbly beseech you, that if it be not your good Pleasure that this Camp should be kept Loyal and uncorrupted under my Command, yet at least you would not permit it to be stain'd and defil'd by Tutor and Classicus; and that you would please to inspire into the Roman Soldiers a desire to follow honourable Courses, or a speedy Repentance of the Evils they have done.

59. This Oration was variously construed, and affected them diversly between Hope, Fear, and Shame. As soon as he had made an End thereof, he withdrew himself and began to prepare for Death, but was hindred by his Free and Bond-men, from doing that which would have prevented a most shameful End, for *Classicus* immediately sent *Emilius Longinus* a Roman Deserter to do that piece of Service; and as for the Prefects *Herennius* and *Numisius*, they thought it sufficient only to imprison them. Then *Classicus* came into the Camp, adorned after the manner of the Roman Governours, and tho' he was hardened to the uttermost Point, yet could he make no Speech at all, nor do any other than barely pronounce the Words of the Oath. All those who were present swore Fidelity to the Empire of the Gauls, and after this was done, he advanc'd *Vocula's* Murderer into a higher Station, and rewarded the rest according to the Services they had done. Immediately after, *Classicus* and *Tutor* divided Charges, *Tutor* went and lay about *Cologne*, with a strong Force, and brought all the Soldiers which lay

along the *Rhine*, to take the same Oath, and caused the Tribunes at *Moguntiacum* to be kill'd, and drove away the Prefect of the Camp, for refusing to take the same Oath. *Classicus* commanded some of the most profligate Villains of those who had submitted to him, to go to the Camp at *Vetera*, and proclaim Pardon to all that would come in, or otherwise to expect nothing but Sword, Famine, and all the extremities of War,

60. They that were sent, did not fail to lay down their own Example as a Motive, and on the other side, the Besieged were distracted between Honour and Shame, their Necessity and Faith, and knew not what Course to take. But while they delay'd to resolve, their Food fail'd in such sort, that they could find no further Means to obtain it. So that having made an End of their Mules and Horses, as well as other Beasts, they fed upon leaves, the Branches of Trees, and even the Grass of the Field. They were a perfect Pattern of the highest Patience in Misery and Affliction, till such time as they tarnish'd all the Honour of their Actions, by sending Ambassadors to *Civilis* to give them their Lives. Nor was this Petition granted till they had sworn Fidelity to *Gaul*, and after all, he took the Spoil of the Camp to himself, appointing Guards to keep the Money and Baggage, while others Conducted the Soldiers empty away. But the *Germans* set an Ambuscade about Five Miles off, where the most Valiant and such as made Resistance were slain, and the rest recover'd the Camp, except some who were slain in the Fight. Whereupon *Civilis* made a Complaint, and reproach'd the *Germans* with the breach of their Faith, but it is not certainly known whether this was only a Copy of his Countenance, or that indeed he could not put a stop to their Fury, for they immediately set Fire to the Camp, and those that escap'd out of the Field were burnt therein, without any Mercy or Compassion.

61. *Civilis*

61. *Civilis* having suffer'd his yellow Hair to grow without shaving upon a barbarous Vow, when he first entred into War with the *Romans*, now cut it, as having accomplish'd it with the slaughter of the Legions; and 'tis reported that he set up some of them, who were taken, as Marks for his little Son to dart at in Sport. But however, he did not compel the *Batavians* to swear the Oath, because being now Famous, he intended by the Strength and Power of the *Germans* to force the Empire out of the Hands of the *Gauls*. *Mummus Lupercus* Commander of a Legion was sent as a Present among other Gifts to *Velleda*, a Virgin of the *Bructerian* Nation whose Fame was spread far and near, for a mighty Prophetess, and now their Superstition encreasing was accounted a Goddess. For her Reputation was wonderfully advanc'd in that she had told before-hand that the *Germans* should be prosperous and the *Roman* Legions destroy'd. But *Lupercus* was kill'd in the way, and a few Centurions and Tribunes of *Gaulish* Original, were kept as a Pledge of Alliance and Friendship. The Camps of the Cohorts, Wings, and Legions were burnt, except those at *Mogunticum* and *Vindonissa*.

62. The Thirteenth Legion with the Auxiliaries that then yielded themselves were commanded from *Novesium* to *Triers*, and a Day appointed by which they were precisely to march. The rest of the time was spent in sundry Cares, and in different Reflections about the things that were done. For some of the most Cowardly were terrified with the late Example of such as were slain at *Vetera*, but the better Part being fill'd with Shame and Blushing said to one another, *What a dishonourable Progress have we now made, and whom have we chose to be our Conductors in the way? To whom have we given the Dominion over us, and into whose hands have we committed the Power over our Lives and Deaths?* Others without regarding Dishonour,

honour, pack'd up their Money and what was of most Value ; and again, others presently arm'd themselves as if they were preparing for Battel, and being thus diversly employ'd, the Hour of remove came, which was more doleful than they expected, for within the Trench the Deformity of the Spectacle was not so apparent. The Field and Day only discover'd the Shame, for on one side the Images of the Emperors were taken away, and their own Colours furl'd up ; whereas on the contrary the Banners of the *Gauls* glister'd, and were display'd at length on every Hand, and it look'd like a silent and Funeral Pomp. *Claudius Sanctus* was their Leader, and it increas'd the Indignity, seeing he had an ill favour'd Countenance, but one Eye, and a shallow Wit. But the Dishonour was doubled, when the first Legion at *Bonna* marched out of their Camp and joyn'd them. The Country which before was terrified with the Name of a *Roman*, went from all Parts in great Numbers, to gaze at so strange a Sight as the Conquest of the Legions. The *Picentine* Wing could not endure this, but neglecting both the Threats and Promises of *Sanctus*, were resolv'd to March to *Moguntiacum*, and by Chance met *Longinus* the Murderer of *Vocula* in their way, and slew him for a Testimony of future Repentance ; but however, the rest of the Legions went on their Journey, and set down before the Walls of *Triers*.

63. *Civilis* and *Classicus* being now puffed up with prosperous Success, debated between themselves, whether they should not give up *Cologne* to the Spoil of the Soldiers. Their natural Inclination to Cruelty and Covetousness drew them that way, but the Policy of War against it, as tending to the Ruin of their new Empire, Clemency being always necessary in the first beginning ; and the City having formerly treated his Son very honourably, tho' taken Prisoner among them, made him believe himself in Gratitude, oblig'd to spare them.

them. But however, the People on the other side of the Rhine, envied the flowing Riches of that Opulent City, and affirm'd there could be no End of the War, unless it were either levell'd with the Ground, or made a common Habitation for all the *Germans*, and the *Ubii* their Neighbours also dispers'd.

64. For this purpose therefore the *Tencteri* a People on the other side of the River, sent an Embassy to the Common-Council of *Cologne*, and their Ambassador fiercely and imperiously utter'd it in this manner: *We thank the Gods both of us adore, but especially Mars the Chief of them all, that you are now return'd into the Community and Name of Germany, and we congratulate your Happiness, that you shall now live as Free men among those that are so. For hitherto the Romans have shut up both the Rivers and Land, and in a manner even Heaven it self, to bar our Converse and mutual Access one to another; and what is more disgraceful, that we who are Martial Men should not be suffer'd to enter into your City, but without Arms, guarded by a Keeper, and forced to to pay Toll. But now to the end our mutual Friendship may continue for ever, we require you to pull down the Walls of your City, and utterly to raze these Fortifications which are the standing Marks of your Servitude to the Romans, for even Wild Beasts lose their innate Virtue when they are enclos'd. In the next place we absolutely require you to kill all the Romans within your Territories, because Liberty and Lords cannot dwell together, there being a natural Opposition and Repugnance between them; and that the Goods of the slain should be divided in common, and no Man bide any thing, or seek to separate his Interests from the rest. We demand also, that it may be free for both or either of us, to dwell on both sides the River, as our Ancestors us'd to do, for as Nature has communicated Day and Night to all, so she has laid open all the Lands in the World to Valiant Men. Resume therefore the Laws and Gods of your Fathers, and break off*
those

those Pleasures, by which the Romans subdue more People, than they do by the Sword. And by thus doing, you shall become a People untainted and entire, and in a little time forget your Servitude, or become Lords over others.

65. The City took time to deliberate, and seeing it was no way convenient for them to yield to the Terms propos'd, in regard of the future Danger; nor advisable in the State of their Circumstances, to give a positive Denial, they made Answer as followeth. *We have taken the first Opportunity to assert our Liberties, with more Zeal than Caution, out of the great desire we have to be joyn'd with you, and the rest of the Germans our Kinsmen and Fellow Country-men. But it is more reasonable to strengthen, rather than pull down the Walls of our City, seeing the Roman Armies are gathering like a Cloud from all Parts to pour in upon us. As for Strangers, whether Italians or others, they are either kill'd in the Wars, or fled home to their own Countries; and for the antient Inhabitants and their Off-spring, this Country is their own Native Soil, nor do we believe you to be so unreasonable to desire us to kill our Parents, Brethren, or Children. Taxes we do for ever Annul, and make void, and give you free Liberty to pass and re-pass without any inconvenience of that kind, only we desire it may be in the Day-time and without Arms, till our new Friendship be a little better established and strengthened by Time and Custom. Civilis and Velleda shall be our Arbitrators in the Case, and to them we will refer the Conclusion of the whole Matter. The Teucteri being thus pacified in some measure, they sent Ambassadors to Civilis and Velleda with Gifts, and obtained for the City all they desired, without being admitted to see her: For she was inclos'd in a high Tower, and one of her Kindred carried her Responses, as the Oracles of a Goddeß, it being thought convenient so to do, to create a greater Reverence for her in the Hearts of the People:*

66. *Civilis* being strengthened with new Confederates, resolved to associate all the adjoining Cities to his own Party, or to force them to it in case of Resistance. He took in first the *Sumici*, and compos'd their able Men into Cohorts, and intended to have gone further, but *Claudius Labeo* with a tumultuary Number of *Bethusii*, *Tungri*, and *Nervii* seiz'd upon the Bridge of the River *Mose*, and taking his Advantage of the Strength of the Place, was resolved to obstruct his Passage. The Fight was doubtful, till such time as the *Germans* swimming over the River, attack'd them in the Rear, upon which *Civilis* boldly rushed into the midst of the *Tungri*, and with a loud Voice said, *We do not undertake this War, to obtain Dominion over you, far be all such Arrogance from our Thoughts, Do but enter into Friendship with us, and you shall make me either a Leader or Common Soldier.* The People were moved with these Words, and putting up their Swords, became all of a Party, and afterwards *Campanius* and *Furvenalis* brought over the whole Nation to him. *Labeo* made his escape, when he perceiv'd that he should be encompass'd. The *Bethusii* and *Nervii* also yielded to *Civilis*, so that all the Cities either fearing or voluntarily giving up themselves, he became Powerful and Strong.

67. In the mean time *Julius Sabinus* breaking his Faith with the *Romans*, commanded himself to be stiled *Cæsar*, and led after him a vast and rude Number of his own Country-men the *Lingones*, against the *Sequani* a People bordering upon them, but Faithful to us. The *Sequani* did not refuse the Battel, wherein Fortune favour'd the better side, and the *Lingones* were beaten. *Sabinus* as he rashly begun the Fight, was one of the first that ran away, and caused a Rumor to be spread abroad that was dead. He set Fire to the House wherein he entred, and there was supposed voluntarily to have ended his Life, but time made

made it appear that he was alive, and we shall afterwards have occasion to relate the Circumstances of his escape, the Shifts he made, together with the memorable Example of his Wife *Epponina*, and the singular Constancy of his Friends. This Success of the *Sequani* put a stop to the Violence and Fury of the War, for the Cities began now to consider of the Matter, and to remember their Leagues and Covenants with the *Romans*. The *Remi* were the first that began, for they summon'd a Grand Assembly of the Nobles of *Gaul*, to consult whether they should preserve their Peace, or assume their Liberties, and upon mature deliberation carried it for the preservation of Peace.

68. The Reports which were spread at *Rome* concerning these things went worse and worse, and so far perplex'd *Mucianus* that he was afraid that *Annius Gallus* and *Petilius Cerealis*, whom he had pitch'd upon as Generals (tho' excellent Men) should not be able to wade thro' so mighty a War. And as on the one Hand it was not convenient to leave the City without an Head, so on the other he was afraid to venture *Domitian* there, because of his wild and unbridled Lusts. And beside *Antonius Primus*, and *Varus Arrius*, were greatly suspected not to favour the State, the latter of which was formidable, as being Head of the *Prætorian Guard*, and having many Soldiers at his Command. *Mucianus* therefore displac'd him, but for fear of quite discontenting him, made him the Chief Officer about Corn and Provisions for the City, and to pacify *Domitian* who was a Friend to *Varus*, bestow'd his Place upon *Aretinus Clemens*, one nearly related to the House of *Vespasian*, and dearly belov'd of *Domitian*, saying, *That his Father perform'd the same Function under Caius the Emperor with great Reputation; that his Name would rejoyce the Soldiers, and that tho' he were a Senator by Order, he was yet capable of performing both Offices.* The great Men of the City were order'd

order'd to prepare themselves, and to be in a readiness to depart, and many Gentlemen offer'd themselves to serve as Volunteers. *Domitian* also together with *Mucianus* made ready, but with each of them a different Mind, the one upon the spur by his Youth and Ambition, the other contriving to put Stops and Remoras in his way, fearing that his fierce and untoward Disposition might by ill Counsel, be driven forward to endeavour to possess himself of the Army, and disturb both the Peace and the War. The Sixth and Eighth of the Victorious Legions, the One and Twentieth of the *Vitellian*, the Second of those lately enroll'd, were march'd, part over the *Penin* and *Cottian Alps*, and the rest over *Graian*; and besides, the Fourteenth Legion was sent for out of *Britain*, and the Sixth and Tenth out of *Spain*. The Cities of *Gaul* hearing of the March of so great an Army, enclin'd to Peace; and calling an Assembly at *Rheims*, where an Embassy from the *Treveri* attended, *Tullius Valentinus*, a fierce *Beautifex*, in a premeditated Oration, made all the Objections he was capable of, shewing the Inconveniences all great Empires are liable to, and threw all the Spiteful Reproaches he could upon the *Romans*, and was willingly heard by reason of his Eloquence.

69. But *Julius Aspex* a Nobleman of *Rheims*, setting forth the Puissance of the *Roman* Power, and the Advantages of Peace, affirm'd that the War might be begun by Cowards, but must be fought with the hazard of the most Valiant, and that the *Roman* Legions were now at hand, and almost entring upon their Borders, and by this means contain'd them within Bounds, the Antient being staid by Duty and Faith, and the Younger by the Sense and Apprehension of impending Danger. And so they commended *Valentinus*, but followed the Counsel of *Aspex*. It is certain that the *Treveri* and *Lingones* succeeded the worse in their Audience, because they had sided with

Virginius

Virginus, in the Commotion of *Vindex*. Many were deterr'd by the Emulation of the Provinces, *Who should be Leader, from whence the Law and Sovereignty should be deriv'd, and which should be the Chief Seat of the Empire*. They were not yet Conquerors, and yet quarrell'd about Superiority, some alledging Leagues and Treaties, some their present Strength and Power, and some their Antiquity; and therefore the Whole, detesting the Confusion, ratified and settled the Peace. Whereupon Letters were sent to the *Treveri* in the Name of the Council to desist, and lay down their Arms, while Pardon might be obtain'd, and that themselves would become Mediators for them. But *Valentinus* refus'd the Favour, and stopp'd the Ears of his City against this good Motion, being plentiful rather in Orations and Speeches, than in making Provision for War.

70. Neither the *Treveri* nor *Lingones*, nor the rest of the revolted Cities, took the same Precaution, tho' the Danger requir'd it, nor indeed did their Chiefs or Leaders hold any good Correspondence together. For *Civilis* wandred about the Wilds of *Belgium* to catch *Claudius Labeo*, or chase him out of that Country. *Classicus* was for the most part idle, and contented himself with the Fruition of his supposed Kingdom. *Tutor* also neglected to strengthen himself upon the Banks of the *Rhine*, and to close up the strait and narrow Passages which bounded towards the *Alps*, while in the mean time the One and Twentieth Legion broke in from *Vindomissa* and *Sextilius Felix* with the Auxiliary Cohorts by the way of *Rætia*. To these joyn'd a certain Wing of Horse call'd *Singulares*, who marched at first by *Vitellius* his Order toward *Italy*, but afterwards revolted to *Vespasian*; their Commander was *Julius Briganticus* Sister's Son to *Civilis*, mortally hating and being equally hated of his Uncle, as it often happens that the aversion and spite of Kindred is the most

most extreme. *Tutor* increas'd his Force which consisted of the *Treveri*, a fresh Supply of *Vangiones*, *Caracates*, and *Triboci*, and which was most considerable, many old Experienc'd and Legionary Soldiers both Horse and Foot: They had first kill'd a Cohort sent before by *Sextilius Felix*, and were afterward drawn in, some by Hope, and others by Fear: But as soon as the *Roman* Generals and Armies drew near (redeeming their Fault by an honest Flight) went over to them, and were followed by the *Triboci*, *Vangiones*, and *Caracates*. So *Tutor* being left alone with his *Treveri*, durst not come near *Moguntiacum* but fled to *Bingium*, where after he had broken down the Bridge of the River *Nava*, he trusted to the Strength of the Place. But *Sextilius* with his Cohorts pursued him close, and finding a Ford broke in upon them, and routed them. This Overthrow quite discourag'd the *Treveri*, so that the Common People who had taken up Arms, now cast them away, and return'd to their Husbandry; and some of the Nobility to be the first that should come in, fled to those Cities for Refuge, which had not broken with the *Romans*. The Legions which were drawn from *Novesium* and *Bonne* to *Triers*, retook the Oath to *Vespasian* of their own accord in the absence of *Valentinus*, who at his Return rag'd like a Mad-man, and turn'd all things topsy turvy. The Legions went away to *Mediomatrici*, a State in Friendship with the *Romans*, and *Valentinus* and *Tutor* to the *Treveri*, to persuade them to resume their Weapons, and take the Field. Which after they had affected; they (that there might remain no hope of Pardon) prevail'd with them to tie the Band of their Union or Confederacy the faster by the slaughter of *Herennius* and *Numisius* Lieutenant Generals.

71. This was the State of the War when *Petilius Cerealis* came to *Moguntiacum*, who by his presence rais'd great Expectation and Hope. He was desirous
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of Battel, and knowing better how to contemn the Enemies than to beware of them, heartned on the Soldiers with Courageous Words, intending to fight as soon as he could see the Enemy. He sent back again a Supply of Soldiers which was sent out of *Gaul*, desiring them to signify to the rest in his Name, *That the Roman Legions alone were sufficient for the Defence of their Empire. That our Allies should return to negotiate the Peace, and rest assur'd that the War was as good as at an end, now the Romans had undertaken it.* This encreased the Obedience of the *Gauls*, for having receiv'd their Men back again, they bore their Taxes and Tribute with more ease, and were by so much the readier to perform their Duty, by how much they saw it was not wanted. *Civilis* and *Classicus* when they heard of the *Overtbrow of Tutor, the Slaughter of the Treveri, and the good Success of the Enemies every where*, were extremely affrighted and dispatched away in all haste to unite their disperfed Forces, and in the mean time sent Messengers to *Valentinus* to desire him to have Care of the Main-Chance, and by no means venture the Hazard of a Battel. But this caused *Cerealis* to make the more haste, and he immediately sent some Commanders to the Two Legions which lay at *Mediomatrici*, to lead them on to attack them on that side, because they were nearest, and himself assembling all the Soldiers which lay at *Moguntiacum*, and adding them to the Army he had brought along with him, marched forward, and the Third Day after to *Rigodulum*, a Place naturally Strong by reason of the Height of its Situation, and its being almost surrounded by the River *Mosell*. In this Place *Valentinus* lay encamped with a great Power of the *Treveri*, and had yet made it stronger by Art, casting Trenches and Ditches round about it, filling up the Passages with great Stones. But this did not terrify *Cerealis*, for he immediately commanded the Foot to break through, and at the same time

time appointed the Horse to climb up the Mountains, despising the Enemy whom he knew to be raw and unskilful, and to have a less Advantage by the Strength of the Place, than he had in the Number and Goodness of his Men. The Ascent of the Hill was difficult, till such time as their Arrows and Darts were spent, but then the Ascent being gain'd, and coming to handy Strokes, they were thrown down head-long, tumbling one over another, like Stones at the fall of a Building, and the Horse going about by an easier Ascent, took many Prisoners of the Chiefest of the Nobility of *Belgium*, and among the rest *Valentinus* himself.

72. The next Day *Cerealis* entred *Triers*, and the Soldiers were extremely desirous to demolish the City, alledging that *Classicus* and *Tutor* were born there, Here (they said) were the Men through whose wicked Conspiracy the Legions were besieged and slain. Was not poor *Cremona* rooted out of Italy for deferring the Victory but a single Night, whereas here in the Confines of Germany stands entire the Seat of Rebellion, which has triumph'd in the Spoils and Slaughter of our Armies and Generals? As for the Spoil, let it go into the Publick Treasury, we will content our selves with the Ruin of this Rebellious Colony, and be satisfied if we may but in some part requite the Destruction of so many Camps. *Cerealis* for fear of the Disgrace of permitting in the Soldiers all manner of Licentiousness and Cruelty, stoped their Insolence, and they were now grown more modest, being engag'd only in a Foreign War. 'Tis worth our Observation to consider the lamentable Spectacle of the Legions that came from *Mediomatrici*, for when they first came into the Camp, they stood with a sad and dejected Countenance, being asham'd to lift up their Eyes, from the Consciousness of their Guilt: There was no Salutation of the Army at their coming, nor did they give one word of Answer to

those that spoke comfortably to them, but hiding themselves in their Tents, they were not so much amaz'd at the Danger, as with the Shame and Dishonour of their Actions. The Conquerors were asham'd also, seeing them in such a Condition, that even Silence was the only Sign that they wanted and desired their Pardon. But at last *Cerealis* himself reviv'd their Spirits with Comfortable Words, and said, *That the Mutiny of the Soldiers, and the Dissention of the Leaders happened in a great measure from the Fraud and Malice of their Enemies, and were such fatal Mischances as could not always be avoided. That this should be reckoned as the first Day both of their Service and Oath, and that neither he nor the Prince would ever call them to an account, or so much as remember their Faults.* Then they were received into the same Camp, and Proclamation was made, that no Man should at any time upbraid them with their Faults, or reflect upon them their Actions in any Anger or Contention.

73. Afterward he called the *Treveri* and *Lingones* into an Assembly, and spoke to them as followeth. *I am not practis'd in the Art of Speaking, my Profession is Arms, and with those I have always asserted the Cause of the Roman People: But because Words prevail so much with you, and that you judge not of Good and Evil, according to their own Natures, but by the representations of seditious Persons. I thought it convenient to say something which now the War is near an end is more expedient for you to hear than us to speak. The Emperors and Consuls of the Romans entred your Countries, and the rest of Gaul at the desires of your Ancestors being either wearied with Civil Wars, or instav'd by the calling in of the Germans. How many Battels have we fought against the Cimbri and Teutones, and what Troubles have we undergone, and with what Success against the Germans is plain to all the World. Nor do we now Guard the Rhine with so much Expence of Men and Money*

Money for the Safety of Italy, but to keep others such as Ariovistus from the Conquest of the Gaul. Or do you think your selves in greater Favour with Civilis than the Batavians, and the Germans on the other side the Rhine, or your Ancestors were? The same Causes that mov'd the Germans to invade Gaul remain, and will do so for ever, viz. The satisfying their Lusts and Avarice, and the desire of changing Seats, that leaving their Bogs and Deserts, they may possess this fruitful Country, and throw you its Inhabitants into Fetters. I know the specious Name of Liberty, and some other things are pretended, but there was never any that design'd Dominion over others, but made use of the same Words.

74. *Gaul was never without Wars and Petty Tyrants till they fell under our Jurisdiction, and we have put nothing upon you, tho' often provoked, but what is just necessary to maintain the Peace. Peace cannot be maintain'd without Arms, nor Arms without Pay, nor Pay without Taxes, and in all other things we are both alike. You govern our Legions, and are the Presidents over these and other Provinces, and therefore you have the same Prerogatives with our selves. Besides, they which dwell in Countries afar off, feel the Advantage of a good Prince in at least as great a measure as we, for Tyrants generally oppress those who are next to them. And you ought to tolerate the Riot, and sometimes the Avarice of Governors, like a barren Year, unseasonable Weather or some other defects of Nature, viz. with Patience and the Expectation of amendment. Faults will be as long as there are Men, and they are not continual, and Defects are supply'd in those which follow and are better, unless perhaps you expect a more prudent and moderate Government under Classicus and Tutor, or that the Germans and Britains can be restrain'd from invading you with less Expence than our Armies are maintain'd among you. For if the Romans (which the Gods forbid) should be dispos-sessed, what can ensue but Wars of Nation against Nation,*

and the Confusion of the whole World. Rome has built up and compos'd this Noble Fabrick by the Fortune and good Discipline of Eight Hundred Years, and cannot be destroy'd without the Ruin of the Undertakers; but your Danger is greater than any, having Gold and Riches the principal Motives of War. Therefore embrace your Peace, Love and Honour that City whereof we and you are equally Members. Let the Examples of both Fortunes be as standing Admonitions to chuse rather Subjection with Safety, than Rebellion with Ruin. With this Speech he settled their Minds, and sent them away with Cheerfulness, because they expected severer things.

75. While the Roman Army was at Triers, *Civilis* and *Classicus* sent Letters to *Cerealis*, of the Death of *Vespasian*, and (tho' the Post conceal'd it) that Rome and Italy were Bandyng into new Parties, that the Names of *Mutianus* and *Domitian* were only (*Bruta fulmina*) things that made a noise here, but had no real Effect, and that therefore if he pleas'd to seize on the Empire of *Gaul*, they would be contented with their own Cities and Confines, or if he was otherwise dispos'd, they would not refuse to give him Battel. To these *Cerealis* return'd no Answer, but sent both the Letters and Messengers away to *Domitian*. In the mean time the Enemies Army began to March from every side in great Bodies, and because *Cerealis* did not hinder it when an Oportunity presented it self, he was mightily censur'd for venturing the hazard of a Battel against the united Force of the Enemy, when he might with great ease have defeated them. The Roman Army cast a Ditch and Trench round their Camp, and unadvisedly sat down without fear of Danger.

76. On the other side there was diversity of Opinions. *Civilis* thought it expedient to stay for the *Germans* which dwelt over the *Rhine*, whose Forces would terrify the *Romans*; that as for the *Gauls*, they were

were only a Prey to the Conquerours, except the *Belgians*, and they had either openly declar'd for them, or at least wish'd them well. On the contrary, *Tutor* was of Opinion that the *Romans* would multiply and encrease by Delay, seeing their Forces were drawing together on all sides. That one Legion was already Transported out of *Britain*, others sent out of *Spain*, and many out of *Italy* were near approaching, and all Old and Experienc'd Solders. As for the *Germans* they expected, What were they but a Mob, out of all awe and obedience to Superiours? And for Money and Gifts, the only way to obtain them, the *Romans* had more Plenty, and that no Man was so hasty to Fight, but with the same Wages would as willingly, or perhaps rather stand still. That the only way was to attack them immediately while *Cerealis* had no other Legions, but those who were entangled with the Oath to the Empire of *Gaul*. That their Success against *Valentinus* being beyond their Hopes, would be a Bait to their General to venter again, and so fall not into the Hands of unskilful and undisciplin'd Men, but of *Civilis* and *Classicus* at the sight of whom the Enemies would tremble, remembring the Sieges, Famines, Victories, and how often they had receiv'd their Lives at his Hands. And the *Treveri* and *Lingones* obeying the *Romans* only out of fear, (which being once taken away,) they would readily resume their Weapons again.

77. *Classicus* approv'd the Opinion of *Tutor*, and they immediately put it into Execution. The middle Battel was assign'd to the *Ubii* and *Ligones*, and the *Bata-vian* Cohorts were placed on the Right Hand, the *Bructeri* and *Truderi* on the Left. One part of them descended from the Mountains, and the other came by the way of the River *Mosell*, and fell upon our Army so suddenly, that *Cerealis* (who at Night lay out of the Camp) had word brought to his Chamber, that

the Battel was begun, and his Men overthrown. He was angry, calling them Cowards that brought the News, but his own Eyes were a convincing Evidence of the Truth, for the Camp of the Legions was entered and broken, the Horse defeated, and the Bridge over the *Mosell*, which was in the midst of the Town, in the Possession of the Enemy. In the midst of this Confusion, *Cerealis* was bold, and with a great Presence of Mind, rallying the Troops which fled, and tho' unarm'd among so many Weapons, yet with his fortunate Rashness, and the Assistance of some Soldiers, recovered the Bridge, and set a Guard of chosen Men to keep it. Then returning to the Camp, he found the Legions which were taken from *Bonna* and *Novesium*, in a manner dispers'd and scatter'd, and but few Soldiers at their Ensigns, so that they were in Danger of being taken. Whereupon being full of Indignation, *You forsake not* (quoth he) *Hordeonius or Vocula, for you have nothing to say against me, nor have I done any thing that needs an Excuse, but the alledging in your behalf that you had forgotten your Oath to Gaul, and remembred your Allegiance to the Roman Empire. I am contented to be numbred with Numisius and Horrennius, that all your Leaders may be said to have died either by the hand of their own Soldiers, or else of the Enemy. Go tell Vespasian, or which is nearer, Civilis and Classicus, that you left your General in the Field. Doubt ye not but Legions will shortly come, which will not suffer me to be long unreweng'd, nor you unpunish'd*

78. The Accusation was true, and the Tribunes and other Officers spoke partly to the same purpose. So they rallied, and made Head again by whole Cohorts, for the Battel could not be extended, partly because of the Enemies surprize, and partly because of the Tents and Baggage, which did mightily incommode them in the Trenches. *Tutor, Classicus and Civilis,* each

each at the Head of their several Bodies animated their Men to Fight, the *Gauls* for Liberty, the *Batavians* for Glory, and the *Germans* for Spoils, and the Enemy was Victorious till the One and Twentieth Legion getting together in a Place that was more open, put a stop to them; for they not only sustain'd their Charge with the uttermost Resolution, but drove them back from their Ground. Nor was it without the Assistance of the Gods, that the Victory settled upon our side. After the Fight was over, they affirm'd that the sight of the Cohort terrified them, who being defeated at first, and afterward rallying on the Tops of the Hills, seem'd a fresh Supply to their fight. But the Chief Reason of the Loss of the Victory was, that they left off Fighting, and foolishly fell to Quarrel about the Plunder, and *Cerealis* as he had almost undone all by Negligence, restor'd it by Constancy, and following his Good Fortune, took the Enemies Camp, and set it on Fire.

79. The Soldiers were not suffer'd long to remain quiet, for the City of *Cologn* sent to them for Assistance, and offered to surrender the Wife and Sister of *Civilis*, and the Daughter of *Classicus*, which were left with them as Pledges of mutual Friendship, and in the mean time killed the *Germans* that lay dispersed up and down the City. Upon which they were afraid as they had reason, and desired Assistance, before the Enemy having gathered fresh Forces, should prosecute their Revenge. For *Civilis* intended to come thither, having as yet a Competent Force, but his Chief Confidence lay in his Cohort that were compos'd of the *Cbauci* and *Frisii*, which were Valiant Men, and not present in the Overthrow, and lay at *Tolbiacum*, in the Territories of *Cologn*, but he was advertis'd by a sorrowful Messenger that they were destroy'd by the Fraud of the People of *Cologn*, who when the *Germans* being fill'd with Wine and good Chear, and laid down

to sleep, had set Fire to the Barracks, where they were quarter'd and burnt them alive; but to prevent that and other Dangers which were not unlikely to happen, *Cerealis* came himself to relieve them with all speed. Another Inconvenience that might happen, did exceedingly trouble *Civilis*, which was, lest the Fourteenth Legion assisted by the Navy from *Britain* should waste the Sea-Coast of the *Batavians*. *Fabius Priscus* led forth the Legions in a Land-March, as far as the *Nervii* and *Tungri*, and those Countries that had yielded to the *Romans*. But as for the Navy which was intended for that Design, the *Caninefates* ventroully made out against it, and either took or sunk most part of the Ships; and the same *Caninefates* defeated a huge Multitude of *Nervii* who were gathered together to Fight in favour of the *Romans*. *Classicus* also had a prosperous Skirmish against some Horse, which *Cerealis* had sent to *Novesium*, which small, but often Losses did in a great measure diminish the Glory of the Victory before obtain'd.

80. About the same time *Mutianus* commanded the Son of *Vitellius* to be slain, alledging that Discord would perpetually remain, as long as there was any Seed of the War remaining. Nor would he permit *Antonius Primus* to go along with *Domitian* into *Gaul*, being afraid of the Soldiers Love towards him, together with the haughty Temper of the Man, who could not abide any Equal, much less a Superiour. So *Antonius* went discontented to *Vespasian*, who receiv'd him well, but not according to his Expectation, being distracted one way by *Mutianus* his Letters, and another by the Merit of a Person, by whose Conduct the War was certainly brought to a Period. Others also had Characteriz'd him as an insolent and intolerable Person, and rip'd up all the Faults of his former Carriage: nor did he himself want the Arrogance to boast the Greatness of his Services, and odiously inculcate

culcate how much he had merited in the Cause, despising the rest as Cowards, and *Cecina* as a Person that dishonourably yielded himself. Whereupon he grew out of Credit with *Vespasian* by little and little, who, however fail'd not to give him an outward Respect.

81. While *Vespasian* staid at *Alexandria* to expect the Summer Winds and a calm Sea, many Miracles happen'd, by which the Favour of the Gods, and their Good Will to *Vespasian* was evidently signified. A poor Blind Man of *Alexandria*, known through the whole Town by reason of his Infirmary (warn'd by the God *Serapis* whom that Superstitious Nation adores above others) fell down at *Vespasian's* Feet, and begged of him with Tears to heal his blindness, by wetting his Cheeks and his Eye-lids round about with the Spittle of his Mouth. Another lame of an Hand, by the Command of the same God, prayed *Vespasian* to vouchsafe to tread upon his Foot; *Vespasian* at first scorn'd and rejected their Suits, but when they still pressed upon him, he was in a doubt what to do, fearing on the one hand the Disreputation of Vanity, and on the other, the Importunity of the Diseased, and the Speeches of Flatterers gave him some Cause of Hope: at last he desired the Physicians to Consult whether such Blindness and Lameness were possible to be Cured by human Help. The Physicians (as their manner is) diversly Disputed the Point, but at last concluded, That the blind Man's Eyes were not perished, but overgrown with some Film or Skin, which being taken away, the Sight would return; and that the other Man's Limbs were dislocated, and might with Force conveniently applied be set right again; That perhaps it was the Pleasure of the Gods to restore them to Health, and to appoint the Prince as the means of doing it. Finally, that if the Remedy had good Success, the Glory would redound to the Prince that did it; if not, the Shame would light upon
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the poor Patients that importun'd him. Whereupon *Vespasian* supposing all things feasible to the Fortunate, and nothing now incredible, with a pleasant Countenance, before a great Multitude who stood by attending the Events, did as they had desir'd him, and immediately the blind Man recover'd Sight, and the Lame the use of his Limbs. They who were present affirm both to be true, even at this time when nothing is to be got by Lying.

82. This made *Vespasian* desirous to visit the sacred Seat of the God, and ask some Questions relating to the Empire, and commanding all to depart, he entred into the Temple, where busy'd at his Devotion, he thought he saw behind his Back, *Basilides* a Nobleman of *Egypt*, whom at the same time he knew to be sick in his Bed, many Days Journey from *Alexandria*. Then he enquired of the Priests, whether *Basilides* was come into the Temple, and of others, whether he had been seen in the City, and at last sending Horsemen on purpose, he found *Basilides* was no less than Fourscore Miles distant at the same moment, upon which he concluded it was a Divine Vision, and out of the Name of *Basilides* deriv'd an Answer to his Question.

83. The original of this God has not been recorded by any of our Writers, but the *Egyptian* Priests do relate the Story after this manner; That *Ptolemy* the first of the *Macedonians* who obtain'd the Kingdom of *Egypt*, when he added Walls to the new built City of *Alexandria*, as also erected Temples, and instituted Religion, saw in his Sleep a goodly young Man, much taller than ordinary, who warn'd him to send into *Pontus* some Friends which he could confide in, to bring his Image from thence, that it would bring Prosperity to the whole Kingdom, but particularly to the Place where the Image should be set up, and the young Man seem'd to be immediately carried up to Heaven
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in a Flame of Fire. *Ptolemy* being moved with so great a Miracle, declared his Vision to the Priests of *Egypt*, whose Business it was to interpret such things. But when he found them ignorant of *Pontus* and other Foreign Matters, he asked *Timotheus* an *Arbenian* of the Family of the *Eumolpidae* (whom he had brought from *Eleusis* to have the Chief Government in Matters of Religion) what Devotion or God that might be. *Timotheus* conferring with some who had been in *Pontus*, understood there was a City call'd *Synope*, and near it an antient Temple dedicated to *Pluto*, for there stood by it the Image of a Woman, commonly call'd *Proserpine*. But *Ptolemy* prone to fear, as Kings commonly are, and quickly returning to his former Security, and being more addicted to Pleasure than Devotion, neglected the Matter, and turn'd his Thoughts another way, till such time as the same Vision appeared again in a more terrible manner, peremptorily denouncing Destruction both to him and his Kingdom, in case what he had requir'd was not perform'd. Then *Ptolemy* sent an Embassy with Presents to *Scydrotbenus* King of *Synope*, desiring them to go by *Delpbos*, and ask Counsel of *Apollo*. Their Voyage by Sea was prosperous, and the Answer of *Apollo* was without ambiguity, namely that they should go forward, and bring his Father's Image along with them, but leave his Sister's behind.

84. The Ambassadors came to *Synops*, where presenting their Gifts, they open'd their Commission, and declar'd what the King their Master's Request was. *Scydrotbenus* was in doubt what to do, sometimes he was afraid of the Displeasure of the God, sometimes the Threats of his Subjects, who were utterly averse against it, and sometimes he was inclin'd by the Presents and Promises of the Ambassadors. And notwithstanding Three Years were spent in this Negotiation, yet *Ptolemy* continued all the time an earnest and diligent

diligent Suitor, and sent more Honourable Ambassadors one after another, together with more Ships and Gold. At last a terrible and threatening Vision appeared to *Scydrotbenus*, commanding him to prevent the Determination of the Gods no longer; but as he still delay'd, various Mischiefs and divers Diseases befel him, and the manifest Wrath of the Gods vexed him daily more and more; so that calling an Assembly of all the People, he declar'd to them the Will of the God, his own, and *Ptolemy's* Visions, and the impending Mischiefs in case of Refusal. But however, they refus'd the Motion, and fearing their own State, and envying *Egypt*, they beset the Temple about. Whereupon there runs a strong Report that the God conveyed himself into the Ship without the Assistance of Hand, and which is wonderful, that they arriv'd at *Alexandria* in Three Days, tho' they sail'd through so long and vast a Sea, and so built a Temple to the God, agreeable to the Magnificence of the City, in a place called *Rhacotis*, where an antient Temple had been dedicated to *Serapis* and *Isis*. This is the most famous Opinion concerning the Original and Transportation of this God, though some hold that he was brought from *Seleucia* a City of *Syria*, in the Reign of *Ptolemy* the Third; and others, that it was the same *Ptolemy* that transported it, but it was from *Memphis*, a famous City, and in antient times, one of the strongest in *Egypt*. Many suppose the God himself to be *Esculapius*, because he cures Diseases, some *Osiris* the most antient of all the Gods in those Nations, many *Jupiter* as Sovereign Lord of all, but most *Pluto*, by Marks that manifestly appear in him, or other Arguments of Conjecture, by which they collect it.

85. But before *Domitian* and *Mutianus* could get to the *Alps*, they receiv'd the News of a Victory against the *Treveri*, and for a sure and infallible Sign, *Valentinus* the
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the General of the Enemies was deliver'd into their Hands. He retain'd his Courage in Adversity, and shew'd by his outward appearance, what the inward Temper of his Spirit had once been. He was permitted to speak for himself, that his Nature and Gifts might be seen, and adjudg'd to die. At his Execution one upbraided him that his Country was taken, *Then* (said he) *I shall die with so much greater Content.* Then *Mutianus* taking Advantage of the present Occasion, spoke what he had thought convenient to conceal till that time, viz. *That seeing the Gods had been so favourable to the Cause of the Romans, as to put their Enemies to flight, it was become indecent for so great a Person as Domitian to intercept the Glory of another Man's Work, that if the State of the Empire, or Safety of Gaul was in danger, it were requisite for Cæsar to be at the Head of his Armies, but to Fight against the Canninefates and Batavians should be committed to Commanders of lower Degree, and therefore it were convenient he should stay at Lions, and at a distance shew the State and Puissance of a Prince, and by this means he should neither venture his Person in Matters of small Moment, nor be too far off if an occasion of Moment presented it self.*

86. The Craft was understood, but seeing Obedience was necessary, he took no Notice of it. So they staid at *Lions*, from whence 'tis thought he sent private Messengers to *Cerealis* to try his Pulse, *Whether if he came thither in Person, he would deliver his Army and Command to him.* What he intended by it, whether to War against his Father, or to Strengthen himself against his Brother, when Occasion should require, is uncertain. For *Cerealis* eluded this Request, as Childish by Discreet Answers; and *Domitian* perceiving his Youth to be despis'd of Elder Men, medled no more with State-Matters, but under the shew of Simplicity and Modesty resign'd up himself to a private and solitary Life, pretending to study Learning
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and Poetry, thereby to conceal his Disposition, and avoid all Emulation and Strife betwixt his Brother and himself, whose sweetness of Temper, and better Mind he made very untoward Remarks upon, and turn'd to the worse Construction.

THE

THE
FIFTH BOOK
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
CORNELIUS TACITUS.

By Mr. DENNIS.

IN the beginning of the same year *Titus Vespasian* *Cæsar*; being appointed by his Father to reduce *Judea*, and renown'd for both their Martial Exploits, enter'd upon Action at that time with increase of Forces and Glory; by reason of the emulation of the Soldiers and the Provincials. And that he might appear to be yet more great than his Fortune, he shew'd himself graceful in Arms and active, engaging the Affections of all by his Affability, and mingling with the Soldiers either upon March or on Action, yet at the same time maintaining Imperial Dignity. Three Legions receiv'd him in *Judea*, the

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Fifth, the Tenth, and the Fifteenth, all of them Veteran Bands of *Vespasian*. *Syria* sent him the Twelfth; and the Third and the Two-and-twentieth march'd from *Egypt*. Besides he was follow'd by Eight Wings of Horse, and by Twenty Confederate Cohorts; together with *Agrippa* and *Sobemus* Eastern Monarchs, and the Auxiliary Troops of *Antiochus*, and by the *Arabians*, Mortal Enemies to the *Jews*, through an inveterate National aversion Customary to Bordering People. There were divers whom their private designs had call'd from *Italy* with intentions of securing the Affections of the Prince before they were pre-engag'd. Having pass'd the Frontiers with the foremention'd Forces, drawn up his Army, sent out small Parties to beat the Field, and prepar'd for Battel, he form'd a Camp not very far from *Jerusalem*.

2. But because I am about to relate the destruction of so Renown'd a City, it may not be incongruous to unfold its Original. (a) It is affirm'd that the *Jews* flying from their Native *Crete*, came and sat down upon the Skirts of *Libya*; at the very time that *Saturn* was driven from his Kingdom by the Superior power of *Jupiter*. The Reason of the Assertion is drawn from the Name: that *Ide* is a Mountain famous in *Crete*, and that the *Idei* who inhabited round about it, came by the corruption of a barbarous addition to be call'd *Judæi*. There are some who relate that they were a confluence of People from *Assyria*, who wanting room possessed themselves of part of *Egypt*, and afterward inhabited the Neighbouring parts of *Syria*, and Cities of their own. Some say that during the Reign of *Isis*, *Egypt* discharged its overflowing Multitudes upon the bordering Countries, by the means of their Two Captains *Juda* and *Jerusalem*. Most aver that they were Originally *Æthiops*, whom their Fear, and the Hatred which they bore to *Caphews* compell'd to change their Dwellings. But others derive them from a more illustrious

strious Original, and affirm that the *Solyms*, Celebrated by *Homers Verses*, built and call'd by their own name *Jerusalem*.

3. But in this most Writers agree, that a lingering loathsome Disease infecting *Egypt*, *Bocchoris* the King was commanded by *Hammon*, whose Oracle he had consulted, to purge his Kingdom, and to discharge it of that wretched Race which was odious to the Divinity. So that that miserable People by the narrowest search being drawn together in a Body, and left to themselves in almost boundless Solitudes: *Moses*, one of the Exiles, admonish'd the rest, whom grief had render'd stupid, that they should cease to expect relief from Gods or Men, since both had now abandon'd them; but that relying on him alone, who was their Captain by Divine Creation, from his assistance they should expect deliverance. They all assented, and with blind Obedience follow'd him and Fortune. But that which plagu'd them most was want of Water. (b) And now they lay through all the Plain extended and expiring, when a Company of Wild Asses that return'd from Pasture, ran on a sudden to an adjacent Rock which was shaded all with Wood. *Moses*, who follow'd, Conjectur'd rightly that Springs supplied the Verdant Soil, and discover'd large Veins of Water. To that they ow'd their safety, and went pursuing their Journey the next six days continually, and driving out the Inhabitants, where they arriv'd the Seventh; they seiz'd upon the Soil where they built their City, and Consecrated their Temple.

4. *Moses*, that he might subject the Nation to his perpetual sway, immediatly Instituted new Rites, and (c) contrary to those which are observ'd by the rest of Mortals. There all things are held Profane which among us are Sacred; and with them most things are lawful, which with us are abominable. (d) The Image of the Creature was immediatly Consecrated, whose

appearance had taught them to expel their Thirst, and made them cease from their wanderings; and they slew a Ram as it were in affront to *Hammon*. They Sacrifice an Ox too, which the *Egyptians* adore by the name of *Apis*. They abstain from Swines Flesh in memory of their misfortune, because they had been formerly polluted by the same loathsome Disease to which that Creature's obnoxious. And they still by their frequent Fasts confess their former Famine. And the *Jewish* unleavened Bread remains to this day a proof of the Provision which they formerly Plunder'd. (e) Upon the Seventh Day they are pleas'd to be idle, because it was that which put an end to their toil. Nay so great are the Charms of Ease with them, that the whole Seventh Year is become Sacred to Sloth. Some affirm that to be in honour of *Saturn*. Whether the *Idei*, who are reported to be the Founders of their Nation, and to be driven out with *Saturn*, transmitted such Religious Rites to them, or whether it be that the Planet of *Saturn*, is of all the Seven bright Bodies by which Mortals are govern'd supremest in its Orb, and in its influence mightiest.

5. But however these Rites were introduced amongst them, they have undoubted Antiquity for their defence. The rest of their base abominable Institutions owe their Establishment to their Impiety. For all their most Profligate Neighbours contemning their Country, and Blaspheming their Gods, brought large Offerings and Presents to theirs: Which advanc'd the Affairs of the *Jews*. Beside they are as Compassionate one to another, as they are invincibly faithful; but they have an Enemies aversion to Strangers: with whom they neither mingle at Bed nor at Board. And the most Lascivious of all Generations abstain from Foreign Women. But amongst themselves nothing is held unlawful. They are engag'd by their Law to Circumcise their Members on the account of distinction. And all who go over to their
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their Religion are obliged to the same practice. And the very first Maxims that are infus'd into them are, that it is their Duty to Blaspheme their Gods, to disown their Country, to contemn their Fathers, their Children, their Brethren. And yet they have provided for the increase of their People. (e) They esteem it an Abomination to expose their Infants; and they believe the Souls to be Eternal of those who are Executed, or who dye in Battle. From hence proceeds the desire of Propagating, and the contempt of Death. They rather Bury than Burn their Bodies after the *Egyptian* manner; and have the same Opinions of Hell, but very contrary thoughts of the Gods. The *Egyptians* pay Religious Worship to Animals, and to Images made by Hands. The (f) *Jews* acknowledge but one God, and that God a Spirit. They affirm those to be impious who pretend that an Image made of frail Matter, and of Human form, can represent a God. That he is a Supreme, and an Eternal Being, and by Consequence immutable, and incorruptible. And therefore their Cities and their Temples are without Images. They refuse to pay that Honour to their Kings, and to our *Cesars* who Command their Kings. But because they make use of Drums and Flutes in their Ceremonies, because their Priests are crown'd with Ivy, and a golden Vine was found in their Temple; some have affirm'd that they Worship *Bacchus* Conquerour of the Orient: But their Institutions are vastly different. *Bacchus* invented Luxurious Rites, and a Jolly Religion. But that of the *Jews* may be said to be as fordid as it is absurd.

6. The Country, where it inclines to the East, is bounded with *Arabia*. Southward of it lies *Egypt*. The Sea and *Phenicia* Westward, and to the North *Syria*. The Inhabitants are Healthful and Nervous, and patient of Fatigues. The Soil is Fertile, tho it seldom Rains among them. They have plentifully all the

Products which we have, and besides all those the Palm and the Balsam-Tree. The Palm is a tall and a graceful Plant. The Balsam a Tree of a moderate height. If Steel is at any time apply'd to its swelling Branches, its Veins seem apprehensive of it. To open them they make use of Flint or of Shell. The Commanding Mountain of the place is *Libanus*, amazingly Verdant amidst intolerable Heats, and constant to the eternal Snow upon it. This Mountain makes and supplies the *Jordain*. Nor does the Sea receive the *Jordain*. It runs entirely thro two Lakes, and the third confines it. This third is of an immense extent, vast as a Sea, but of a tast more brackish. The noisomeness of its smell is pernicious to those who dwell upon it. No Winds disturb it, nor Fish inhabit it, nor Fowl frequent it. It sustains whatever is thrown into it, as if it were a Solid Body. The skilful in Swimming, and the unskilful are alike supported by it; the Cause is undiscover'd. At certain Seasons it throws up *Bitumen*, the manner of gathering which, Experience, which teaches us all our Arts, has taught us. The Liquour of it self is black, which brought to a Consistence by the means of Vinegar is seen to float upon the Lake. This, they who are Employ'd about it, draw to the top of the Deck; from whence it sinks into the Hold, and Freights the Vessel of it self: nor can it be divided by Brass or Iron. It shuns all blood and* menstruous Garments. This say the ancient Writers. But they who are best acquainted with the Place assure us, that these floating Mountains of Pitch, after they are driven or drag'd to the Shore, and harden'd by the searching Rays of the Sun, are cut by the means of Wedges and Axes, at the same rate as if they were Stone or Timber.

7. Not far from thence lye Plains, which once they say were fruitful, but were destroy'd by Fire from Heaven, together with the stately Towns which stood upon them, of which the footsteps are to this day remaining. The ground appears of a horrid hew, and the Soil has lost its Seminal Virtue. Whatever either grows or is planted there, whether it be Herb, or Flower, or Fruit, grows black and sapless, and reverts to Dust. For my own part as I can easily grant that those famous Cities may have been consum'd by Celestial Fire, so I am firmly persuaded, that the Earth is infected by the Vapour of the Water, and the Vital Spirit diffus'd thro its Surface corrupted, and that the Infant Harvest is rotted by the contagious influence both of their Earth and Heaven. Here the River *Belus* runs into the *Jewish* Sea, whose Sands thrown up in Banks at the Mouth of it are mingled with Nitre, in order to the making Glafs. Those Banks indeed are of inconsiderable bigness, but their store is inexhaustible.

8. A great part of the People is dispers'd in Villages, and yet they are not without Towns. Their Capital is *Jerusalem*. There they have a Temple immensely sumptuous, and threefold Fortifications. The first encompass the City. The second the Palace, and the third the Temple. The *Jews* can only approach the Gates; none but their Priests are allow'd to enter. While the *Assyrians*, and *Medes*, and *Persians* rul'd the East, the *Jews* were the most contemptible of all their Slaves. After the *Macedonian* Power prevail'd, *Antiochus* endeavouring to destroy their Superstition, and to supply it with *Grecian* Manners, was restrain'd from reforming this profligate People by the breaking out of the *Parthian* War. For at that time *Arfaces* Revolted; then the *Jews* laying hold on the opportunity, the *Macedonians* being sailn from their Power, and the *Parthians* not grown up to theirs, and the *Romans* got at a mighty distance from them, presum'd themselves to

Create their Kings; who being expell'd by the inconsistency of the Vulgar, and by force of Arms resuming their Sway, at the same time that they presum'd to famish their Citizens, to destroy their Cities, to put to death their Brethren, their Wives, their Relations, and to do all that unlimited Power dares; yet took care to encourage the Superstition of the Place. The Reason is plain, they had themselves assum'd the honour of the High-Priesthood, as the surest Foundation of their Regal Authority.

9. The first of the *Romans* who subdued the *Jews* was *Pompey*, who enter'd their Temple by right of Conquest, and when he found it without Images, a report was immediately spread, that their Religion had Mysteries without a meaning, and their Temple Altars without a Divinity. He dismantled the Town; but he preserv'd the Temple. Afterwards when upon the end of the first Civil-War the Eastern Provinces fell to *Antony*, *Pacorus* King of the *Parthians* seizing upon *Judea*, was kill'd in Battel by *Publius Ventidius*, and the *Parthians* were driven on the other side the *Euphrates*. *Caius Sossius* reduc'd the *Jews*: whose Kingdom *Mark Antony* gave to *Herod*, which afterwards the Conquering *Cesar* augmented. After the Death of *Herod*, one *Simon*, without expecting the Commands of *Cesar*, invaded the Kingly Name and Office. He was Chastis'd by *Quintilius Varus*, who had the Government of *Syria*, and the Children of *Herod* govern'd each his third of the Nation, which had now return'd to its duty. Under *Tiberius* they had a long quiet. Afterwards they chose rather to have recourse to Arms than to obey the Command of *Caligula*, in erecting his Statue in their Temple. The death of *Caligula* put an end to that Commotion. *Claudius*, the Kings being either all dead, or their Authority retrench'd considerably, committed the Government of *Judea* to *Roman* Knights, or to his own Freed-men. Amongst the
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which *Antonius Felix*, who had Married *Drusilla* the Grand-daughter of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, a Man cruel and lustful to the last excess, did at the very time that he exercis'd the Regal Authority, discover the Spirit and Mind of a Slave.

10. Yet the *Jews* had patience till *Gessius Florus* was made Procurator of the Country, and then the War broke out; and *Cestius Gallus*, Lieutenant of *Syria*, who undertook to suppress it, fought frequent Battels and with various, but oftner with ill Success. Who afterwards dying either through grief, or the appointment of Destiny, *Vespasian* who was Commission'd by *Nero*, seconded by his Reputation, and by his Fortune, and his gallant Troops became Master in two Campaigns of all the open Country, and of all the strong Places, *Jerusalem* alone excepted. The year following the minds of all Men were so bent upon the Civil-Wars, that we had no leisure to think of the *Jews*. But as soon as ever we had Peace in *Italy*, we began to reflect on Foreign Affairs. And the *Jews* the rather provok'd us, because they were the only People who had presum'd to stand out against us. At the same time *Vespasian* thought it convenient for his new Empire, that *Titus* should continue to Command the Armies in Person. He therefore, as we said before, Encamping before the Walls of *Jerusalem*, shew'd the *Jews* his Army drawn up in order of Battel.

11. The *Jews* drew up under their very Walls, that in case they succeeded they might trust to the open Field, and in case they were repell'd, they might secure their Retreat. The Light Horse that were sent against them, engag'd with doubtful Success. At length the Enemy gave ground, and the following days there were several Skirmishes before the Gates; till by repeated continual losses they were driven within their Walls. The *Romans* laid close Siege to them; for they disdain'd to come to a Blockade, and thought it not worth

worth their while to reduce them by Famine. Besides, they courted Danger, and cryed out for Action; some thro' Bravery or thro' Ambition; others thro' their inbred Fierceness, or the hopes of Advancement: *Titus* himself had before his Eyes the Magnificence and the Delights of *Rome*; and both Soldiers and General thought that *Jerusalem* would stand as a scandal in their way to glory, unless they saw it tumble immediately. But the Natural Strength of the Place, which it drew from its mountainous situation, was considerably increas'd by Redoubts, and Works that would have fortified the lowest places sufficiently. For two Hills of a prodigious height, were encompassed with Walls, which were Oblique by Art, or indented inwardly; that so the sides of the Assaulters might lye open to the Defenders. The top of the Rock was craggy, and Towers where they had the advantage of the Mountain were rais'd about sixty Foot, but in the bottoms were advanc'd to a hundred and twenty, amazing to the Eye, and equal to distant beholders. There were other inward Works that were thrown up around the Palace. There was a Tower particularly of a conspicuous, and a commanding height, which in honour of *Antony*, *Herod* call'd *Antonia*.

12. Their Temple is built in the form of a Tower, and is surrounded with separate Walls, which surpass the rest both in their Strength and Beauty. The very Porches that surround the Temple are more than common Bulwarks. Within it is a Fountain that flows perpetually, and the Rock is vaulted under it. They have Ponds and Cisterns for the preserving Rain. The Founders foresaw that the diversity of their Customs would occasion frequent Wars; and therefore they made provision of all things that might be serviceable in a lingering Siege; and Fear, and Experience upon *Pompey's* Victory had instructed them in what was necessary for them. And having purchas'd the privilege
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of Fortifying, thro the excessive Covetousness of the Court of *Claudius*, in Peace they carried on their Works for War. Their numbers were augmented by the glut of those who flock'd thither from the destruction of the other Cities; whose most obstinate Inhabitants fled for Refuge to *Jerusalem*, which occasion'd frequent Seditions there. They had three Leaders, and as many Armies. *Simon* commanded the outward Walls, and *John*, whom they call'd *Barzotus*, the mid City, and *Eleazar* had fortified the Temple. *Simon* and *John* had by much the stronger, and the more numerous party; but *Eleazar* had the advantage in Post. Their Dissension and Treachery interven'd amongst them, and casual Conflagrations, which consum'd the greater part of their Provisions. Then *John* treacherously cutting off *Eleazar* and his Men, upon a pretence of Sacrificing, surpriz'd the Temple. Thus the Factions were reduc'd to two, till upon the *Romans* approach, a Foreign War put an end to Civil Discord.

13. At the same time were sundry Prodigies, which that Superstitious People, a profest Enemy to the Rites of all other Religions, held it unlawful to expiate either by Prayer or Sacrifice. Armies were seen joyning Battel in the Heavens, and Arms were beheld to glitter, and the Temple appear'd to be all on Fire by the flashes of the Lightning. The Gates were all on a sudden thrown open, and, *behold the Gods depart from you*, pronounc'd in more than human Accents. At the same time a wondrous sound was heard, as if they just then departed: which terrified a few, but most were perswaded that it was contain'd in the ancient Books of their Prophets, that about that time the East should prevail, and that Men should go out from *Judea* who should command the Universe, which Prophecies foretold *Vespasian* and *Titus*. But the Rable easily perswaded to what it eagerly desires, did in its own behalf

half interpret so glorious a Destiny: Nor had Adversity the force to convince them. The number of the besieg'd of each Sex, of all Ages, is said to have been six hundred thousand. All appear'd in Arms who were able to bear them, and several had the Courage to do it, who had not the Power. Men and Women were equally obstinate, and in case they were compell'd to shift their dwelling, they seem'd greedy of Death, and apprehensive of Life. *Cæsar*, since he found it impossible to carry the place by Storm, made his approaches slowly and regularly, every Legion had its different Office; and there was a suspension of Action, till they form'd their Engines, and made provision of all sorts of Machines which are found useful in Sieges, whether they are of Ancient or modern invention.

14. But *Civilis* making up his Recruits as he march'd thro *Germany* after his defeat at *Triers*, at last sat down at the old Camp, that he might be secure in the strength of the Place, and that his Barbarians might be animated by the remembrance of their former Success. *Cerialis* follow'd him, having Reinforc'd his Troops by the arrival of the Second, the Fourteenth and the Sixteenth Legions. The Cohorts, and the Wings, that had now for some time receiv'd Commands to come up to him, as soon as they heard of his Victory, march'd with all Expedition. Neither of the Generals could be call'd a trifier. But the depth of the Fields, which were naturally moist, was an obstacle to their Engaging. *Civilis* had thrown up a slanting Work upon the *Rhine*, which obstructing the Course of the River might turn it back upon us. Such was the Nature of the Place, where the Fords were uncertain, and very deceitful, and very prejudicial to us. For the *Romans* were heavily arm'd, and afraid of the Water, The *Germans* who had been used to Swimming, were kept above the Water by the lightness of their Armour, and by the advantage of their Statures.

15. And

15. And now the Enemy bidding defiance to us, all among ours who were aptest to take fire, immediately began to Engage: But as soon as they saw that Horse, and Men, and Arms were swallow'd by the depth of the Marshes, they quietly cool'd upon it. The *Germans* leaping sprung thro the Fords, with which they were well acquainted, and passing by our Front, attack'd us in Flank and Rear. Nor was it a close or a certain Fight; but they assaulted one another by Shocks as they casually met in the Water, as if it had been a Sea-Engagement. And if they met with any thing that was solid enough to sustain them, supporting themselves upon it with all their might, the wounded with the unwounded, and they who could Swim with those who could not, entangled one another to their mutual destruction. Nor yet was the Slaughter near so great as the disorder. For the *Germans* not daring to march out of the Marsh, made their Retreat to their Camp. The event of that Combat excited the Generals to hasten on a decisive Battel, but upon different motives. *Civilis* had a mind to push on his Fortune. And *Cerialis* to wipe off the affront which he had just received. The *Germans* deriv'd their insolence from their Success, and Shame was a Spur to the *Romans*. The Night was past on the Barbarians side either in Shouts or Singing, and on our part in Threatnings and Indignation.

16. The next day *Cerialis* drew up the Horse, and the Auxiliars in a Line of Battel. The Legions were placed in a second Line, and the General retain'd a Body of Reserve to provide for Contingencies. *Civilis* was deeper in his Files than he was extended in his Ranks. The *Dutch* and the *Cugernians* were on the Right, The Inhabitants of the other side of the *Rhine* were on the Left, and next to the River. The Exhortation of the Generals was not an universal Harangue, but an occasional Admonition as they rid thro the Troops.

Cerialis

Cerialis remember'd them of the ancient Glory of the *Roman* name, of their old and their modern Triumphs, exciting them to extirpate to all Eternity, a perfidious, a vile, and a vanquish'd Foe. That lately small numbers of them had engaged with multitudes, and yet that then the very *Germans* were routed, in whom the Flower of their Strength consisted. That they who remain'd had to this day the memory of their infamous flight in their Souls, and the marks of dishonest Wounds on their Backs. Then he us'd incitements that were proper to the several Legions, Saluting those of the Fourteenth by the Title of Subduers of *Britain*, telling those of the Sixth that *Galba* ow'd his Empire to their Authority; and admonishing the Second which was newly rais'd, that this was the Battel in which they were to Consecrate their Arms and Ensigns to Glory. And then spurring on to the *German* Army, and stretching out his Arms he cryed to them that they should recover this their own Shore, and their own Camp, at the expence of the blood of their Enemies, He was answered with Shouts presaging of Victory, by all who either were greedy of Battel after their long Repose, or desirous of Peace after their long Fatigues. And every one had hopes of recompense, and rest for the future.

17. Nor did *Civilis* draw up his Forces silently, putting them in mind of the Field of Battel, as a Testimony of their Bravery. That the *Dutch* and *Germans* stood now upon the footsteps, and the Foundation of their Glory, trampling upon the Ashes and Bones of defeated Legions. That which way soever the *Roman* turn'd his Eyes; he had Slavery and Slaughter before him, and a very dreadful prospect. He advis'd them not to be terrified in the least by the unsuccessful Event of the Battel of *Triers*. That there the *Germans* were obstructed by their own Victory, while throwing away their Weapons too soon, they left the Pursuit for Plunder.

der. But that since all things had falln out favourably for them, and unfortunately for their Enemy: That for his part he had been wanting in nothing which requir'd the address of a General. That they were to fight upon a washy Ground which they knew, and upon Marshes fatal to the Enemy. That they had the *Rhine*, and the *German* Gods before them, under whose protection they should begin the Attacks, in defence of their Wives, their Children, their Parents, and of their dearest Country. That that was the day which was to render them more glorious even than their brave Ancestors, or to transmit their infamy to their latest Posterity: As soon as the Troops had return'd their approbation, by the clattering of Feet, and the clashing of Arms, Darts and Slings began a distant Fight, the *Romans* not entring into the Marsh, tho the *Germans* defied them.

18. Having spent the Weapons which they had to throw, and the Fight now growing warm, the Enemy came on with fury; vast in their proportions, and from afar with their long Spears goring our falling and floating Soldiers; at the same time a Band of the *Bructeri* came Swimming from the Work that was rais'd in the *Rhine*. Here we began to be disorder'd, and the Cohorts of our Confederates already gave ground; when the Legions renew'd the Fight, and repressing the Enemies insolence, made the Battel equal. At this Conjunction a *Dutch* Deserter came over to *Cerialis*, and promis'd to bring him upon the Enemies Rear, if he would send about his Horse to the farthest part of the Marsh. That there he would find solid ground, and that the *Cugerni*, who were Commanded to Guard the Passes, would be certainly surpriz'd in the neglect of their Duty. Two Wings of Horse were sent with the Deserter, and the unwary Enemy was encompass'd on all sides. As soon as we were advertiz'd of it by the outcry, the Legions prest upon
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the Van ; and the routed *Germans* took their flight to the *Rhine*. That day had put an end to the War, if the *Roman Wing* had follow'd them with Expedition. But even the Horse abandon'd the pursuit, being restrain'd by the sudden Showrs, and by the approaching night.

19. The next day the Fourteenth Legion was sent to *Gallus Annius* into the Upper *Germany*. And the Tenth which came from *Spain* supplied the Army of *Cerialis*. The *Chauci* sent supplies to *Civilis*, who nevertheless had not resolution enough to defend the *Batavians* Town. But carrying away all that could be removed, and setting Fire to the rest, he went over into Islands ; being very sensible that Vessels were wanting with which we might build a Bridge, and that the *Roman Army* could not be transported without them. Besides they demolish'd the Work that had been rais'd by *Drusus Germanicus*. And he sent the *Rhine* down pouring to *Gaul*, according to its natural Channel, by throwing down all that obstructed its Original Course. So that the smalness of the Channel which upon this diversion of the River remain'd between the Island and *Germany*, gave them the appearance of one Continent. *Tutor* and *Classicus* pass'd the *Rhine* too, and a hundred and thirteen Senators of *Triers* : amongst whom was *Alpinus Montanus*, who was sent into *France* by *Primus Antonius*, as we related above. He was accompanied by his Brother *Decius Alpinus*. At the same time the rest, partly by their Presents, and partly by exciting compassion, were Instrumental in the raising Supplies among Nations greedy of Dangers.

20. And so far was the War from being at an end, that *Civilis* presum'd to attack the Forces in their Quarters, tho they were conveniently distributed in four Divisions, and at moderate distance. The Tenth Legion was at *Arenacum*. The Second at *Batavidarum* ; And the Horse was quarter'd at *Grinnes* and *Vada*. *Civilis*

vilis had so divided his Forces, that he and *Verax* his Sisters Son, and *Classicus* and *Tutor* each of them Commanded his separate Party. But tho they had determin'd to set upon every Quarter, they had no hopes of carrying them all, but they believ'd that since they were so adventurous, as to make so many efforts at once, Fortune might favour one of them. Besides they look'd upon *Cerialis* as not sufficiently upon his Guard, and that as he should be riding to and fro, upon the Dispatches which he would receive, in order to the relief of the Quarters it might be an easie matter to intercept his passage. They who were employ'd to seize the Tenth Legion as they lay in their Retrenchments, believing the storming the Works impracticable, set upon the Soldiers as they were abroad and employed in cutting down Wood; and kill'd the Master of their Camp, some few of the Soldiers, and five of the chief Centurions. The rest defended themselves in their Retrenchments; and in the mean time a Party of *Germans* made an attempt to break down the Bridge which was begun at *Batavodurum*: but Night put an end to the doubtful Combat.

21. The Danger was greater still at *Grinnes* and *Vada*: *Classicus* storm'd *Grinnes*, *Civilis* assaulted *Vada*; both of them bearing down all before them, and killing every one who was brave enough to oppose them. In which Action we lost *Briganticus*, Colonel of a Regiment of Horse, who as we said above was a faithful Friend to the *Romans*, and a mortal Enemy to his Uncle *Civilis*. But as soon as *Cerialis* came up with a Select Detachment of Horse, his arrival turn'd the Fortune of the day, and the *Germans* were driven headlong into the River. *Civilis* attempting to rally them is discover'd, and being assail'd from all sides, is compell'd to forsake his Horse, and to trust to his Swimming. The *Germans* had the same way of escaping. But Boats that came from the other side carried off

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Tutor

Tutor and *Classicus*. Nor was the *Roman Navy* present at that Action tho they had receiv'd Commands in order to it. Their apprehension of danger partly obstructed it, and the *Mariners* were partly dispers'd in the discharging of other Military Duties. Indeed *Cerialis* had allow'd them but a very little time to obey his Commands, being a Man always speedy in his Counsels, but happy and illustrious in his Executions. Fortune was present to him even where Prudence was wanting, which occasion'd a neglect of Discipline both in him and his Officers. A few days afterwards he narrowly escap'd the danger of Slavery tho he could not avoid the infamy of it.

22. Having taken a turn to visit the Retrenchments which were thrown up at *Nuri* and *Bonne*, for the Winter Quarters of the Legions, he and his Company came back down the Stream in several Vessels; his Body in the mean time being dispers'd, and no strict Watch being kept. The *Germans* receiv'd advice of it, and detach'd a Party with a design to surprize them. A very black night was chosen for the Execution, and being carried a main with the Stream they enter'd the Trenches without meeting any obstruction. The beginning of the Action was aided by Stratagem: for cutting the Cords of the Tents, they murder'd the Soldiers as they lay overwhelm'd with them. Another Body at the same time put our Navy into disorder, fastning Grapling Irons, and hawling our Vessels. And as silence at first was requisite for the surprizing us, so as soon as ever the Slaughter was begun, they set up loud cries at every turn, that they might terrifie us the more. The *Romans* alarm'd by their Wounds cry out for their Arms, and rush thro the Passages, some in Armour, others with Cloaks wrapt about them, and their drawn Swords in their hands. The General half naked, and not got half awake, ow'd his preservation to the Enemies mistake. For they carried off the

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Pretorian Vessel which was distinguish'd by its Flag, supposing the General had been there. *Cerialis* had pass'd the night in another place, and in the Opinion of most, in *Claudia Sacrata's* Arms. The Soldiers who were upon the Watch excus'd their Guilt by their Generals Infamy; as if they had been Commanded to be silent lest they should disturb his Rest. So that being forbid to speak, so much as to give the Word, they suffer'd themselves to be surpriz'd by Sleep. The Enemy who had taken several of our Ships, retir'd at broad-day, and drew the Admiral up the *Lippa*, as a present to *Velleda*.

23. *Civilis* had the Ambition to appear with a Naval Army, which consisted of Gallies, and several sorts of Vessels, divers of which had been taken from us, and which made use of party coloured Stuffs for their Sails, which hadan agreeable effect upon the Eye. The place of which they made choice for the Engagement, was where the *Rhine* and the *Maese* fall in Conjunction into the Ocean, and which it self is an Arm of the Ocean. The motive which oblig'd them to Equip this Fleet, besides the inbred vanity of the Nations, was a design to Intercept our Convoy expected from *Gaul*; *Cerialis* rather thro amazement than fear, drew up in a Line of Battel. His Fleet had the disadvantage of the Enemies in Number, but was Superior to them in the Experience of the Mariners, in the Skilfulness of the Pilots, and in the Bulk of the Vessels. The one went sliding down with the Stream, the other mounted before the Wind. So that being carried past one another, they were separated upon the first discharge of their Darts. *Civilis* without any other attempt retired to the farther Banks of the *Rhine*. *Cerialis* burning and destroying the *Batavian* Island left the Villa's and Lands of *Civilis* untouched by a notorious obsolete Stratagem. In the mean time the River overflowing thro the frequent Showers

that fell towards the end of the Autumnal Season, gave the appearance of a Lake to the whole Island, which was Flat and Fenny. Nor was the Fleet or the Convoy near. And the Tents which were pitch'd in the Flat Country, were carried away by the force of the Current.

24. *Civilis* imputed it since to his merit, that whereas the Legions might have been then oppressed, and the *Germans* had resolved upon it: they were diverted by his Address, which his surrendring himself a few days afterwards made more probable. For *Cerialis* carried on an underhand Treaty, both with the *Dutch* and him, offering Pardon to the one, and Peace to the other; and at the same time admonishing *Velleda* and her Friends, that since from the very beginning of the War, Fortune had declar'd it self still against them, by the frequent destructions of theirs: they should change it by doing something suddenly for themselves, that might show them deserving of the Favour of the *Roman* People. He advis'd them to consider, that we had destroyed the *Treviri*, that the *Ubii* had Surrender'd, and that the *Dutch* had lost their Country. That all they had got by *Civilis* his Friendship, was Grief and Wounds, and Desolation; that he was a banished Wretch from his Country, and that he brought ruin to all who received him. That if they made any more attempts, the Guilt and Injustice would be on their Side, and Revenge and the Gods on ours. Promises were mingled with Threats.

25. And thus having shaken the Fidelity of the Nations who inhabited beyond the *Rhine*, such discourses as these arose among the *Dutch*. That they would persist no longer to their ruin, nor was any one Nation sufficient to repel the Worlds Captivity. What had they effected by the Slaughter of so many Legions, unless it were the bringing in more and mightier? If War was declared for *Vespasians* Service, that *Vespa-*
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sian was now become the Master of the World, but if they took Arms against the *Roman* People, how inconsiderable a Portion of Mankind were the *Dutch*? That they should reflect upon the *Rheti* and *Norici*, and the grievances of the other Associates. That for themselves, no Tribute was exacted of them, but only Men and Courage. That that was a Privilege which was next to Liberty. And that since they must serve, they might consult their glory, whether *Roman* Princes were to be preferred to *German* Women. Thus said the *Vulgar*: the Nobles thus, That they had been driven upon this War by the Tempestuous rage of *Civilis*, who design'd to oppose the destruction of a Nation to his Domestick Calamities: that then the Gods were grievously offended with them, when they first besieged the Legions, murder'd the Generals, and begun a War that was necessary for one, and fatal to all the rest. That now they were reduc'd to extremity and must incessantly perish unless they repent immediately, and demonstrate their Penitence by the punishment of the Offender.

26. Their Inclinations were not hid from *Civilis*, who resolv'd to prevent them; tir'd out with Adversity, and allur'd by the hope of life, which is sufficient to tame the mightiest Spirits. He desires an Interview, in order to which they cut down part of the Bidge of the River *Navalia*; upon whose broken ends the Generals standing, *Civilis* thus began. "If I were now
 "to make my Apology before one of *Vitellius* his
 "Captains I could neither expect that my Actions
 "should be pardoned, nor my Words believed. Every
 "thing that we did serv'd to show an enmity
 "which was begun by him, and carried on by me.
 "But I have always express'd a peculiar respect for *Vespasian*, and when he was a Subject I was call'd his
 "Friend: to which *Primus Antonius* was no Stranger,
 "when first he rowz'd me to Arms by his Letter, lest

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"the *Germans* Legions, and *Gallick* Troops should cross
" *Alps* for the defence of *Vitellius*. *Hordeonius Flac-*
cus, who resided amongst us, gave the same advice in
Person which *Antonius* gave by Letter. So that I
took up Arms in *Germany* upon the very same mo-
tive that *Mucianus* did in *Syria*, *Aponius* in *Mesia*, and
Flavianus in *Hungary*.

NOTES.

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ANOTHER HAND.

(a) **T**HE Destruction of Sodom and its Neighbouring Cities, with some other things which Tacitus here relates of the ancient History, and of the Laws and Customs of the Jews, are great Truths, and might serve as the Testimony of an Adversary to the Truth of the Sacred History, if that stood in any need of it; but then he gives most of these Truths such a Turn in relating them, adds some false Circumstances to them, and mingles so many Errors with them, as makes it a very false account. That their Original was from Assyria is true; but not by a confluence of People which issued thence, but by a single Person, viz. Abraham, who was the Head of that Nation. That they went into Egypt. That there was a Plague (and more than of one kind he might have said) during their abode there is true; yet not thro' Contagion from the Israelites, but as a Judgment upon the Egyptians, because they would not let them go. That their march thence was thro' the Wilderness, and that they were oppressed there with Thirst is true, but that Moses relieved them without a Mi-

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racle, by following Ases from their Pasture to their Water, and that they afterwards, for that Reason, Consecrated an Ases Head in their Temple is Calumny. I need not in opposition to Tacitus his mistakes give you the true History related by Moses, it being sufficiently known to every one from the Sacred Records, but shall only observe that we have no reason to expect a true account of the ancient History of the Jews from Tacitus, or those other Writers from whom he takes it upon trust. First, because as other Nations knew little of the Jews, by reason of their small Intercourse with them, so they hated them because they differed so much from them in their Customs and Manners. But, secondly, because these Historians speak of things dene in Ages of which they had no Memoires. Varro, one of the most learned of the Heathens, divided the World into three Periods. The First from the beginning of Mankind to the Flood, which is stiled Unknown. The Second from the Flood to the first Olympiad which began in the Three thousand one hundred seventy fourth Year of the World, about the time that Azariah or Uzziah was King of Judah, above seven hundred Years after the Israelites came out of Egypt, and this is stiled Fabulous. The Third only Historical from the first Olympiad to our time. Now if what the Heathens have written concerning their own Affairs, of those Ages, is by themselves confessed to be fabulous (and if they had not confessed it, common Sense would have suggested it) how can we expect from them any certain account of those Ages, concerning a Nation of which they knew so little, and hated so much. The true account of the Jews is to be had only from Moses, whose Authority is beyond all Comparison above that of the Heathen Historians; not only as he was inspired, but as he was more than a Thousand Years elder than the most ancient of them that is extant, and whose Writings have been preserved by that Nation with the utmost care, as they had the utmost obligation, their Religion, and Civil Rights being interwoven with his History.

story. It is he alone that hath given light to those Ages whereof the Heathens had only some loose Traditions covered with much obscurity, and intangled with Fables: It is he that hath delivered the History of the Beginning of Things and Nations; of their Destruction by the Deluge, and of the Repeopling of the World; whereof the Gentile Philosophers, and Historians were almost wholly ignorant, and about which they made very wild Guesses, so that although I have a great value for the Histories written by the Greeks and Romans, yet I think the World would have suffered more by the loss of the ten first Chapters of Genesis, than by all their Volumes. And having said this in general of the Authority of Moses, and the little regard that is to be had to Tacitus, and those other Authors from whom he takes these mistakes, (for in excuse of him it must be said that they are not Originally his) concerning the Ancient History of the Jews, it will be needless to confute each particular mistake, and therefore I shall content my self to take notice of one or two of them.

(b) To the Story of Moses's finding Water in the Wilderness (to relieve the Thirst of the Israelites) by following Asses, and his Consecrating an Asses Head, and placing it in the Holy of Holies; (Josephus in his *Treatis against Appion*.) I shall only oppose Tertullian's Answer in his *Apology*: But the same Cornelius Tacitus, (saith Tertull. *Apol.* p. 15. Edit. Rig.) relates in the same History that Pompey when he took Jerusalem, and went to the Temple to view the secret Rites, or Arcana of the Jewish Religion, found not one Image there. And if they had Worshipped any Image, it would, if any where, have been found in the Holy of Holies, because it was in no danger there of being exposed to Strangers as a ridiculous Worship, it being lawful only for the High Priest to enter it, and a Veil intercepted the sight of all others. To which
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may be added what Tacitus saith within a Page, That they had no Images in their Cities nor Temples. (Josephus against Appion l. 2.) So that Tacitus should have remembered himself at least, if he had not the Truth. Josephus makes much the same answer to Appion, who had urged the same Calumny. Were that true, saith he, which he Reports, yet an Egyptian ought not to have objected it to us, seeing that an Ape is as valuable as a Goat, and other Brute Beasts, which they Honour as Gods. Can he be so blind as not to perceive that never any Fable was more evidently absurd than this. There is none but could inform him that we have constantly used the same Laws without any alteration; and although Jerusalem had had her Calamities as well as other Cities, and hath been taken by Antiochus, Pompey, Crassus, and at last by Titus, and our Temple been in the Possession of all of them; yet what did they ever find there but great Piety and Devotion?

(c) Thus much is True, that many of the Jewish Rites and Prohibitions were in contradiction to the Idolatrous Rites of other Nations, and set as a Fence against them.

(d) This was not the reason of the Jews Prohibition of Swine's Flesh, but the Jews were forbidden to eat any Beasts that did not Chew the Cud, of which kind are Swine, vid. Lev. ii.

(e) Here again he mistakes the Reason of the Institution of the Sabbath. I shall not enter into the Dispute of the time of its Institution, whether from the Creation, as some, or not till the giving of the Law, as others; but it is no Dispute, that it was Instituted in memory of the Creation; and take which of the two Opinions you will, they equally conclude against Tacitus. For if Instituted from the Creation, then this event which happened so many Ages after
uld

could not be the Reason; but if not Instituted till the Law, then you must take the Reason from the Law, viz. That in Six Days the Lord made the Heaven and the Earth, the Sea, and all that in them is, and rested the Seventh Day, wherefore the Lord blessed the Seventh Day, and hallowed it.

(F) *Amidst our Authors unjust Reflections on the Jewish Nation, he lets fall some things, which set their Character much above the Heathens, of which I'll mention but two, one is the Great and Noble Idea they had of God, and their aversion to Polytheism and Idolatry, which had debauched all Mankind besides, and was the highest dishonour to God, and the greatest reproach to Human Nature. They held, saith he, That God is a Supreme and Eternal Spirit, unchangeable and incorruptible, and that it is a great impiety to represent him by any thing that is a material or in a Human Form. Therefore there were no Images in their Cities, nor even in their Temple. Agreeably to which Dio Cassius, l. 37. says, That they had no Images at Jerusalem, but believing God to be Ineffable and Invisible, they Worship him with greater Devotion than other Men. The other is that they did not kill their Children as other Nations did: This is such unnatural Cruelty that one could hardly think Humane Nature capable of it, and yet there is nothing more certain than that it was a common Practice, not only amongst those Nations which were called Barbarous, but amongst the Grecians and Romans themselves (till Christianity taught them better) to expose as many of their tender Off-spring, as they were not willing to Educate, to dye of Hunger, or by the Teeth of Wild Beasts. But of this unnatural Cruelty our Author acquits the Jewish Nation.*

If any desire further satisfaction in this matter let them Read Josephus's two Books against Appion, which is a very Learned Vindication of the Jews from the Calumnies not
only

only of that Author, but also of Manetho, Lyſimachus, Chæremon, and the reſt of their Heathen Adverſaries, and may ſerve for a fuller answer to Tacitus's Errors, if any think they need it.

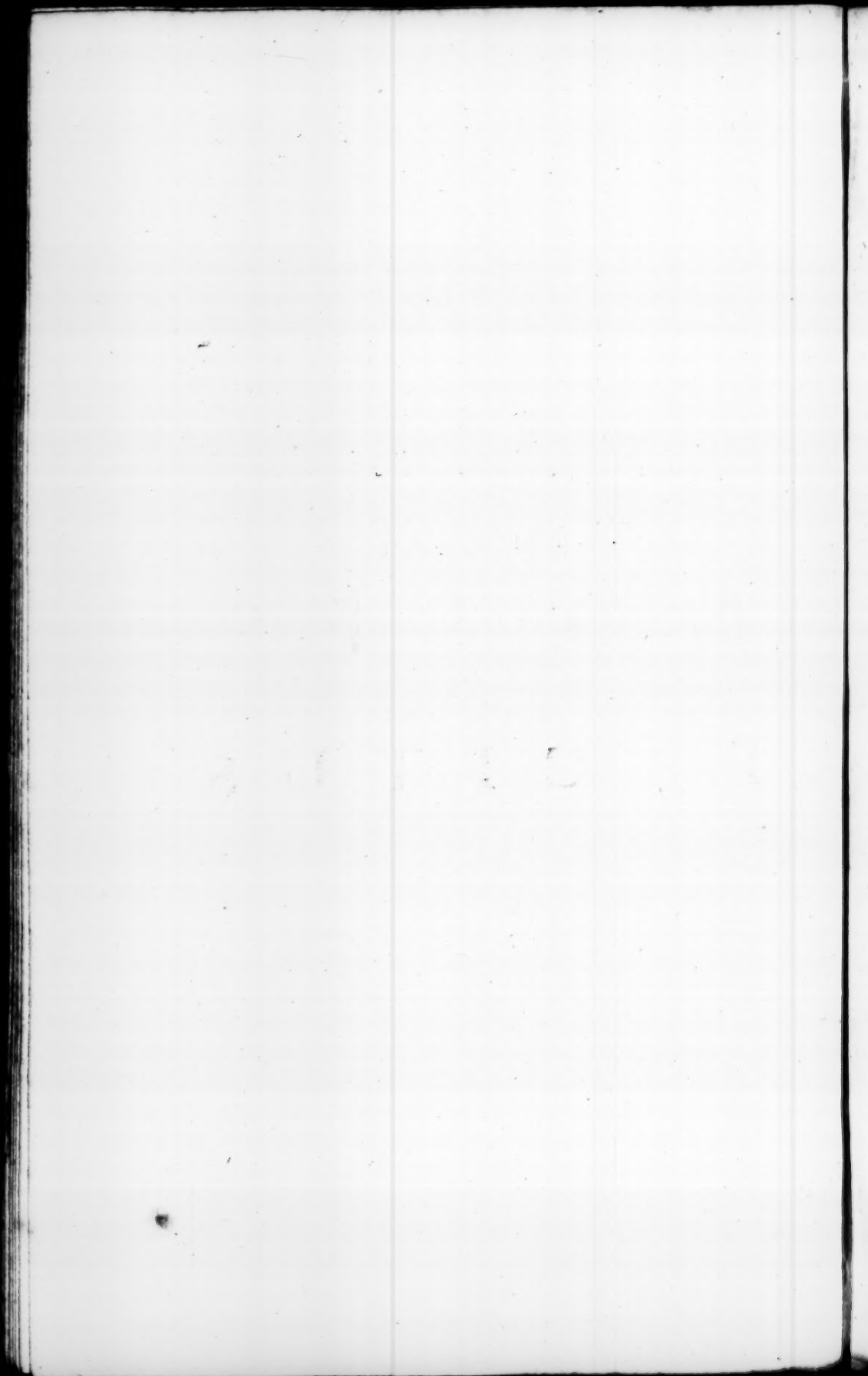
*But ſince ſome, whoſe ill will to Religion, have much exceeded their attempts againſt it, have hoped that ſomething might have been Collected from this Fifth Book to the diſ-advantage of it, give me leave to add that had they duely conſidered the great Event delivered in it, that would have taught them to have made quite another uſe of it, for that Event which he calls *famoſæ urbis ſupremam diem*, is the Completion of that famous Prophecy of our Bleſſed Saviour, St. Matth. xxiv. and St. Luke xxi. Confirmed from the Mouth of a Heathen. Our Lord there foretels the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the end of the World; and by joyning them together ſeems to make the former an Earneſt, as well as an Image of the latter. However I ſhall paſs over thoſe Paſſages which deſcribe the end of the World, and mention only ſome of thoſe which concern the Jews and Jeruſalem. Our Lord ſaith there, That Jeruſalem ſhould be encompassed with Armies; that it ſhall be trodden down of the Gentiles, that there ſhall not be left one ſtone of the Temple upon another, which ſhall not be thrown down. That the Jews ſhall fall by the Sword, that they ſhall be led captive into all Nations, and all this ſhould befall them, becauſe they knew not the time of their Viſitation, and that this Generation ſhall not paſs away till all be fulfilled. It doth not appear that the Jews had any apprehenſion of theſe fatal Calamities when our Saviour foretold them, their Temple ſince its Rebuilding, had now ſtood above five hundred years, and they had been as long in Poſſeſſion of their Country ſince cheir return from Babylon. They were at that time in profound Peace, and in good Correſpondence with the Romans. But as little appearance as there was of it then, the truth of the Prophecy was ſufficiently attested by the Event,*

as you may see in this Author a Heathen, and Josephus a Jew, (vid. Josephus) for before that Generation passed away, Jerusalem and its Temple were by the Roman's Army rased to the ground, and the Jews destroyed by the Sword or Famine, and the remains of them carried Captive into all Nations, and continue so to this very day; which, if we consider it, is one of the most amazing Judgments that ever befel a People; they have neither Temple nor Sacrifice, nor Scepter, nor Government, every where scattered, and every where hated: and in this Exile State have they continued longer than either of the four Monarchies lasted. Nay they have been longer Exiles from their Country, than they were Inhabitants in it. The Assyrian, which stood the longest of the four Monarchies, did not much exceed thirteen hundred years. And the Jews Possession of their Country from the time that Joshua divided it amongst the twelve Tribes, to the last Destruction of Jerusalem was not above fifteen hundred and forty years. But it is already more than sixteen hundred since they have been expelled out of it, and yet all this time, tho they have dwelt among almost all Nations, they have not mingled with any. Other Conquered Nations have incorporated with their Conquerors, or have mixed with the People whither they have been transplanted. But these seem to be set apart, and marked out by God for a Testimony to all Nations of the Truth of the Gospel, and the Divinity of their Messiah whom they rejected; they should have carried this Testimony to all Nations by their Preaching it, but since they would not do that, whether they will or no, they carry it in their Punishment, and for so many Ages since wherever they go, the Burden of that signal Prophecy of their Messiah and the guilt of his Blood, which they charged upon themselves, their Children, lies heavily upon them. To Conclude, Since our Saviour, as I observed before, foretold the Destruction of Jerusalem, and the end of the World at the same time, and hath long since punctually fulfilled the former, this is an Earnest, and an Assurance to all Mankind, that he will as certainly accomplish

comply the latter, and therefore let them that doubt of his coming at the last day, reflect on the day of Jerusalem. He can as easily lay the whole Earth Desolate, as he did that City, and put a stop for ever to the Sun's Race as to make it Rise to morrow Morning; for it is not a greater Act of Omnipotence to Dissolve the whole Frame of Nature, than to preserve it in its wonted Course.

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ON
TACITUS.



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F I N I S.

1

A

View of Military Affairs,

Relating to the

Roman HISTORY.

By Sir HENRY SAVILE, Knight.

SERVICE in War is by Land, or by Water. The Roman Service by Land was either at home in the City, or external abroad: The External consisted principally in *Legiones & Auxilia*; a known Division in the Roman Stories. *Livius*, lib. 8. fol. 91. *Pro exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis P. R. legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum diis manibus devovo.* Most frequently in *Tacitus*, Hist. 1. p. 27. *Infecit ea tabes legionum quoque & auxiliorum motas jam mentes.* Ann. 13. p. 451. *Copie orientis ita dividuntur, ut pars Auxiliarum cum duabus Legionibus apud Quadratum remaneret, pars civium, sociorumque numerus Corbuloni esset.* Where also we see he varieth the words *Legiones & Auxilia*, by two Equivalent in the later Member, *cives & socii*. And *Livius*, lib. 7. fol. 84. *F. civilis exercitus and socialis catus*, meaning the Roman Legions and Latin Auxilia. *Legio*, saith *Varro*, lib. 4. *de lingua Latina, quod leguntur milites in delectu, dicta est.* The Grecians translate it diversly; some *στράτο* *πῖλον*; some others *τάγμα*, *τέλε*, *σύνταγμα*, *κἀδλο* *γ*, *λεγεών*; *πολιτικὴ δύναμις*, or *πολιτικὰ τεῖχνη*, in respect of their standing Camps, which were fortified and walled, and gave occasion in the later times to the founding of many great Cities in the Empire.

To this Etymology of the word Galba no doubt alluding, answered the Soldiers, which demanded Donatives; *Legi a se militum, non emi.*

[A 2]

Legio

A View of Military Affairs,

Legio was divided into *Pedites* and *Equites*: altho' peradventure sometimes by Legions, and also by Auxilia the Footmen alone are intended, as being the more principal Part. The other two kinds of Service in Field, by Chariots and Elephants, either were never in the Roman State, or were not ordinary, and even so were quickly laid down. The manner of Fighting out of Chariots, (a matter so often recorded not only by Poets in those fabulous Times, but also by the Writers of the Sacred Story,) may seem to have been in a sort proper to those *Heroica tempora*; and by general Consent of the World (some barbarous Nations excepted, who are always best Keepers of Customs) laid aside; beside the Unwealdiness, peradventure because to furnish out one fighting Man in that case ^b four Mouths were to be fed, and four Bodies arm'd, of which any one failing, the Service of all four was at an end. The other by Elephants was ancient, and continued long among the Eastern and Southern Nations, the Countries yeilding good store of those Beasts; by the *Romians* seldom used, not for that they lack'd the Breed, (For what would they lack, that either could serve for Use or Delight? And of those Creatures they would kill for their Pleasure hundreds at once in their Theatres,) but because they utterly dislike'd the Service, as ambiguous, turning as oft to the Hurt of the Owner as of the Enemy. Whereof they saw good Proof in the Army of *Pyrrhus*, who first brought them into *Italy*: in which, as ^c one saith, *Eadem fera, quæ primam victoriam Romanis abstulerant, secundam parem fecerant, tertiam sine controversia tradiderunt.* The Eastern Nations also found them at the length unserviceable ^d for the tenderness of their Hoofs, and divers other respects; and so they remain generally laid aside. Now for the Number of *Pedites* and *Equites* in a Legion, *Romulus* at the Foundation of *Rome*, after the Misfortune of *Remus*, wherein many perish'd, had only three thousand Footmen, and three hundred Horsemen remaining, *Dionys.* ^e lib. 1 & 2. Of which Number he compos'd his Legion at the very first beginning of *Rome*, according to *Plutarch*, ^f κτισθείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως, πρῶτον μὲν ὅσον ἦν ἐν ἡλικία πλῆθ' εἰς συνάγματα στρατιωτικὰ διείλεν. ἔπασον δὲ

^b The Man that fighteth, the Coachman and two Horses at the least.

^c *L. Florus*, l. 1. c. 18.

^d *Δια τὴν τῶν ποδῶν μαλακότητα.*

Diodor. Sic. l. 19. p. 717.

^e *P.* 56, 59, 67.

^f That is, whenas the City was built, first of all he fortified the People such as were within years of Service, into Legions, every Legion consisted of three thousand Footmen and three hundred Horse, *Romulo*, p. 44.

ὄντα γὰρ πεζῶν τεισχιῶν ἦν, καὶ τετρακοσίων ἵππῶν, one Horseman for ten Foot. Varro, lib. 4. de Lingua Lat. Milites, saith he, a mile, quod trium milium primo legio fiebat, ac singule tribus Tatienfium, Ramnium, Lucerum milia singula militum mittebant. To that number of Horsemen in a Legion of those times Virgil (whose manner is in fabulous Narrations to enterlace the true Roman Antiquities) alluded, and so Servius noteth upon these Verses, lib. 7 & 9.

¹ Stabant tercentum nitidi in præsepibus altis.

² Tercentum scutati omnes Volscente magistro.

¹ Perite, saith Servius; nam in legione

non nisi 300 equites erant, per quod ostendit unam habuisse legionem Latinam.

² Romani equites (saith the same Servius) primo trecenti fuerunt; de singulis enim Curiiis deni dabantur, quas triginta fuisse diximus.

(1) That is, the City being doubled by incorporating the Sabines, the Legions likewise were increased to 6000 Foot and 600 Horsemen

Albeit the number of Footmen hereafter still rising sometime to four thousand, sometime higher, we find in later times often but two hundred Horse assigned to a Legion; hardly one Horse for twenty Foot; a very scant Proportion. And such was the Legion at the first foundation of Rome. Afterward many of the Cæninenfes, Antemnates, Crustumerini and Sabins being transferred by Romulus to Rome, the number of Men daily increasing, more Legions were made with the same number of Men in a Legion, or little diversity. Tho' Plutarch, respecting rather the usage of the Time wherein he lived, than whereof he wrote, determineth the matter far otherwise: (1) διπλασιαθείσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως, αἱ λεγόμενες ἐγένοντο πεζῶν μὲν ἑξακισχιλίων, ἵππῶν δὲ ἑξακοσίων, a number excessive and absurd, as in that Age. In the Free State the least number we read of to a Legion is four thousand Footmen, six thousand and two hundred the greatest. The Author of the Increase from three to four Thousand, I find not set down, only it is not unprobable that Servius Tullius, who made Rome (2) ἐκ τετραγώνου τεως ἔσσης, τετραγώνον, hoc est, Quadratum, made likewise the Legion of three thousand, four thousand, call'd also Quadrata, according to Festus, because it consisted of four thousand Men: Although, as it may seem by Dionysius and Livy, the Mustering of Men in his Days went more by Wealth than by Tribe, as hereafter shall be declared: Of four thousand and thereabout apiece, Romulo, p. 54. (2) That is, of Three-tribed, anciently Four-tribed, Dionys. p. 163.

τῶν 5
(τῶν 5 ἐκα-
τοπτῶν)
ἐκαστον
ἀνδρῶν τε
χιλίων
πενήκον-
τα
ἰνέται
δέκα 5 ἐκα-
τοπτῶν καὶ
τὰς ματα
ξὲ ἀνδρῶν
πενήκον-
τα ἑκα-
τον.

° Pag. 180.
1 ἐπὶ πέν-
τε ὁλοκαυρῶ-
σι 500
ἐκ 500
φάσιν ἵαι
χρεία.
lib. 3. p.
101.

° Scribe-
bantur au-
tem fere le-
giones quin-
que millibus
peditum,
lib. 8. p. 91.

° Quina
millia ex
veteri in-
stituto da-
bantur in
singulas le-
giones.

° If in these
places of
Appian the
Hoplites
also were
comprised,
the num-
ber of
Footmen
pertaining
to a Legi-
on is,

according to them, somewhat less, than we have set down. (1) That
is, with their Associates in the Field, that is, their Auxilia.

we have a Rule in *Polybius*, lib. 1. ^h p. 6. & lib. 2. p. 101. Example in *Dionysius*, lib. 6. ⁱ p. 275. sixteen Years after the Kings were cast out. In *Livy*, lib. 6. fol. 73. H. certain Years after that *Rome* was taken by the French. And again, lib. 21. p. 127. K. in the beginning of the second *Punic* War, and elsewhere. Nevertheless the solemn and just Number seemeth to have been precisely four thousand two hundred Footmen; and so *Polybius* in the Sixth ^k Book, where he handleth the Question purposely, stinteth it. Of which number we have Example in *Livy*, lib. 7. fol. 84. *Anno urbis conditæ* 406; as he seemeth to reckon: And in *Polybius*, lib. 2. p. 45. after the first *Punic* War. Now this number of four thousand two hundred, upon ^l extraordinary Occasions was augmented, saith the same *Polybius*, sometime to five thousand, sometime to a greater Increase. *Livy*, somewhat differing from *Polybius*, and from his own, both Rules and Examples, in the Wars with the *Latins* about the Year of the City 415, ^m maketh five thousand the ordinary number of that Age; and, lib. 42. fol. 356. E. ⁿ the Custom of ancient Times. And yet the same *Livy*, as having forgot himself, *Paullo & Varrone* Cos. in the second *Punic* War, writeth, *Numero quoque Legiones tum auctas, milibus peditum in singulas adjectis, ut quina millia peditum essent.* Of five thousand we have Examples every-where: of five thousand and two hundred in *Polybius*, lib. 2. p. 44. in the French Wars. And in *Appian* 1. ° *Εμρ.* p. 199 & 200, where he resolveth twenty Legions of *Sylla* into one hundred and twenty thousand. Of five thousand and four hundred in *Livy*, lib. 37. fol. 305. A. in the Wars against *Antiochus*. Of six thousand in the War against *Perseus*. *Livius*, lib. 42. p. 356. E. *Appianus* ° *Mithridatico*, p. 141. resolveth the five Legions of *Lucullus* into thirty thousand. *Quinto* ° *Εμρ.* p. 347. after the War at *Philippi*, *Antonius* interpreteth to the *Grecians* twenty eight Legions, (1) *μετὰ τῶν συνασσωμένων*, to contain above one hundred and seventy thousand Persons, that is, above six thousand apiece. *Sex millium & ducentorum hominum*

primus C. Marius conscripsit Legionem, saith *Festus*. But *Marius* surely was not the first that gave the Example of that Number; for the Elder *Scipio* (saith *Livy*, a Man of more Credit, lib. 19. fol. 229. H.) *Supplevit ita eas Legiones quas in Africam transduxit, ut singule sena millia & duccenos pedites haberent*. Under the Empire six thousand, or thereabout was the ordinary number. *Plena legio*, saith *Vegetius*, p. lib. 2. speaking, no doubt, of that time, *peditum sex millibus centum fundatur*, at the lowest Reckoning. Where yet we are to understand, that the Body of his Legion consisted only of five thousand five hundred, the rest being Officers, to wit, five hundred and fifty Diziniars, and fifty Centurions; the Sum six thousand one hundred: Whereas, contrariwise, in the ancient Times, the Centurions, and under Officers, as it was in truth most meet, were taken out of the Body of their Companies, not by Ambition and Suit super-induced. And in the Declination of the Empire, under *Honorius*, we find the said number of six thousand retained. *Zosimus*, lib. 5. p. 819.

(1) Ἐδοξε τῷ βασιλεῖ πέντε τῶν ἀπὸ Δαλματίας στρατιωτικὰ τάγματα ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐλθεῖν. Τὰ δὲ τάγματα ταῦτα ἠπλήθυν ἀνδρες ἐξακισχίλιοι. For so I interpret the place *Distributive*, as they call it, six thousand for every one of the five Legions; especially the same *Zosimus*, lib. 6. p. 828. resolving, (2) Ἐξ τῶν τάγματος στρατιωτῶν, into *μυριάδας πένταρας*. Now for Horsemen, *Polybius* writing in, and of the Free State, assigneth to every Legion two hundred, and upon extraordinary Occasion three hundred. *Livy* likewise, sometime two, sometime three hundred. *Appian*, in *Mithridat*. pag. 141, giveth to five Legions, one thousand six hundred Horse. In the *Macedonian War*, *Anno urbis conditæ* 581, according to *Livy's* Supputation, to a Legion, were attributed three hundred and thirty Horse. In *epitoma Libri* 130, we have in the War of *Antony* in *Parthia*, sixteen thousand Horse to eighteen Legions, as having to deal with a Nation, whose principal strength consisted in Horsemen; and yet, peradventure, of those sixteen Thousand, the smallest part was Legionary. In *Appian* 3. Εμφ. in the Civil Wars after *Cæsar's* Death, two Legions in *Africk*, had a thousand Horse

(1) That is, it seemed expedient to the Emperor, to send for out of *Dalmatia*, five Legions to guard the City of *Rome*; in these Legions were 6000 Men. (2) That is, six Legions of Soldiers into 40000 Persons, *lib. 1. p. 6. & 3. p. 101. & 6. p. 180.* *Livy*, lib. 43. fo. 465. K. Καὶ τὰ δὲ τέλη τὰ δὲ τὰ ἐν Λιβύῃ, καὶ οἱ συν ἀνθρώποις ἰππεὶς ἑκατὸν

annex-

annexed ; the ancient Proportion, belike, seeming, as it was, too scant. Under the Empire, as it may be gathered by *Vegetius*, six hundred, at the least, were matriculated in a Legion, and six hundred and sixty, where *Prima Cohors* was *Milliaria*, beside sixty *Decurions* ; the Sum seven hundred twenty six, comprehending the Officers. As for *Josephus*, allowing to each Legion but an hundred and twenty Horse, it was an oversight. And thus much of the Number of Soldiers in a Legion, which we are to understand at the first Enrolment, when it is entire, not diminished by War, or Misfortune, nor contrarily through Ambition overcharged. *Cæsar*, in the Civil War, had his Legions so worn, that they contained scarce three thousand apiece, and even at the first Enrolment ^a not above four thousand. On the other side, the *Legio Classica*, conscribed by *Nero*, was so large, that when seven thousand of them were slain, at the entry of *Galba* into the City, the rest *Decumati*, yet the remainder sufficed *Orbo* ^x to make up a Legion. Such Legions *Appianus*, 4. Εμφ. pag. 335, seemeth to call, Τέλη ἐν δέοντα τοῖς δευμοῖς, and πλεονάζοντα. So that of the Number of the Legions in an Army, with out due Consideration of other Circumstances, we may not haste to conclude the Number of Soldiers.

* Εἰπεῖτο
δὲ αὐτῷ π
ἰδιον τῶ
τάς μάλῃ
ἰσπεκόν.
ἰδιον δὲ ἑκα
στὰ γ
μάλῃ ἑ
κοσι πρὸς
τοῖς ἑκα
τὼν ἰσπεῖς
3. ἀλάς.
c. 8.

^a Sex. Rufus.
Cæsar cum
decem legi-
onib. quæ
quaterna
millia mi-
litum Ita-
lorum ha-
buerunt,
Gallias
subegit.

² Reliquos
cæsarum
ad pontem
Milvium in
numerus
legionis
composuerat
Tac. 1. Hist.

p. 57.
³ Dionys.

p. 62.
⁴ Polybius
Libro sexto.
Livius,
lib. 8. &c.

^a Page 214.

^b Cap. 3.

The Footmen in the Legion of *Romulus* were divided, according to the Tribes which yielded them, into *Ramnes*, *Luceres*, and *Tatienses*, each containing a thousand ; and every thousand into ten Centuries, or *Curias*. In the Popular Legion, consisting, as we have said, ordinarily of four thousand and two hundred, the Footmen were ² distributed into four sorts, γένη, ἡλικίας, The youngest and poorest sort they named *Velites*, the next in Age, *Hastati* ; the third being at the Age of their principal strength, *Principes* ; the fourth, somewhat elderly, *Triarii*. Of this last kind, in every Legion, howsoever altered or increased, were six hundred only ; of *Principes*, *Hastati*, and *Velites*, twelve hundred apiece, in an ordinary Legion, and proportionably in an increased. When this Partition was induced, I cannot precisely define. *Dionysius*, lib. ^a 5, straight after the Kings were expulsed, maketh mention of *Triarii*, as of a matter not new, *Valerius Maximus*, lib. 1. ^b writeth,

reth, that the Use of the *Velites*, was first devised by *Fulvius Flaccus*, at *Capua*, in the second *Punic* War. In later times, and specially under the Emperors, this Division, so famous in ancient Story, was in a manner worn out. Now the *Hastati* were divided again into ten Ensigns, or *Ordines*, every one in an ordinary Legion containing one hundred and twenty Persons: The first Ensign, or Order, whereof was called *Primus Hastatus*; the second, *Secundus Hastatus*; and so forth, *Usque ad decimum ordinem Hastatum*. Likewise the *Principes* into ten Ensigns, *Primum, Secundum, Tertium Principem*, &c. every Ensign containing as before. And lastly, the *Triarii* were also divided into ten Ensigns, each one containing sixty Persons; the first Ensign whereof was called *Primus Pilus*, the second *Secundus Pilus*, &c. to the tenth. The *Velites* were proportionably dispersed among all the Ensigns. Of these thirty Ensigns, called in Latin *Manipuli*, according to *Gellius*, lib. 6. cap. 4. And *Servius*, in 11 *Aeneid*. (altho' *Plutarch*, in *Romulo*, pag. 39, interpreteth *Manipulus*, *Ἐκαστος*, confounding it with *Centuria*; and *Vergilius*, lib. 2. cap. 13. most absurdly maketh it equivalent with *Contubernium*, a Company of ten or eleven Persons) each one was divided again, in *duas Centurias*, *Centuriam priorem*, and *Centuriam posteriorem*, altho' in truth they contained not the full Number of an hundred, but only in an ordinary Legion, sixty Persons, beside the *Velites*, and of the *Triarii*, but thirty. *Livy* in describing these Centuries, seemeth to use an inverfed kind of Speech, lib. 42. *Hic me Imperator dignum judicavit, cui primum hastatum prioris Centuriæ assignaret*, in place, as it may seem, of *Cui priorem Centuriam primi hastati assignaret*. And in the Leaf following, lest it might be supposed as done by chance or negligence: *A. M. Acillio mihi primus princeps prioris Centuriæ est assignatus, or Prior Centuria primi principis*. Beside these Divisions of the Footmen in a Legion, we find another in later times more usual, into ten Cohorts of equal number. *Julius Frontinus*, *Stratagem*, lib. 1. dissolveth one Legion into ten Cohorts: *Fulvius Nobilior Legionis, de qua supra dictum est, quinque cohortes in dextram partem viæ direxit, quinque ad sinistram*. And *Cæsar*, lib. 6. de *Bello Gall.* three Le-

Polybio
συντάκτας
τάξιμα
& σπείρας:
but *τάξιμα*
is taken in
other Wri-
ters, usually
for a Legi-
on; and
σπείρας,
in *Polybius*
himself, lib.
11. p. 249.
& 243. for
a Cohort.
Or *Secun-*
dus Triarii-
us, accord-
ing to some
learned
Men, al-
tho' *Livy*
seemeth to
call all the
Ensigns of
the *Triarii*
Primos,
Pilos, in
that intri-
cate place,
in the 8th
Book,
where he
hath rather
obscured,
than ex-
pounded
the Roman
Soldiery.
Fol. 356.
K.
Cap. 6.
Cap. 2.

gions

gions into thirty Cohorts. Tacitus, 1. Annal. p. 242. dissolveth four Legions, in quadraginta Cohortes Romanas. The first Cohort consisted of the three first Enc. 8. Cic. signs, or Manipuli, to wit, ex primo ordine Hastatos, lib. 5. Ep. ad Primo Principe, and Primo Pilo joyn'd in one; the second of the three second, and so forth to the tenth. Cohors, Caesar. 3. de Bel. Civili, saith Varro, lib. 4. De Ling. Lat. quod ut in villa ex pluribus tectis conjungitur, ac quiddam sit unum, sic hæc ex manipulis copulatur cohors. The Grecians call it *συνέχρημα*. Which is also called *Cohors*, quod *circum eum locum pecus coaceretur*, saith Varro.

* Page 240, Polybius likewise, twice in the eleventh Book, expressly, 243. and by Name *κορσούς*, in the War of Scipio, in Spain; yet then, peradventure, it was rather certain Manipuli, united, and assigned, extraordinarily, than any Member of a Legion: But of that I cannot greatly affirm. Now, altho' in former Times, it is out of Question, that the Legionary Cohorts were equal of five hundred apiece, where the Legion was five thousand, and more where more; yet in Vegetius's time, or at least in his Legion, the first Cohort contained a thousand, and the rest but only five hundred: For, In his rebus, as

* Com. in 11. Servius saith, *accessu temporis Ducum varietas semper Eneidos. mutavit militie disciplinam*: The Horse being in the Royal and Popular Legion, most commonly three hundred, were divided, in Turmas decem, Polyb. lib. 6.

(1) That is, p. 182. (1) Περὶ τῆς ἰσχυρῆς εἰς ἵλας δέκα In like manner the Horsemen were divided into the Turma. *δεῖλον*: Every Turma containing thirty Horse, even from the beginning of Rome; as generally few things we find after in use, whereof the Grounds were not laid at the first. Varro, lib. 4. De ling. Lat. Turma Turma est (E in V abiit) quod ter deni equites ex tribus tribubus Tatiensium, Ramnium, & Tucerum fiebant. In Vegetius's Legion, being six hundred and sixty, beside the Officers, they are divided into twenty-two Turma's, every Turma likewise containing thirty Persons, whereof he attributed four Turma's to the first Cohort of the Legion, and to the other nine, two apiece. Lastly, Turma was divided, In treis Decurias, each consisting of ten Horse, as the Name also importeth. In

In the Legion of *Romulus*, over the Footmen (saith *Dionysius*) three Tribunes, *χίεραχοι*, were appointed to govern under the King, each over his own Tribe; and over every Century, or Curia, a Centurion, or Curion. ^m Three Tribunes, and thirty Centurions in a Legion, the Tribunes selected out of the greatest Men for Nobility, or Reputation, *ἐκ τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων*; saith *Varro*; the Centurions of the most Valiant, *ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων*. ^{tribus tribus} Under the Consul, or Prætor, in the Time of Liberty, and Prince in the Empire, Captains in Chief, and Sovereignty, the next and immediate Officer in both, was named *Legatus Consularis*, as it were, Vicegerent, ^{olim ad exercitum} deputed by the Consul, or Prince: By the Consul ^{mittebantur} one, or many, as his Lieutenants in the Army; by the Prince, one only, as Lieutenant-General, over an Army, or Country. Under the *Legatus Consularis*, in the Empire, were subordinate *Legati Prætorii*, or ^{As to} Brother in ^{Pompey in} *Legati Legionum*, one or more, according to the Number of the Legions in the Army; which Name I find not in the Free State, nor any Office answerable to it. ^{Bello Pira-} Now for the Legion, in both States, the ordinary Officers were, as before, in the Legion of *Romulus*, ^{tico, twenty} *Tribuni*, and *Centuriones*; *Decani*, and the rest, were of ^{five. Ap-} smaller name. The Popular Legion being *Quadrata*, ^{pian Mi-} had also, at the first, four Tribunes, elected by the People, or sometime at the Consul's Discretion; afterwards, in *Polybius's* Time, six, ^{thridatio;} executing their Charge, alternatively, two at one time, for two Months; so that in one Summer, every one had served his Course. In the Empire, as it may be conjectured by some places in *Vegetius*, there were in every Legion ten Tribunes, not with Charge over the whole, by turns, but with several, and continual, each over his Cohort. Now out of every Ensign, saith *Polybius*, ^{ἐκ μέρους} were chosen *ἀειστὶς*, two Centurions, ^{τὴν δὲ} *(ταξίαρχοι, ἡ ἀρχὴν* ^{λον αὐτοῦ)} having Charge each of his several Century, and in Absence, or Sickness, or other Mischance, one took both. To every Ensign, beside the Centurions, belonged two Ensign-bearers, at the Centurions Appointment. The Centurions were distinguished in Names, according to the Ensigns, or Centuries which they led. *Livius*, lib. 42. f. 356. K. *Mibi T. Quinti-*

us decimum ordinem hastatum assignavit. Cicero, Ep. 8. ad Brutum, C. Nascentius Metello Imperatore Octavum Principem duxit. Livius, lib. 7. f. 81. G. Septimum primum pilum jam Tullius ducebat. Likewise of the Ensign-bearers. Cicero 1. de Divinatione, Signifer primi hastati signum loco movere non potuit. Sometime for Brevity sake, the Centurion is called by the Name of his Ensign. Livius, lib. 25. f. 176. I. T. Pedanius princeps primus Centurio cum signifero, &c. Cæsar, lib. 1. de Bell. Civ. cap. 10. In his Quin. Fulvius primus hastatus Legionis Decime quartæ. Lib. 2. de Bell. Gall. † Omnibus fere Centurionibus aut vulneratis aut occisis, in his Primipilo P. Sextio Bibaculo, multis vulneribus confecto: The same Man, whom Lib. 3. Cap. 1. he calleth at large, Primi pili Centurionem. But whereas there were in every Ensign two Centurions, whether only the Centurion of the former Century, was, Κατέχορον, for Example called Primipilus, Primus Princeps, primus Hastatus; and so in the rest, or both the one and the other equivocally, I dare not, without better ground of Authority than hitherto I have seen, peremptorily determine; only by Centurio primi Pili, I take to be meant the Centurion alone, of the former Century, of the first Ensign of the Triarii; a Centurion of principal Credit, and endowed with special Privileges; as to be of the General's Counsel, to have the Custody of the Eagle, or Standard of the Legion, to Sound the Watches, &c. Polyb. Veget. This Number of sixty Centurions in a Legion, we find also retained under the Empire: Tacitus 1. Annal. p. 231. Prostratos verberibus multant sexagenis singulos, ut numerum Centurionum adequarent: Altho' Vegetius, by I cannot tell what Mischance, † maketh but fifty; and in another place, by Error of the Copy, or Oversight of the Author, Quinquaginta quinque: For Quinquaginta is much more suitable, even to his own Grounds. Under this Centurion were the Decani Diziniers, one over every ten, as the Word also importeth. Veget. lib. 2. cap. 13. Rursus ipsæ Centuriæ in contubernia divise sunt, ut decem militibus sub una papilione degentibus unus quasi præfesset decanus, qui caput contubernii vocatur. The Horsemen in the Legion of Romulus, were governed by ἱππῶν ἡγεμόνες

† Cap. 7.

• Cujus Imperio, faith Dionysius, lib. 9. p. 418. Ἰδὲ ἐξ ἡκουσίου ἐκατονταρχίας ἐπισθαι πρὸς τὸ καλόμενον ὑποφύει νόμος. By Livy, in the latter end of the 7th Book, f. 88. K. it may seem, that Place was of equal Dignity, or rather higher than the Tribunes, notwithstanding the Centurion were otherwise subordinate to them. Lib. 2. C. 6

ἡγεμόνες, saith *Dionysius*, not expressing the Number; but the Horse in the Royal, and Popular Legion, being of one Number, had in all likelihood the same Officers, that is, *Decuriones*, three chosen out of every *Turma*; whereof the first and principal is called also "*Præfectus*" ἱλάρχης. *Turme*, *Polyb.* lib. 6. p. 182. But *Vegetius*, lib. 2. cap. 14. writing, that *Turma habet 32 equites, huic qui præest decurio nominatur*, reckoneth two of his Officers as common Soldiers, and the third nameth amiss: For *Decurio* is of *Decem*, not of *Triginta*, or *Triginta Duo*. Wherefore, if he will needs have two of *Polybius's* *Decurions* reckoned among the common Horsemen, the third he might more justly have named, with *Polybius*, *Præfectus Turme*, than *Decurio*: So have we in *Polybius's* Legion, *Triginta Decuriones*, whereof ten were called ἱλάρχαι; in *Vegetius*, twenty two *Decuriones*; or in more reasonable Speech, and more according to his own Principles, sixty six. Of any higher Office, ordinary over the Legionary Horsemen, than *Præfectus Turme*, I find no mention in the Popular, or Imperial Legion, the Horse in general being, I suppose, under the Direction of the great Officers of the Field, *Legatus Consularis*, and *Legatus Legionis*; extraordinarily I grant under the Dictator, *Magister Equitum*, was, as it were, the General of the Horse. Of the Centurion, and Decurion, the Under-Officer, and, as it were, Vicegerent, or Adjutor, was named *Optio*, the same which is in *Polybius* called, as I suppose, ἑταῖρος. *Paulus ex Festo*. In re militari *Optio appellatur is quem Decurio, aut Centurio optat sibi, rerum privatarum ministrum, quo facilius obeat publica Officia*. *Festus* omitting his Charge among Horsemen; *Optio*, is, saith he, qui adjutor datur Centurioni a trib. militum; so called, Quia Centurionibus permissum est optare quem velint.

*According to *Vegetius*, lib. 2. c. 7. it was to supply his place in sickness. ἑταῖρος ὁ εἰς τὸ σῶμα σὺν ἑταίρῳ ἡλθεν ἢ μοναρχία, ἰταλιώτας μὲν πρόγων ἀνέπαυσι, καὶ τῶν ἑπλων ἐπὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς

Thus much of the Legionary Soldiers, among whom none were enrolled, but *Cives Romani*, ingenui, artis ludicra expertes. As touching the first Point, it is clear in Story, that many hundred Years together, all the *Delectus* were *Ex Plebe Romana*, alone; which in later Times seldom was mustered, in the Empire, scarce ever; nor almost any *Italian* born, but *Cives Romani* e *Provincia* *Herodianus*, lib. 2. p. 437. *Cæsar*, some-

time in the French War seemeth to have enrolled of the Transpadani into Legions, being then not Citizens of Rome. Concerning the second Point, they which were *Libertini generis*, though *Cives Romani*, were never enrolled, much less *Servi*, but once or twice in Extremities. For the third, according to *Dionysius*, lib. 2. not

• ὁ ἀνδρῶν
καὶ ἀναυ-
στοι καὶ προ-
σαγωγῶν
ἐπιθυμιῶν
ἀισχυρῶν
τέχνας. p.

73.

• Tubero apud Gellium, lib. 10. c. 28. ex *Servii Regis formula*, Plut.

Gracch.

• lib. 6. p. 180.

τὸς μὲν ἵπ-
ποῖς δέκα,
τὸς δὲ πε-
ζῶς ἑκατά-
δεκα δὲ
στρατίας
τελεῖν κατ'

ἀνάγ-

κινῶ τοῖς

τετραρά-

κοντα καὶ ἑξ-

ἑταῖροι ἀπο-

γεγεῆς.

For so that place of *Polybius* is to be rectified.

• Comitibus Centuriatis.

only the *Histrionica* were disabled to Legionary Service, but all ^a sedentary, mechanical and voluptuary Arts. Agriculture was only allowed of, as the only Nurse of fit Men for Service in War; not as in the Practice to *Sparta*, and Precepts of *Plato*, one Man to Till at home, and another Fight abroad, but one and the same Man, in Peace a good Husbandman, and in War a good Soldier: No Person, by the Opinion of many, being more dangerous in a State, than he which maketh Soldiery his Occupation and Trade. Furthermore, it was requisite, that the Legionary Soldier should be within the Years of Service, ἐν στρατεύσει μὴ ἡλικία, and assessed at least in the fifth Classis. The Military Age was ^a from seventeen to forty five, as *Dionysius* saith, or forty six, as ^b *Polybius*, and in dangerous Times to fifty: In which time the Footman might be compelled to serve sixteen or twenty Years, if need so required, the Horseman ten. In *Augustus* his time, *Dionysius*, lib. 54. pag. 366. appointeth twelve Years of Service for the Prætorian Soldier, and sixteen for the Legionary; and in the Book following, as having forgotten himself, sixteen to the Prætorian, and twenty to the other. In *Tiberius*'s time to the Soldiers in Germany, *Missio data* est, saith *Tacitus*, 1. Annal. p. 233, *vicena stipendia metitit: exauctorati, qui sena dena fecissent, ac retenti sub vexillo, ceterorum immunes nisi propulsi Hostis*: Which Words peradventure may reconcile, in some part, the repugnant Places of *Dionysius*. Now for the Classes, the manner of Mustering, which in *Romulus*'s time went nearly *Tributum*, every Tribe conferring his thousand, *Servius Tullius* reduced to a matter of Cense or Tax; according to which, not only the Muster was taken, but all Officers of Importance in the State ^c elected, Laws established, and Tributes imposed. The whole number of Citizens being digested into six Classes; in the first were all those, which in the Tax or Subsidy-

Book

Book were assessed at an ^d hundred thousand *Asses* and upward. The second from an hundred thousand downward to seventy five thousand. The third from seventy five thousand to fifty thousand. The fourth from fifty thousand to twenty five thousand. The fifth from twenty five thousand to twelve thousand and five hundred. And the sixth of all such as were under the last Rate. Now whereas the first *Classis* conferred eighteen Horse, and eighty Footmen; the second conferred twenty Footmen, and two Artificers beside, as Smiths, Carpenters, &c. The third *Classis* twenty Footmen. The fourth twenty, and two beside to sound the Trumpet and beat the Drum, &c. The fifth thirty. The sixth *Classis*, * *immunis Militia*, † *στρωτός κ' παύσις ἐσφογᾶς ἀπλῆς*. So that one Course, by this manner of Mustering, yielded a hundred ninety two Men to the War, whereof eighteen were Horsemen, four Artificers and Fifers, a hundred and seventy Footmen; and so about again, as the Case required a greater or less Army, in the same Proportion. *Dionysius*, lib. 4. p. 164 and 165. with whom *Livy*, lib. 1. agreeing in the rest, differeth only in the Tax of the fifth *Classis*, which by him is but eleven thousand *Asses*; and, furthermore, the Artificers *Livy* joineth to the first *Classis*, and the Fifers to the fifth, whereas *Dionysius* putteth them to the second and fourth. The reason why this last and poorest sort was excluded from Service, is well set down by *Julius Exuperantius*: *Populus Romanus*, saith he, *per Classes divisus erat, & pro patrimonii facultate censebatur. Ex iis omnes quibus res erat, ad militiam ducebantur. Diligenter enim pro victoria laborabant, qui præter libertatem, bona defendebant, illi autem quibus nulle opes erant, caput suum quod solum possidebant censebantur, & belli tempore in manibus residebant. Facile enim poterant existere proditores: quia cestas haud facile habetur sine damno.* This kind of Mustering *per Classes*, instituted by *Servius*, was in latter Times, as it may be gathered by the ^s Practice in the Roman Stories, and plain Words of ^h *Polybius*, altered in part, and reduced somewhat nearer to a matter of Tribe, as being a more popular Order, and more agreeable to the present Government; yet so, that to

^d 312. lib.
10. s. English.

* *Livy*. lib. 1. fol. 10. F.
† That is, Free from all Service in War, and all Payment of Tribute.
Dionys. lib. 4. p. 165. although the same *Dionysius*, in the same Page, allotteth it by oversight, one Soldier in 193. True it is, That the sixth *Classis* had one Voice in 193. in *comitiis centuriatis*; but it yielded no Man to the Muster at all.
* *Tribus ad Sacramentum Vocata.* *Livy*, *Tacit.* and others.
^h lib. 6. p. 189. *ἐπὶ δὲ μέλλουσι ποιεῖν τὴν καθ' ἑαυτὸν κληρῶσι τὰς φυλάς κατὰ μί-*

ἡ τε/εαχο-
σίας
ἡ παχμα's.

Legionary-service none could be mustered, but such as were assessed at ⁱ four thousand *Asses* at the least, saith *Polybius*, which is indeed somewhat less than the Tax of the fifth *Classis*, limited by *Dionysius* and *Livy*; whether it were that *Polybius* had forgotten the Sum, or that the Tax of the *Classis* was abated; for that both then and afterward, regard was had to the *Classes* in taking the Muster, it is clear by the Words of *Salust. in Jugurthino*: *Marius interea Milites scribere non more majorum, neque ex Classibus, sed uti cujuscunque lubido erat, capite censos plerosque*, such as for lack of Wealth were taxed only by Poll. After which time, the *Classes* were, as I take it, in little Consideration in the Muster of Legions, especially in the Civil Wars, and in the Empire utterly neglected, the Tax also being abolished.

Now the Legion and Legionaries being such as we have described, it remaineth yet to speak of the Auxiliary Soldiers: *Auxilia*, τὸ συμμαχικόν, τὸ ἐπικουρικόν, ξενικὸν δυνάμεις, ξενικὰ τεῖχην, who were Soldiers, which being not Citizens of *Rome*, served in the *Roman Camp*. The first Aids, to which purpose, those which the *Romans* used, were of the *Albans* in *Tullus Hostilius's* time. *Dionys. l. 3. p. 119*. And a little after, *Alba*, the Head and Mother-City of the *Latins*, being razed, they challenged, as Conquerors, that Superiority over the *Latin* Nation, which the *Albans* before had enjoyed. In the time of *Tarquinius Priscus*, the *Latins* served in the *Roman Army* as Aids ^k against the *Hetrusci*; and against the ^k *Sabins*, the *Hetrusci* and the *Latins*. In the free State, many hundred Years, the *Latins* only, and *Hernici* ministered *Auxilia gravium armorum*, for Archers and *Funditores*, and *levia Auxilia* of other Nations, they did ^l not refuse sometime to admit. After the third Punic War, they admitted also ^m *Auxilia ex Sociis Italicis a Populis Regibusque*. And after that time, we find sometimes ⁿ mention, but no great account made in the Free State of Auxiliaries; the reason, as I take it, was, That the City being communicated to the *Latin* and *Italian* Allies, in *Bello Marfico*, they served no longer in quality of *Auxilia*, being now invested with the Right of Legionary-service. *Augustus* and the Emperours fortifying the

^l *Dionys. p. 143. 147.*
^k *Hiero apud Livium, lib. 22. fol. 145. A.*

^m *Salust Jugurth.*

ⁿ As in *Tully's Epistles, Appian, &c.*
perchance rather ex *veteri formula*, and by an ordinary Phrase of Speech than otherwise,

jungebantur, ut in his praeliandi magis adminiculum esset, quam principale subsidium. Of *Auxilia* we find two principal kinds, External and Social: External sent from Kings and foreign States, of which, as depending in most points upon the voluntary Disposition of the Senate, I have nothing to say: Social were either annexed to some Legion, or severally assigned to the Guard of some Place or Country, where it seemed not necessary to maintain a Legionary Power. Concerning the *Auxilia Legionum*, in the Free State, before *Bellum Marsicum*; as often as the Romans armed, their Allies armed also *ex fœdere*, Footmen ordinarily as many, Horse double; ordinarily I say, because that Rate was not perpetually observed, as it appeareth by infinite places in *Livy*, *Appian*, and others, but more or less according to Circumstances. Under the Empire, *Illa ratio servata est*, saith *Vegetius*, *ne unquam amplior multitudo Sociorum, Auxiliarium esset in Castris, quam Civium Romanorum.* In the Free State, the Legionary *Auxilia* were governed, instead of *Tribuni*, by *Præfecti*, though different in Name, yet of like Authority, and, as it may seem, in *Polybius's* time equal in number. For p. 182. he assigneth twelve *Præfecti* to one Consul, to whom belonged two Legions, and therefore twelve *Tribunes*. Now the extraordinary Band being chosen out, at the Discretion of the *Præfecti*, of the best Men, and fittest for Service; of the Footmen about the fifth part, the third of their Horsemen; the rest of the *Auxilia* were divided into two Companies, the one called the Right Horn, and the other the Left: And this is all that *Polybius* hath written touching their Partitions and Officers. In *Livy*, the *Latins* making head against the *Romans*, have the very same Divisions and Officers with the *Roman* Legions; but whether at other times also, and as the Nature of Assistants they had them likewise, I cannot positively determine; it seems rather otherwise. The most known Division, both in the Free State, and under the Empire, of *Auxilia*, as well Local as Legionary, is in *Cohortes* of Footmen, and *Alas* of Horsemen. And so doth *Tacitus* often resolve the Word, 4. Hist. *Cohortium, Alarum, Legionum Hiberna. i. Auxiliorum & Legionum. 1. Hist.*

* Tacit. 1.
Hist. Oſſo
Batavorum
Cohortes. 14
Legionis
Auxilia.

* 2. Hist. p.
66. Ligu-
rum Cohors
vetus loci
Auxilium.

* Polyb. lib.
3. p. 101.
lib. 6. p. 182.
* Polyb. lib.
6. p. 185.
having spo-
ken before
of the Tri-
bunes, ad-
deth,

ο δὲ ἀντὶς
τῆς φέρτης
ἀρχῆς μὲν
καὶ πρῶτοι
ἐκ τῶν
συμμε-
χῶν.

* So that
the Extra-
ordinary
Band, ἐκ-
τραγορδὶ-
νείων καὶ
ἐπιλευτοί,
consisted of
840 Foot-
men, and
200 Horse.

* δεξὶν καὶ
ἀώνυμον
κῆρας.
* lib. 6. fol.
90, 91.
* p. 86.

1. ^b Hist. *Afciscitur Auxiliorum Miles primo suspectus tan-* ^b p. 41.
quam circumdatis cohortibus aliſq; impetus in Legiones
pararetur. The Auxiliary Cohorts are sometimes, to
distinguish them from the Legionary, called, ^c *Sociæ* ^c *Cæſar, Li-*
Cohortes, Leves Cohortes, and Alariæ Cohortes; ^c *vius, Tac-*
as the *Alæ* are also called *Alarii Equites*. Now of these
Cohorts and Wings, how many belonged to a Legion
uſually I cannot precisely define. *Vitellius*, at his Entry
into *Rome*, with eight battered Legions, had only ^d 4 2. Hist. p.
thirty four Cohorts. The *Auxilia* of the fourteenth ^{102.}
Legion, were ^e eight Cohorts; which if it were ordi- ^{1.} Hist. p.
nary, ſeeing the uſe of that Age beareth at leaſt ſix hun- ^{43.}
dred Footmen for a Cohort; the Auxiliary Footmen
belonging to a Legion, are four thouſand eight hundred:
And yet ^f *Agricola* had for three Legions, in his Army, ^f *Tacitus* p.
in *Britany*, no more but eight thouſand, the reſt peradven- ^{601.}
ture being diſperſed in Garrifons. ^g *Equitum Alæ*, ſaith ^g *Alæ diſtæ*
^h *Vegetius*, *ab eo dicuntur quod ad ſimilitudinem Alarum* ^h *exercitus e-*
protegent aciem. *Ala* contained, as I ſuppoſe, about ⁱ *quitum or-*
three hundred Horſemen. By *Tacitus*, 2. ⁱ Hist. it is ⁱ *dines quod*
plain, that *ex quatuor Equitum turmis, and univerſa* ⁱ *circum Le-*
Treverorum Alæ, ſome part being retained in *colonia Fe-* ⁱ *giones dex-*
rojuliensî præſidii cauſa, duodecim Turmæ adverſus Hoſtem ⁱ *tra ſiniſtra-*
iete: So that *Alæ* was more than eight *Turmæ*, that is, ⁱ *que tan-*
two hundred and forty Horſe. The *Alæ Equitum,* ⁱ *quam Alæ*
which followed *Scipio* into *Africk*, conſiſted of ^k three ⁱ *in avium*
hundred. And that *Alæ*, in theſe later Days, was a ^k *corporib. lo-*
Number of importance, it appeareth by the *Circum-* ^k *cabantur.*
ſtances of *Alæ Syllanæ*, touched by *Tacitus*, 1. ^l Hist. ^l *Cine apud*
Now to every Legion belonged two *Alæ* of *Auxilia-* ^m *Gell. lib. 16.*
ries at the leaſt. *Joſephus* ^m ſetteth down ſix *Alæ* as the ^m *cap. 4.*
Auxiliaries of three Legions. And ⁿ *Tacitus* writeth of ⁿ *Lib. 2. c. 1.*
ſixteen *Alæ* in *Illyricum*, where at that preſent were but ⁿ *p. 66.*
ſix or ſeven Legions. Contrarily, *Vitellius* to his eight ^o *Lib. 2. c. 1.*
broken Legions, had but twelve *Alæ*. *Agricola* in *Br-* ^o *p. 66.*
tain, to three Legions, had three thouſand Auxiliary ^o *Lib. 2. c. 1.*
Horſemen. Of theſe Cohorts of Auxiliary Footmen, ^o *p. 66.*
the Governours in later times alſo were called *Præ-* ^o *Lib. 2. c. 1.*
fecti; and the Wings of Horſemen, likewise in later ^o *p. 66.*
times, had their *Præfecti* ſeveral from the Foot, of ^o *Lib. 2. c. 1.*
which in *Polybius* we find no mention. In Wings the ^o *p. 66.*
Under-captains, as in the Legionary, were named *De-* ^o *Lib. 2. c. 1.*
curiones.

curiones. Of the Number I cannot affirm, only it seemeth probable, that the *Præfecti* then were according to the number of the Cohorts and Wings, and the *Decuriones* as in the Legion, three in a *Turma*, consisting of thirty Horsemen. To conclude this Point, although the Imperial *Auxilia* seem not to observe always one Stint, as by the Examples alledged, may be averred; yet taking two Wings and eight Cohorts for the *Auxilia* of a Legion, those things presupposed, which we have set down, the Legion Imperial with her *Auxilia* arriveth to twelve thousand Persons. Six thousand Legionary Footmen, and six hundred Horsemen; four thousand eight hundred Auxiliary Footmen, and six hundred Auxiliary Horse: Some twelve thousand. • *Vegetius*, out of other particulars, collecteth the same Total: *Una Legio*, saith he, *mixtis Auxillis, hoc est, decem P millia Peditum, & duo millia Equitum*. Whereof six thousand one hundred Footmen, and seven hundred twenty six Horse, according to his Principles, being Legionary, there remains three thousand nine hundred Foot, and twelve hundred seventy four Horse for the Auxiliary; or in round Numbers, four thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, approaching near to the ancient Proportion in *Polybius* of double the Legionary Horse. At the Enrolment, the Names were imposed to the Legions, *Prima*, *Secunda*, *Tertia*, as they were in 9 order of Mustering first, second, or third. Which Custom, as I suppose, continued in its first Institution so long as the *Romans* armed and disarmed every Year; but afterward retaining *sub signis*, some of their Legions with their old Names, and with perpetual Supply, as it were eternizing them many Ages, the rest decaying, or being dissolved, the Name was no longer a note of his Place, but rather became a proper Name simply. In the later Times, we read of three, *Tertia*, and two *Sextæ*, distinguished by Surnames, *Tertia Italica*, *Tertia Cyrenica*, *Tertia Augusta*: *Sexta Vicitrix*, and *Sexta Ferrata*. Of which Device of surnaming the Legions, we have no Example before *Cæsar's* Time, and after no end; a Novelty induced upon Ambition, or Country, or Accident, or for Distinction sake, or lastly, upon Pleasure and voluntarily. The Auxiliary Cohorts

• Lib. 3.
cap. 1.

• One
Horseman
to five Foot.

• *Dia. lib.*
48. p. 55.
περὶ τῆς
τῆς καὶ τῆς
λ. 67. ὅν τῶν
ξ v.

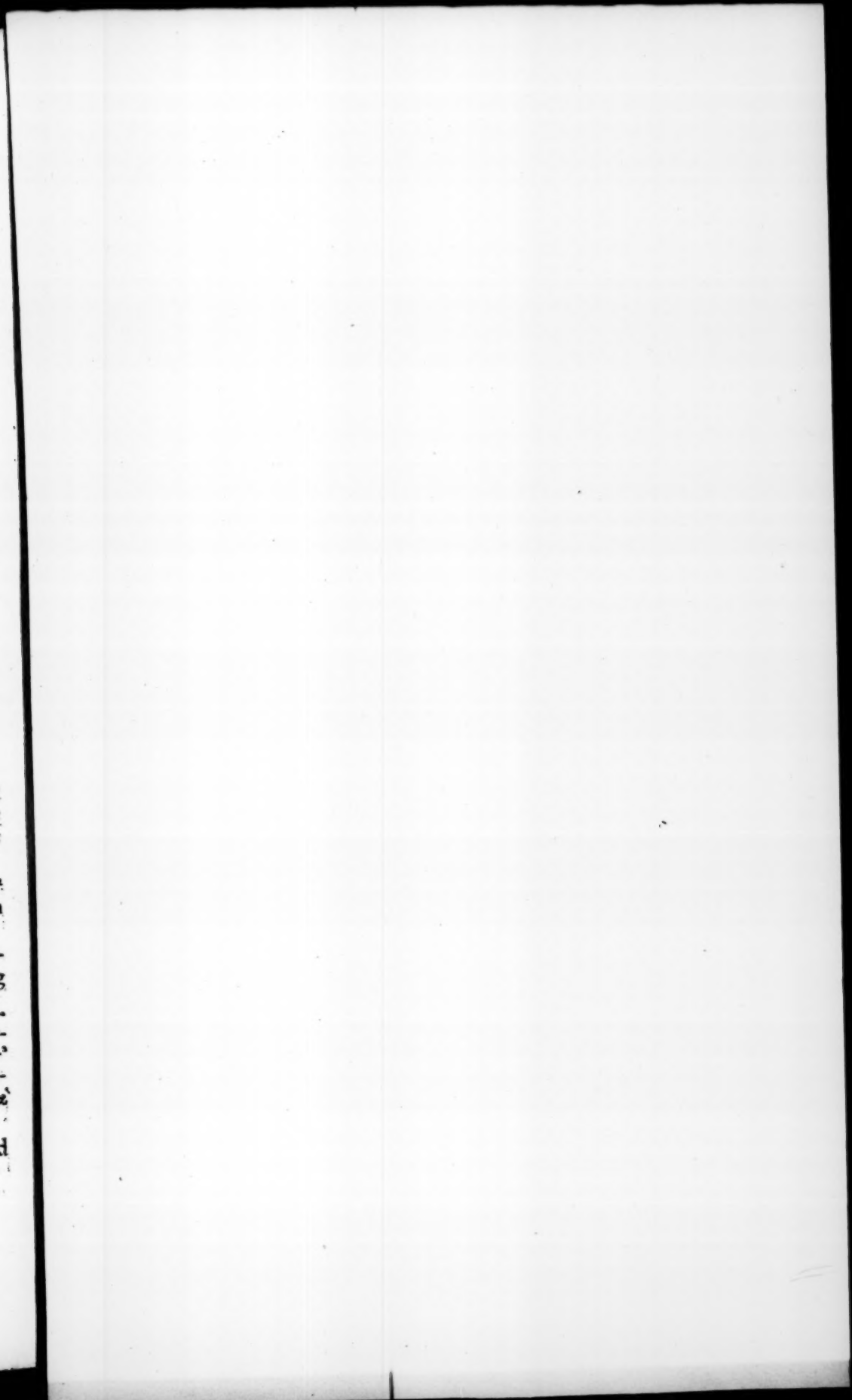
• *Of Augusti-*
us.
Dio. pag.
84.

Cohorts and Wings, especially Locals, had also their several Names, as, *Cohors Decimaseptima*, *Decimaceta* of Numbers; *Cohortes Tungrorum*, *Rhetorum*, *Ala Treverum*, *Caninefas* of Nations. *Ala Syllana*, *Scriboniana*, *Petrina* of Sylla, *Scribonius*, *Petra* their Governors, as it may seem at their first Enrolment: *Ala singularium*, of what Accident I know not.

After the Enrolment, followed the great Mystery of the Roman Estate, saith Herodian, *Sacramentum Militare*, the very Form and Essence of a Soldier, without which, first solemnly taken, or after the expiration of which, as upon the casting of the Legions, tho' qualified otherwise never so well, tho' present in the Camp, it was not lawful for to kill, or wound, or present himself in Fight against the Enemy. This Oath *Polybius* conceiveth thus, (1) Ἡ ΜΗΝ ΠΕΙΘΑΡΧΗ ΣΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ. *Dionysius* lib. 11. not much otherwise, (2) ὁ γὰρ ὄρκος ὁ στρατῶντος ἐν ἀπάντων μάλιστα ἐμπειροῦσι ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς στρατηγῶσι, ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ δεῖ τὰς ἐπιεικόμενες ὁποι ποτ' ἐν ἀγῶσι. *Liv.* lib. 22. fol. 145. *Milites tunc jure jurando a Tribunis militum adacti jussu consulum conventuros, neq; injussu abituros.* With these agreeth that of *Vegetius* lib. 2. cap. 5. *Jurant Milites se omnia strenue facturos que preceperit Imperator, nunquam deserturos Militiam, nec mortem recusaturos pro Romana Republica.* In the place of *Livy* before quoted, mention is also made of a voluntary "Conjuration, *Que potestea*, saith he, *ex voluntario inter Milites facere ad legitimam jurisjurandi adactione translata est.* The Form of it was: FUGÆ ATQUE FORMIDINIS ERGO NON ABITUROS SESE, NEQUE EX ORDINE RECESSUROS, NISI TELI SUMENDI AUT PETENDI, AUT HOSTIS FERIENDI AUT CIVIS SERVANDI CAUSA. Beside this Oath, I find another Oath tendered, which we may call the Oath of Allegiance and Sovereignty. Whether it was in Use before the Emperor's time, or not, I do not remember: It may be

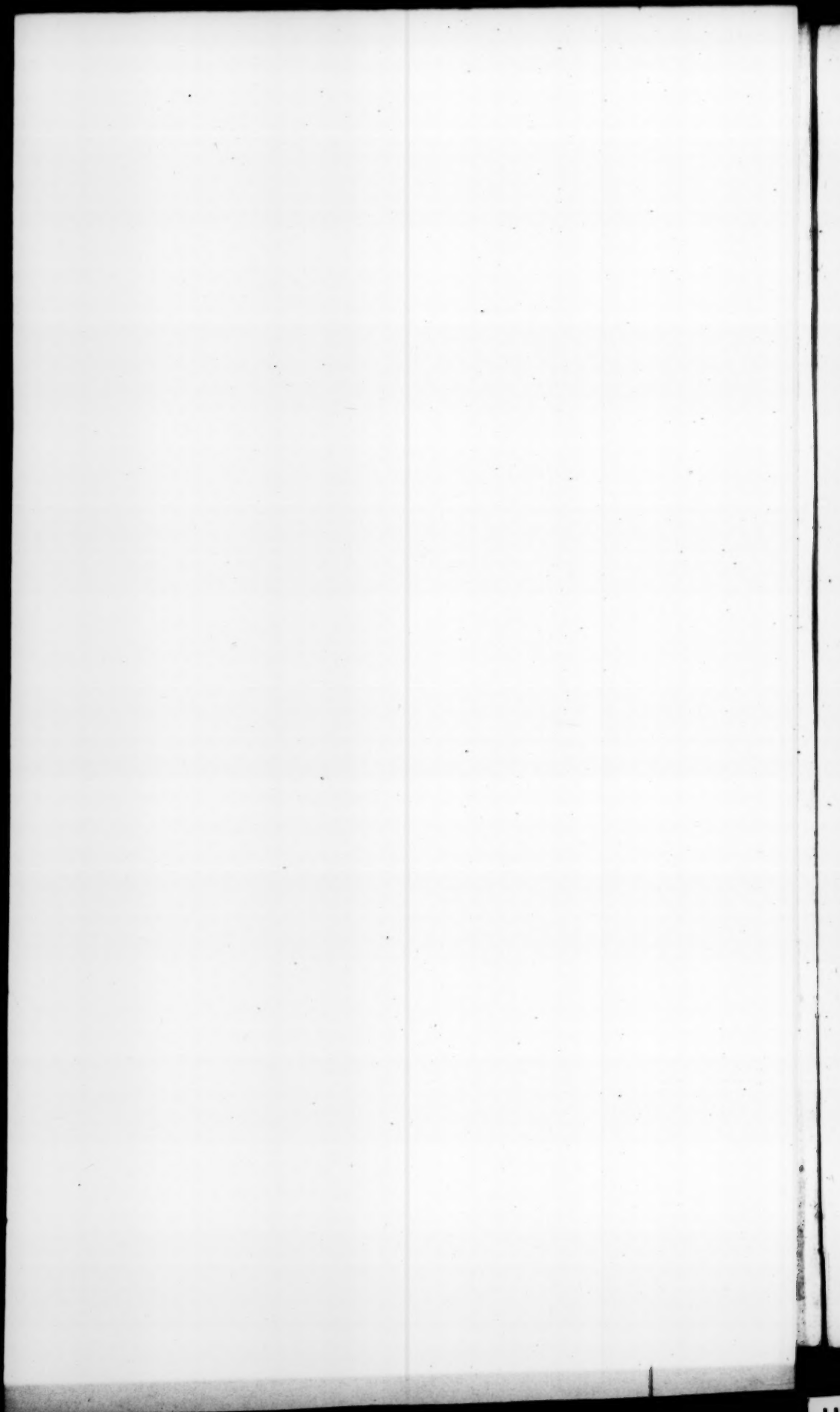
vius, in 8. *Aeneid.* quando singulos interrogare non vacat, sed qui simul jurant: ut cum est tumultus, i. Bellum Italicum vel Gallicum.

(3) That is, they swore then in *Senatus Populique Romani Nomen*, That they as afterward they did in *Principis*. *Arrianus* concei- should pre- veth the Form of it thus: (3) Ἡ ΜΗ'Ν ΠΡΟΤΙ- fer, before MΗ'Σ ΕἶΝ' Α'ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΟ'Υ ΚΑΙ'ΣΑ' all things, ΡΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΙ'ΑΝ. *Marcus Antonius*, in his Fune- the Safety of the ral Oration in *Appian*, pronounceth *verbatim*, and out of the Prince. (4) That is, of his Paper, the Oath they had sworn to *D. Julius*: That they (4) Ἡ ΜΗ'Ν ΦΥΛΑΞΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ'ΣΑΡΑ, ΚΑΙ' all with all ΤΟ' ΤΟ'Υ ΚΑΙ'ΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΩΜΑ, ΠΑΝΤΙ' their might ΣΘΕ'ΝΕΙ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ, Ἡ ἘΙΤΙ'Σ ΕΠΙΒΟ- would γΛΕ'ΥΣΕΙΕΝ, ἘΞΩΛΕΙΣ ἘΙΝΑΙ ΤΟ'ΥΣ guard the Person of ΑΜΥ'ΝΑΝΤΑΣ ΑΤΤΩ'Ι. *Suetonius* *Caio* cap. 15. Caesar, ac- addeth this formal Clause: *Neg; me liberosq; meos ca-* cusing all riores habebo quam *Caium* & *Sorores ejus*. The Mili- those that tary Oath, the Soldiers only, as well Auxiliary as Le- should not gionary, received straight after their first Enrolment, defend him, if any At- εἰς ἐλευθερίαν τῆς καὶ λαγαρήν, saith *Polybius*. The Oath tempt should hap- of Sovereignty, the Soldier, the Magistrate, Senate and pen to be made a- People of *Rome*, and of the Provinces, *Mutatis mutan-* gainst him. *dis*, with some little diversity, * according to the Qua- * *Plin.* lib. lity of the Persons, received at the Creation of a new 10. ep. 60. Prince whensoever it hapned; and upon the Anniver- *ad Traja.* sary thereof, Flattery encresing, and every Year like- *Quo die sus-* wise renewed the same, the first Day of *January*; at *cepisti im-* what time, the Magistrates and Senators also particu- *perium pre-* larly swore ¹ in *Acta* of the present Prince, and ² of his *imus, &* Predecessors, those only excepted, *quorum damnata erat commilito-* *memoria*, as in *Caio's* time, and afterward they were *nibus iustu-* not sworn in *Acta Tiberii*, nor in *Claudius*, in *Acta* *præstanti-* *Caii*. *bus, provin-* *cialibus,* *&c.* The Roman manner of Encamping, according to * *Polybius*, and other ancient Writers, is represented in the Figure following: ¹ *Dio.* lib. PRÆTORIUM,] A square Plot, every side con- 53. p. 349. taining two hundred Foot, for the General's Lodging ² *Tac. Ann.* *Dio.* lib. 47. p. 225. The *Triumviri*, saith he, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοὶ τ' ὁμο- σταν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὥρῳσαν βέβαια νομῶν πάντα τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνῃ (*Julio Cæ-* *sare*) γινόμενα. καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἴσχυσιν, ἢ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ποτε γινόμενοις, καὶ μὴ ἀτιμωθεῖσιν γίγνεται. lib. 57. there is menti- on of an Oath, not only in *Acta* of the present Prince, but in *agenda*, τὰ περὶ χθροόμενα. * lib. 6. p. 183, 184.



**THIS CHART WILL BE
APPEARING AT THE**

ILL BE THE FIRST CHART
THE END OF THIS FILM



and his Train ; the Ground so chosen, as might be fittest both for Prospect and ^b Direction.

d. d. A Street of fifty Foot broad, leading from the midst of the *Prætorium* to the Gate H. at the top of the Page.

c. c. c. c. A Street directly opposite to the former, and of the same breadth, leading from the *Prætorium* to the Gate K at the bottom of the Page. On the Right-hand of which Street, was lodged one Legion with her *Auxilia*, and another on the left : Now from the *Prætorium* toward K, measuring out an hundred and fifty Foot, employed to Uses hereafter specified, we are there to begin the Lodgings of the common Soldiers.

Decem Turmæ Equitum,] A row of Lodgings for the Horsemen of the first Legion, divided into ten Partitions, according to the number of *Turmæ* in Polybius's Legion, which consisted, as before is declared, of three hundred Horse, and four thousand two hundred Foot. The first *Turma* being quartered in the Lodging nearest to the *Prætorium*, and the rest in order toward the Gate K. These Lodgings lie in ^c length, and open upon the Street c. c. c. c. each side being an hundred Foot ; so that to one Horseman they allowed a standing equal to a Square, somewhat more than eighteen Foot every way.

Decem Ordines Triariorum,] Ten Lodgings for the ten *Ordines*, or *Manipuli Triariorum primæ Legionis*, with their ^d Centurions and under Officers, joyning back to back with the Lodgings of the *Equites*, and opening into the Street c. c. c. c. of fifty Foot broad : *Primus Pilus* being quarter'd next to the *Prætorium*, and so in consequence towards the Gate K, where all the *Decimi Ordines* do lodge. Every one of these Lodgings, in length an hundred Foot, in breadth fifty, lodgeth sixty *Triarii*, and a ^e ratable part of the *Velites*, which, considering the Proportion that one of the *Ordines Triariorum*, beareth to one of the *Ordines Principum* and *Hastatorum* ; and the number of *Velites* in Polybius's Legion, falleth out to be twenty four Persons ; according to which Reckoning, to one Footman they

αβαύρουσι.

* τῶν γροσφομάχων τῆς ἐπιβάλλουσας.

allow-

^b παρὰ γ-

ῥαλίαν.

Polybius, as

by setting

out a Flag

or suchlike,

for those

mute Signs

I think he

principally

meaneth.

^c The

length of

the Camp I

call, accord-

ing to Po-

lybius, from

the top of

the Page to

the bottom,

and from

the left

Hand to the

right the

breadth :

albeit, the

latter he

calleth as

often βα-

θος, as

πλάτος.

^d The Cen-

turions, ac-

cording to

Polybius,

Quartering

in the two

corners to-

ward the

Street:

καθ' ἐκασ-

την δὲ σπ-

μαρίαν

τὰς πρῶ-

τας αὐτῆς

κατέρετ

τῶν μέ-

γὰς οἱ τα-

ξιδάρχοι

allowed a standing equal to a Square, somewhat more than eight Foot every way.

On the other side of the Street *c. c. c. c.* the Lodgings of the *Decem Ordines Principum prime Legionis*, and at their backs, the Lodging of the *Decem Ordines Hastatorum*, opening the one into the Street *c. c. c. c.* the other into the Street *f. f. f. f.* being also fifty Foot broad; each of these twenty Lodgings is square, every side containing an hundred Foot, and lodgeth an hundred and twenty *sui Ordinis*, and forty eight *Velites* beside, proportionably, as in *Tabernaculis Triariorum*, we had for half as many Men, half so much Ground.

Mathematically 133 $\frac{1}{3}$, but Polybius useth not to mince it so nicely, neither were the Romans so great Masters in that kind of Learning, if we may believe their own Poet: *Excitant alii spirantia mollius ara, &c.* (1) That is, In framing their Camp, the Lodgings of the Auxiliary Horse they make equal to the Legionary in length, increasing the breadth proportionably to the number. (2) To increase the breadth proportionably.

On the other side of the Street *f. f. f. f.* are the Lodgings of the *Auxiliares Equites in dextro cornu*, and at their backs, the Lodgings of the *Auxiliares Pedites in dextro cornu*, the Horse opening into the Street *f. f. f. f.* the Foot into the void place between the Lodgings and the Trenches, of which we shall have occasion to speak anon. Now the *Equites Auxiliares* of a Legion (the extraordinary Band being deducted) amounting, according to Polybius, to four hundred Horse, and allowing to three hundred Legionary Horse, ten Lodgings of a hundred Foot every way, we are to allow to these, following the same proportion, ten Lodgings, each a hundred Foot in length, (for that way may not increase them) and a hundred and fifty in breadth, to make the one as conveniently lodged as the other; and so Polybius expressly signifieth in these Words: (1) *Αὐτὰς καὶ τὰ βάρους αὐξόντες τέτοις πρὸς λόγον, ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τοῖς σχήμασι περιβαλεῖν κατὰ τὸ μήκος ἕξτερον τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδοις.* Likewise the Footmen, after the Deduction of the extraordinary Band, being three thousand three hundred and sixty, that is, three hundred thirty six Persons for every Lodging; seeing as the Lodgings in length are but a hundred Foot, we must make them in breadth two hundred, twice as broad as the Lodgings of the *Principes* or *Hastati*, seeing they contain twice as many Men: For so Polybius warranteth us here also: (2) *αὐξεν τὸ βάρους πρὸς λόγον.*

Upon the Left-hand of the Street *c. c. c. c.* are the Lodgings of the second Legion, with her *Auxilia*, in the

the same Proportion and Order in all points with the first: And so have we the breadth of the Camp, from the utmost Auxiliary-footmen of the one Legion to the like of the other, a thousand six hundred and fifty Foot, or three hundred and thirty Paces, accounting five Foot for a Pace.

VIA QUINTANA,] Is a Street fifty Foot broad, passing from side to side, thorough the whole breadth of the Lodgings, so named, a *Quintis Ordinibus*, which quarter all upon it. In this Street, as being in the middle of the Soldiers Quarter, and therefore fittest for such a purpose, was holden a Market, *Forum rerum utensilium*, saith *Festus*.

Now of the hundred fifty Foot, which as we noted were between the Soldiers Quarter and the *Prætorium*, a hundred Foot was the breadth of the *Via Principalis*, of which Street, saith *Polybius*, special care was had, that it should be sweet and handsome, because it was the usual place of resort for the Soldiers in the Day-time. In the other, fifty Foot toward the *Prætorium*, was a row of Lodgings opening upon *Via Principalis*, each Lodging bearing every way fifty Foot, for the twelve *Tribuni*, and twelve *Præfetti Sociorum*, their Train, Horses, and Carriage. *a. a. a. a. a. a.* are the Lodgings of the six Tribunes of the first Legion, the first Lodging answering directly to the Legionary Horsemens Quarter, and the last to the Street *f. f. f. f.* with Passages between of thirty Foot. *b. b. b. b. b. b.* are the Lodgings of the *Præfetti*, (whom as it seems *Polybius* had forgotten to lodge) answering precisely to the breadth of the Auxiliary-quarter, with a void Space of fifty Foot between the third and fourth Tent, and so on the other side for those of the other Legion, a void Space of fifty Foot being left at *e*, to answer the Street *c. c.*

g. g. g. g. A cross Street before the *Prætorium* being a hundred Foot broad, where, I suppose, was settled the Watch mention'd by *Polybius*, p. 185. (1) *μία* *πύλη* *ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀναμύστος τῷ στρατῷ παρακοίται, ἥτις ἀμὰ μὲν ἀσφαλτοῦ παρὰ πύλιν τῷ στρατῷ πύρεος τῆς ἐπιστάτης, ἀμὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῷ πύλιν τῆς ἀρχῆς.* (1) *μία* *πύλη* *ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀναμύστος τῷ στρατῷ παρακοίται, ἥτις ἀμὰ μὲν ἀσφαλτοῦ παρὰ πύλιν τῷ στρατῷ πύρεος τῆς ἐπιστάτης, ἀμὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῷ πύλιν τῆς ἀρχῆς.*

(1) That is, Every Day one Ensign by course keepeth Watch and Ward at the General's Pavilion, both for the safety of his Person, and majesty of his Place.

Ex-

Extraordinarii Equites, and Extraordinarii Pedites,]

A Plot of a hundred and fifty Foot in length (for so it will fall out if we make the whole Ground for the Lodgings, as we must, perfectly square) and four hundred and fifty in breadth, answering the *Quæstorium*, and part of the *Prætorium* for the extraordinary Band of the *Auxilia prime Legionis*, consisting of two hundred Horse, and eight hundred forty Foot (some^h selected out of them only excepted, which are lodged elsewhere) the Footmen quartering toward the Trenches, and the Horse toward the Camp: And so of the other side for the other Legion.

^a τὸ μὲν
σύμπαν
σχῆμα γι-
νέται τῆς
στρατοπέ-
δειας τε-
τραγώνου
ὑποπλά-
σθον.
^b ἀπὸ λεκ-
τοῦ ἐκ τῶν
ἐκβαρῶν δὲ
βασιλῶν.

Auxilia externa,] A Plot of the same length, and in breadth three hundred and fifty Foot for the foreign Aids, such as by occasion come in.

Selecti ac voluntarii Equites, and Selecti ac voluntarii Pedites,] A Plot of two hundred Foot in length, and three hundred and fifty in breadth, where the Selected out of the extraordinary Band of the *Auxilia prime Legionis* are placed, the Foot quartering toward the Trenches, and the Horse toward the *Prætorium*; and so of the other side for the other Legion, reserving in both, place for voluntary Men, which upon Kindred or Friendship, or other respects follow the General. These *Selecti* and *Voluntarii* do not only, saith *Polybius*, quarter near the General, but also in Marching, and at all other times of any Service, are continually attendant upon the General and the *Quæstor*, in the nature, peradventure, of a *Cohors Prætoria*.

QUÆSTORIUM,] A Plot of two hundred Foot in length, and three hundred seventy five in breadth, for the *Quæstor* and his Train, with their Treasure and Provision, for the Pioneers, Carpenters, Smiths, Armourers, &c. with their Tools and Officers. There was also the *Auguraculum*, οἰωνιστήριον, and peradventure the publick Prison.

FORUM,] A Plot equal in both Dimensions to the *Quæstorium*: Here was the place of publick Assemblies, and the Tribunal with theⁱ Seat of Estate: Here also in likelihood were those (2) δῆλος whereof^k *Josephus* maketh mention, on which the Tribunes and Centurions^l sat in Judgment to decide the Controversies happening

ⁱ Sedes cu-
ralis.
(2) Seats.
^k 3. ὧν, cap. 6.

pening between the Soldiers. In the Forum also the Eagles and Ensigns of the Legions with their Bearers ^{Coliq; per Theatra & fora Effigies} *Aquiliferi* and *Signiferi*, certain Images of the Gods, *Sejani*, in later times of the Prince and his Children, and sometimes of his great Favourites also, were quartered. ^{terq; principia Legionum sineret.} *Tacitus*, 15^k *Ann.* describing a solemn Assembly in that Place, *Inde*, saith he, *Eques, hinc agmina Legionum stetero fulgentibus aquilis signisq; & simulacris Deum, in modum Templi. Medio Tribunal sedem curulem, & sedes effigiem Neronis sustinebat.* The Eagles, except peradventure in time of Assembly, stood in little Chappels. *Dio.* (3) ἐστὶ δὲ νεὼς μικρὰς, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ αἰῶδες χρυσοῦς ἐνιδρύσαι: καθίσταται δὲ ἐν ταῖς τοῖς στρατοπέδοις. ^{Quaedam munera Syriacis Legionibus latigatus est quod sola nullam Sejanum inter signa coluist. Suet. Tiberio.} The Ensigns were placed *sub Dio*, as indeed, being certain long Spears covered with Silver, with the Prince's Image hanging upon them under the Empire; they could hardly be planted under a Tent; and yet *Herodian* seemeth to place them all in one Chappel; (4) (3) That is, ἐπισκευὴς τοῦ νεῶν, ἔνθα τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα προσκυνεῖται. προσκυνεῖται saith he, for as well the *Aquila* and *Signa*, as the *Simulacra Deum*, and *Imagines Principum* were by the Roman Soldiers adored as Gods, and therefore the place of their standing accounted sacred: For by *Principia* so often remembred in *Tacitus* and others, I take the *Forum* to be principally meant, although in some places of the *Stories*, *Principia* may seem particularly to be intended of that Row of Lodgings where the *Tribuni* and *Praefecti* are quartered, specially in that place of *Tacitus* 1^m *Ann.* *Prima Vari castra lato ambitu, & dimensis Principiis trium Legionum manus ostentabant*; and in some other places of the same *Tacitus* this word *Principia* seems to be taken *pro ipsa Aquila signisque*. ^{cap. 48. Pag. 322.}

[N. N. N. N. &c.] A void Room of two hundred Foot ^{lib. 4. p. 82.} broad, round about between the Lodgings and the Trench: The Use of this void Room is for the com- ^{4. p. 82.} modious entring and issuing of the Legions, for the safe ^{(4) That is, He fate} *prodi- tioni electa, ut ceteris ignaris soli desertores in coirent.* Ibidem. *Secreta castrorum affectans in Principia vocat.* Paulo post. *sed ubi totis castris in fama proditiorecurrunt in principia miles.* ^{1 Hist. 10} *Principia*, ἀρχαῖα, αἱ τῶν ἡγεμόνων σκηναὶ, the Leaders Lodgings. ^{ausa. 3 Hist.} *2 Hist.* *Primani stratis una & vicef- manorum principis Aquilam abstulere.* *4 Ann.* *Effigies Sejanum inter principia Legionum.* ^{Nox prodi-}

custody of the Cattel in the Night-season, which are provided for the Use of the Camp, or otherwise catched from the Enemy. But the principal Commodity is, that the Enemy upon sudden Approaches by Night to the Trenches, cannot throw any Fire-work, or Dart to do any great hurt at so great a distance.

P. Q. R. S.] *Agger* or *Vallum*, *χαράξ* ἢ *χαράκωμα*, the Trench which compassed the whole Camp. *Agger* signifying generally, *Cujuslibet rei coacervationem*, as^o one of the Grammarians saith, is here appropriated to that Mound of Earth, which is raised for Defence about the Camp; in which certain Stakes, called *Valli*, were pitched with two, three, or four-forked Heads, to close and wreath one within another, and were for that purpose prepared and carried by the Soldiers, each Man carrying three or four, and sometime, *Usq; ad septenos Vallos*, saith *Livy*. Of these *Valli*, the whole Fortification of the Camp is called *Vallum*. In the *Vallum*, in convenient Distances, were raised and cast out certain Plat-forms like Turrets, and on the *α* Curtain, between the Turrets, were placed *Baliste*, (1) *ὀξυβελεῖς*, *καταπέλται*, *λιθοβόλα*, καὶ πᾶν ἀρετήριον ὄργανον ἀπαντα πρὸς τὰς βολὰς ἑτοιμα, such Artillery as that Age did afford. And about the *Vallum* they cast a Ditch of six Foot deep, and as much in breadth.

In the *Vallum* of the Camp were four Gates: *Livius* lib. 40. fol. 339. B. *Æmilius ad quatuor portas exercitum instruxit, ut signo dato simul ex omnibus partibus eruptionem facerent*. And *Joseph* 3. *ἄλωσ*. (2) *πύλαι*, *ἀνενοικοδομηταὶ καθ' ἑκάστων τῶν περιβόλων κλίμα*. So that the sides of the Camp being four, the Gates must also be four.

(2) That is, In every side of the Camp a Gate is built.

H. *Porta Prætoria*, so called *a Prætorio* which standeth near it; the Fore-gate of the Camp, and in times of Danger, next to the Enemy.

K. *Porta Decumana*, so called, *a decimis Ordinibus ibi tendentibus* (as appears by the former Description) the Back-gate of the Camp, and in times of Danger furthest from the Enemy. Otherwise, in places of Safety, as appears by *Polybius*, opportunity of Water and Forrage was rather respected in the placing of that Gate, because all the common Soldiers in a manner were quartered upon that side.

M.

M. The third Gate of the Camp, called *Sinistra Principalis*; and L. the fourth, called *Dextra Principalis*, so denominated, because they open into *Via Principalis*. *Livy*, in the place above alledged, nameth them thus: 1. *Extraordinaria*, 2. *Dextra Principalis*, 3. *Sinistra Principalis*, & 4. *Questoria*, whereof *Extraordinaria*, is without all question, the same with *Prætoria*, so named of the extraordinary Band who quarter there; so that *Questoria*, in that place, must be all one with *Decumana*, belike, because in his Conceit, the *Questorium* was not far from *Decumana*. And so it may seem he conceived of it by another place, *Lib. 10. fol. 119. F. Ab tergo Castrorum Decumana Porta impetus factus; itaque captum Questorium.* But that placing of *Questorium* cannot agree with *Polybius's* Description, whom, in this case, we are rather to believe. Now that *Prætoria* was nearest to the Enemy, and *Decumana* furthest off, it is evident by *Cæsar*, *lib. 3. de Bell. Civ. Pompeius* (saith he) *acie excessit, protinusq; se in Castra Equo contulit, & iis Centurionibus quos in statione ad Prætoriam Portam posuerat, clare, tutamini, inquit, Castra;* and immediately after, *Pompeius cum intra Vallum nostri versarentur, Equum nactus Decumana Porta se ex Castris eiecit.* That *Prætoria* was the Fore-gate, and *Decumana* the Back-gate, it appears by the place of *Livy* above alledged, *lib. 10. Ab tergo Castrorum Decumana Porta impetus factus;* and yet *Polybius* calleth the side where K standeth perpetually, (3) τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον πλερὰ τοῦ χάρακος, and (3) The fore-side of the Camp. that other wherein H standeth, (4) τὴν ὀπίσθεν πλευρὰν τῆς στρατοπέδευας, as I think, only by way of Supposition, and *docendi Causa*, because, in his Description of the Lodgings, he beginneth at the *Prætorium*, the back-side of the Camp, and proceedeth on forward toward *Porta Decumana*.

Thus have we a Description for two of *Polybius's* ordinary Legions, with their *Auxilia*, which was the ordinary Army of one Consul: A Camp perfectly square, not as the *Grecians* (although, according to *Frontinus*, the *Romans* took this whole Learning from *Pyrrius* a *Grecian*) who framed their Camp according to the Ground, whereas the *Romans* framed the Ground to their Camp, and distinguished it with Streets and Passages,

sages in so good an Order, that a Man might as readily find his place there, as his own House in the Town where he was born. The whole Perimeter, within the Trenches, amounted to eight thousand two hundred Foot, or one thousand six hundred fifty Paces; every side, according to the Positions already laid, containing two thousand fifty Foot. Now when the Legions were much fuller than ordinary, in lodging both Horse and Foot, the Partitions were made proportionably bigger, as well in length as in breadth, and so the square Figure still retained. But if the *Auxilia* do exceed, first they contrive the *Questorium* and *Forum* into one, and lodge them in the other; or if that do not suffice, they make more Rows of Lodgings upon the right and left Hand of the Auxiliary-quarter, enlarging the Figure in breadth by that means, and retaining the former length. And likewise, if more than two Legions under one General were to be encamped together, the Figure was, I suppose, a long Square, enlarged only in breadth, with more Rows of Lodgings on both sides the Street, c. c. c. c. For *Tacitus*, in a place above alledg'd, signifieth, that by measuring the *Principia* we might find out the number of the Legions, which presupposing, the Enlargement in length could not by that means be so well discerned. But when four Legions, under two Consuls, were to be joyned in one Camp, if it pleased the Generals to keep their Standings apart, it was likewise a long Square, but doubled in length, in all other respects agreeing with this Description; and the Camp so doubled contained twice as much Ground, Perimeter half as much more with six Gates, two *Decumane*, two *Sinistræ Principales*, and two *Dextræ*, without any *Prætoria* at all. But when it pleased them to pitch together, they placed the *Forum*, *Questorium* and *Prætorium* in the middle, between the two Armies; the *Extraordinarii* and *Auxilia Externa* quartering, as it may seem, in this case, between the Tribunes and Soldiers Lodgings in the same quantity of Ground as before, and with convenient Streets on both sides.

The General Officer over the Camp, was called *Præfectus Castrorum*; y to whose Charge appertained

* Polyb. τὸ
κατὰ λὸ-
γον καὶ πρὸς
μῆκει καὶ
πρὸς βάθει
τῶν σκη-
νῶν προσ-
θείασι.

* ἰτερόμνη-
κεν.

* Polyb. p.
184. ὅταν
δὲ συμ-
βαίνει τὰς
ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀμφοτέρων
χωρὶς ἐπα-
τασθῶ. for
so it must
be read, not
ὁμῶς ἐπα-
τασθῶ. and in
the next
line, for
χωρὶς we
are contra-
rily to read
ὁμῶς.
* Veget. l. 2.
c. 10.

to stake out the Camp, and see it kept sweet, to appoint and order the Trenches and Ditch, to quarter the Soldiers with their Carriage in their Lodging, to provide Diet and Physick for the Sick, and pay the Physician, &c. ² Particularly over the Smiths, Carpenters and other Artificers, with the Engineers, and such like; the Officer was called *Præfectus fabrum*. Both of them, as I think, lodged in *Questorio*, where it is likely the *Legati Legionum* also were quartered, and in the Free State the *Legati consulares*.

² As soon as ever the Tents were pitch'd, and Camp settled, all that followed the Camp, both Bond and Free, took an Oath called, *Sacramentum Castrense*, which according to *Polybius* was, (1) ΜΗΔΕΝ' ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗΣ ΚΛΕΨΕΙΝ, ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΝΕΤΡΗΤΙΣ ΤΟΤΤ' ΑΝΟΪΣΕΙΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΤΣ ΧΙΛΙΑΡΧΟΥΣ. And in another place he toucheth upon a matter of greater importance, concerning the just Representation of the Spoil in the Sacking of Cities, a Point most profitably induced, whether the Spoil were to be reserved to Publick Uses, or else divided among the Soldiers, whereof the worst Sort are commonly most nimble that way. But chiefly it staid the Minds of those, who by the General's Command, remained in Arms in the Market-place against all sudden Mischances of War, being assured thereby of equal Part, with the rest, in the Prey which should be taken by others: A. ^b Gellius setteth the very Form of the Oath, down in more particular Terms, out of *Cincius de re Militari*: *In exercitu decemq; millia passuum prope furtum non facies dolo malo solus, neq; cum pluribus pluris nummi argentei in Dies singulos. Extraq; hastam, hastile, ligna, pabulum, utrem, follem, faculam, si quid ibi inveneris quod pluris nummi argentei erit, uti tu ad Coss. sive ad quem eorum alter jussit perferas, aut proficere in triduo proximo quicquid inveneris sustulerisve dolo malo, aut Domino suo cuius id censebis esse reddes, uti quod recte factum esse voles.*

In Service the Legionary-foldier had Allowance of Pay, Corn and Apparel; and at the end of his Service, a Consideration in Money, or Land of Inheritance, and sometimes both. For the Pay *Livy* writeth thus: 55.

Anno

² *Veget.* l. 2. c. 11.

^a Μετα τὴν στρατοπέδειαν
Polyb. lib. 6. c. lib. 10. ὅταν ἀθροίζωσι πρὸς τὸν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν ἀξίαν
⁽¹⁾ That is, That he should steal nothing out of the Camp, but if any happened to find ought, he should carry it to the Tribunes, lib. 6. p. 184. ^b *Lib.* 16. c. 4.

⁽¹⁾ That is, That he should steal nothing out of the Camp, but if any happened to find ought, he should carry it to the Tribunes, lib. 6. p. 184. ^b *Lib.* 16. c. 4.

c. 4.

c. 4.

c. 4.

c. 4.

c. 4.

c. 4.

c. 4.

c. 4.

c. 4.

c. 4.

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c. 4.

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c. 4.

c. 4.

c. 4.

c. 4.

c. 4.

c. 4.

c. 4.

c. 4.

Anno Urbis Condite, 349, decrevit Senatus ut stipendium^d Miles de publico acciperet, cum ante id tempus de suo quisq; functus eo munere esset. The Quantity Polybius limiteth in the Sixth Book, at least as it was in his time, assigning to a Footman the third part of a^e Drachma, or two Oboli by the Day, which Polybius in another place resolveth into four Asses; to a Centurion twice so much, to a Horseman a Drachma, or Roman Denarius, then current for twelve Asses. This Pay continued, as I suppose, in this form till Cæsar's time, Qui Legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicavit. Suetonius Julio, Cap. 26. So that the Footman had by the Day eight Asses, the Centurion sixteen, the Horse twenty four. Augustus increased the Footman's Pay to ten Asses a Day, and as it seemeth shortly after, it rose to a full Denarius. Beside Wages, the Soldiers received in latter Times, Vestem de Publico, as it were some Livery-garment, not all his Apparel, as I suppose. Plutarchus Gracchis, among the Laws which were established by C. Gracchus, one was, saith he, (1) *στρωτικὸς, ἐσθῆτα κελύων δημοσία χορηγεῖσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τῆτο τῆς μισθοφορᾶς ὑφαιρῆσθαι*. For before, as it appeareth by Polybius, they received Apparel, and other Necessaries of the Quæstor, but the Price was set up in their Wages. Vegetius, lib. 2. cap. 19. *Imperatoris miles, qui veste & annona publica pascitur*. Thirdly, they received Frumentum. Vegetius in the place above alledged, *Imperatoris miles qui annona publica pascitur*. And in the Free State: *Salust. Jugurth. Miles Frumentum publice datum vendere, Panes in diem mercari*. In Polybius's time the Price was deducted out of their Wages, and so it continued long afterward; for Nero was the first, which unto the Prætorians, (who were in all Preferments the foremost) *De-dit sine pretio Frumentum*, which before they had at some under Price. Tacit. 15 *Annal.* p. 542. The Measure was to a Footman for a Month, two thirds of an Athenian Medimnus of Wheat; to a Horseman two Medimni of Wheat, and seven of Oats or Barly; as having, as it may be supposed, a Spare-horse, and an Attendant or two allowed. Polyb. lib. 6. p. 187. *Donat.* upon Terence limiteth *Dimensura servi* to be four *Modii*.

(1) That is, Military, commanding a Garment to be given the Soldier by the Officer, without any deduction of Wages thereunto.

^a The Footman alone, for three Years after, Equiti

^b primumeris est assignatus.

Livius.

^c Drachma is the eighth part of an Ounce, about 7^d English.

^d Tacit. 1

Ann. p. 225.

lin. 5, 11. p.

228. lin. 25.

Modii the Month, precisely agreeing with the Rate of *Polybius's* Footman in this place : For a *Medimnus* containeth justly six *Modii*, according to *Tully's* *Frumentaria in Verrem* ; *Suidas*, and others. Notwithstanding the *Dimensum servi* grew afterward, as it may appear by the words of *Marcus* in *Salust*, and by *Seneca*, to five *Modii* a Month. *Herodotus* *Polymnia* victualerh *Xerxes's* People at a *Chenix* (that is, the forty eighth part of a *Medimnus*) a Day, and that was indeed, (2) ἡμερησιος τροφῆ among the *Grecians*, somewhat less than *Polybius's* rate, who alloweth thirty two *Chenices* the Month. For the Quantity of *Medimnus* and *Modius*. thus we gather it: *Quadrantal* is the Measure of a Cubical *Roman Foot*. *Festus*, and others. Now *Quadrantal* containeth *tres Modios*, according to *Volusius Martianus*, which is half a *Medimnus*. So that a Measure of a square *Roman Foot* in the bottom, and the third part of a Foot high, in the *Roman Modius* ; and of two Foot high, with the same bottom, an *Attical Medimnus*. Of our vulgar Measures, *Medimnus* being less than a Bushel and a half, and *Modius*, which our common Learning construeth for a Bushel, about a Pint less than a Peck. For considering at the end of their Service, the old Soldier had oftentimes an Assignment in Land of Inheritance, as after the second *Punic* War, the Senate awarded to them which had served in *Africk*, *Quod agri Samnitis & Appuli publicum Populi Romani esset*, and at other times upon like Occasions. *Sylla* to the *Legions* which had served under him in the Civil Wars, (3) ἐπένειμα πολλὴν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῆς ἰταλίας γῆν, τὴν μὲν ἐτι εἶσαν ἀνέμητον, τὴν ἤ τὰ, πόλεις ἀφαιρέμενος, not only as in Recompence of their former Service, but much more to have so many good Soldiers at hand, whose Fortune could not be severed from his, and whom he might raise in a Moment, the case so requiring. The like upon like respects did *Julius Cesar*, placing his *Veteranas Legiones* in Colonies about him. *Antonius* and *Augustus*, conspiring against the State, named before-hand eighteen of the fairest and richest Cities in *Italy*, as, *Capua*, *Rhegium*, *Venusia*, *Nuceria*, *Beneventum*, *Arminium*, &c. which they promised to distribute and part among the Soldiers.

Ep. 31.

(2) That is, A Day's Allowance. *Suidas* & alii.

The Roman Foot less than ours by half our Inch.

Liv. lib. 31. fol. 244.

Appia. 1. Emph. p. 199.

Which were, saith he, thirty two. *Livius in Epitoma* 89, forty seven, as I think, by corruption of Copy.

(3) That is, Distributed much Land in *Italy*, some which had lain in common before, and some raising it by force from the Owners.

ers

(1) Both
Lands and
Houses.

ers after the War, (1) αὐτοῖς ἐδάδοσι τε καὶ οἴκοις, expelling all the old Inhabitants, and accordingly for the most part performed it. Under the Empire all Provinces were replenished with such Military Colonies. For Consideration in Money at the end of their Service before *Augustus's* time, I find no stint set down. At the Triumph after some great War the Soldier had some little Remembrance: At the Triumph of ¹ *Africanus* forty *Asses* apiece, two Shilling six Pence *English*: At the Triumph of ^m *Paulinus*, forty five *Asses*, double the Centurion, treble the Horse: At the Triumph of ⁿ *Pompey*, out of *Asia*, ^o fifteen hundred *Drachmaes* to a common Soldier, and the rest in proportion. So much was either Wealth or Ambition grown in so few Years: At the Triumph of ^p *Cesar*, after the Civil Wars, the Soldier ^q five thousand *Drachmaes*, the Centurion ten thousand, the Tribune twenty thousand. *Augustus* reducing it to a Certainty upon the Guard-soldier, at the end of sixty Years Service, ^r bestowed five thousand *Drachmaes*; upon the Legionary, at the end of twenty, three thousand. For the Pay of the *Auxilia*, the Allies in the Free-State had their Pay ^s and Pay-master from home, as living in some equality of Alliance, and yet recognizing a Superiority. Some Allowance of Corn they had even in *Polybius's* Days from the *Romans*. In *Augustus's* time first, and so in the Empire, the Social *Auxilia* carrying Arms more for the Maintenance of the Prince's Estate, than for the Interest of their own Liberty, received their Pay, and other Commodities of the Prince, as well as the Legions.

It remaineth now to consider the Number of the Legions, and Men which the *Romans* commonly armed, or armed at the highest, or possibly could arm: *Rome* in her Infancy had only one Legion, according to *Dionysius* ^t *Varro*, consisting of three thousand Footmen, and three thousand Horse, as before it is shewed; notwithstanding the Words before alledged of ^u *Plutarch*, a Man of a baser Alloy, seem to import a Multitude. After the *Cenintenses* and *Antennates* were incorporated, the *Romans* had then, saith *Dionysius*, lib. 2. p. 77. six thousand ^x Legionary Footmen, that is, according to

¹ *Li.v.* 1. 30. fol. 243.

^m *Li.v.* 1. 45. fol. 387.

ⁿ *Appian.*

Mithr. p.

159.

^o 46^{li} 3^a 9^a

^p *App.* 2.

Εμμ. p. 244.

^q 156^{li} 5^a

^r *Dio.* 1. 55.

p. 384.

^s *Polyb.* 1. 6.

p. 187.

^t *Livy* in

Romulus's

time, fol. 3.

F. ad hos

Romana

Legiones

saith he, in

the singular

Number;

and fol. 6. *F.*

in the be-

ginning of

Tullus Ho-

stilius, Ro-

manas Le-

giones jam

spes deser-

verat in the

plural.

^u *Romulo.*

εις συν-

τάγματα

εργασί-

κα δειλεν.

εκατον δε

σύνταγ-

μα πέντων

τεταλίων

ήν, &c.

^x εν κατα-

λόγῳ.

the Usage of that time, two compleat Legions. In his Army against the *Sabins*, *Romulus* armed of his own People, and from his Grandfather, twenty thousand Footmen, and eight hundred Horse. *Dionysius*, p. 78. Afterwards the *Sabins* being received into the City, and the *Camerini* with others, at his Death, *Romulus* left the City furnished of forty six thousand Footmen, and little less than ^a a thousand Horse, a great and almost incredible Increase of one Man's Reign. In the time of *Tullus Hostilius*, third King of the *Romans*, by the Ruins of *Alba*, the *Roman* Forces were ^a doubled. *Dionysius* lib. 3. p. 130. Which if it be true, in Grammatical Understanding, the State of *Rome*, at that time, was able to find very nigh an hundred thousand Men to the Field; an excessive Number of Soldiers, seeing the whole Muster, which contained all Men above seventeen Years, not ^b Bond nor Mechanical, in *Servius's* time amounted but to eighty thousand, or eighty four thousand seven hundred, as *Livy*, and the same *Dionysius*, p. 167. do witness, although *Fabius Pictor* indeed maketh it the number of Men able for Service, something approaching to our number, collected by consequence out of *Dionysius's* Words. In the Free State, from the beginning in a manner without interruption, they commonly armed every Year four Legions with their *Auxilia*, as ^c *Polybius* an Eye-witness, and ^d *Livy* do testify; which according to the lowest Reckoning of those Times with the *Auxilia*, make thirty two thousand Footmen, and four and twenty hundred Horse. And this was their ordinary yearly Stint, observed even in peaccable times, and as it were to keep their Hands in: A point of great Consideration and necessary Use in a warlike Commonwealth. But how many they armed upon occasions, or possibly could arm is another Consideration: In the Battel ad *Lacum Regillum*, Anno Urbis Cendite, 257, the *Romans* ^e put in the Field twenty four thousand, that is, six compleat Legions, as the Legion was then, and three thousand Horse, five hundred as it seemeth to a Legion, which exceedeth greatly the use of that Age: And the *Latins*, at that time Enemies, not Auxiliaries, forty thousand Footmen, and

[E c]

three

¹ *Dionys.* l. 5. p. 250. three thousand Horse. In the Muster two Years before, were ¹ computed an hundred and fifty thousand, and seven hundred; of which, exempting those which were above Military Age, we may reasonably presume the one half, seventy Thousand at least to have been serviceable Men for the Field. *Anno Urbis Condita*, 245, the Year after the Kings were excluded, the Muster-roll was ² an hundred and thirty thousand, (1) *τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ῥωμαίων*, and the ³ number of Persons, Men and Women, above three hundred thousand. Now half of the Number, or a ⁴ quarter of the Heads in common Intendment, being accounted Men for the Field, we may probably conclude, that the State of *Rome* in those Days was able to put seventy thousand, or not much less, in Arms. *Ann. Ur. Cond.* 260. *Quantus nunquam ante exercitus*, saith *Livy*, lib. 2. 20. *D. Legiones decem effectæ*. *Dionysius*, p. 275. addeth, (2) *ἐξ ἀνδρῶν τετρακισχιλίον ἔλασον*. So that the *Romans* armed that Year near forty thousand Men of themselves, without the *Auxilia* of the *Latin* Nation, whom it was not thought convenient, as yet *pati verrare Arma*. In the War of the *Decemviri contra Sabinos & Equos*, ten Legions were levied, (3) *συνεστράτευτο δὲ αὐτοῖς λατίνων τε καὶ ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐπικερικὸν καὶ ἑλάστον τὴν πολιτικὴν πλῆθος*. The total, eight thousand. *Anno ab Urbe Condita*, 406, upon the Revolt of the *Latin* Nation, the *Romans* armed forty two thousand Footmen, and three thousand Horse. *Livius*, lib. 8. 84. *F. Undique non urbana tantum, sed etiam agresti Juventute, decem Legiones scriptæ dicuntur, quaternum millium & ducentorum Peditum, Equitumq; trecentorum, quem nunc novum exercitum, sicut externa vis ingruat, he vires P. R. quas vix terrarum capit Orbis contractæ in unum baud facile efficiant; adeo in que laboramus sola crevimus, divitiæ luxuriæq;.* Between the first and second *Punic* War, at which time the number of the Citizens pricked, was about three hundred thousand; a full View being taken of the Forces of them and their Allies in *Italy*, there were found, as ¹ *Polybius* reporteth, it was but a slip of his Pen. ¹ *Lib.* 2. p. 45. *σύμπαν πλῆθος τῶν ἀναμμένων ὅτι ἀβασάξεν, αὐτῶν τε ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πεζῶν μὲν ἑξήκας ἐξομήκοντα μυριάδας. ἰππέων δὲ εἰς ἑπτά μυριάδας.*

above

above seven hundred thousand Footmen able to bear Arms, and seventy thousand Horse : An incredible number, if we compare it with later Ages, and produced by *Diodor. Sic. 2. Bibliot. p. 66.* to confirm the wonderful Populoufness of antient Times ; notwithstanding that *Cæsar*, as *Appian* writeth, *Κελτικῶν*, pag. 11. in few Years fought in *France*, with four millions of Men, a number comparable with *Xerxes's* Army, which dried up with drinking the Rivers, failed the Mountains, bridged the Sea, as Stories and Panegyrics make us believe. *Anno Urb. Con. m 538.* and *n Livius 1. 539,* and *543,* in the second *Punick* War, the *Roman* 25. fol. 173. State armed twenty three Legions ; which according to the Account of that time, riseth to an hundred and fifteen thousand Legionary Footmen, and almost seven thousand Horse. After the third *Punick* War, in which time the Muster was about four hundred thousand, in *Bello Sociali*, the *Romans* armed an hundred thousand ; the *Socii* as many of the contrary side, beside sufficient Garrisons in their several Cities. *Appian, Emf. 1. p. 176.* In the Civil War of *Sylla*, the Consuls had two hundred Cohorts, of five hundred apiece, *Emf. 1. p. 191.* and *Sylla* twenty three Legions, which *Appian, p. 200.* resolveth into an hundred and twenty thousand : On both sides two hundred and twenty thousand. In the Civil War between *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, about which time the Muster amounted to four hundred and fifty thousand ; *Pompey* had sixty thousand five hundred Men ; *Cæsar* eighty Cohorts, which were but twenty two thousand, and two Cohorts *presidio Castris. lib. 3. de Bello Civili.* After *Cæsar's* Death, when the Peace was made at *Mutina*, to trouble the State, *Octavius* had twenty Legions ; *Antony* twenty ; *Brutus* eight ; *Cassius* twelve ; *Lepidus* three ; *Dolabella* two ; and at least one in *Africk*. The sum sixty six ; all at one time : which, following the Rate set down in *Antony's* Oration, 5. *Emf. p. 347.* (an hundred and seventy thousand Soldiers in twenty eight Legions) in sixty six bringeth out better than four hundred thousand, the greatest reckoning actually in Arms that we read of hitherto in the *Roman* State. After the Civil Wars ended, *Augustus* settling the State, and

- ^a Dio. l. 55. removing Arms out of Italy, established in the Provin-
^{p. 384.} ces, and Limits of the Empire ^a twenty three Legions
^{Tacit. 4} with their *Auxilia*; that is, according to the Positions
^{Annal. p. 333.} already laid, two hundred seventy six thousand Soldi-
^{v 3 Hist. p. 119.} ers. *Tiberius* maintained ^a twenty five Ligions, that is,
^{2 Dio. p. 384.} three hundred thousand Soldiers; placing in the two
^{Ptolem. Geo- graph. p. 80.} Germanies eight Legions; in Spain three; *Africk* two;
^{2 Dio. in the place al- ledge, and} Egypt two; Syria four; *Illyricum* six; to wit, two in
^{Ptolem. p. 78.} Pannonia, two in *Mesia*, two in *Dalmatia*: The Total
^{3 Hist. p. 129.} and thirty Legions:
^{2 Dio.} In Britany ^v three, { *Secunda* ^a *Augusta*.
^{2 Hist. p. 87.} { *Nona*.
^{2 Dio.} In Spain two, { *Vicesima* ^a *Victrix*.
^{1 Hist. p. 44.} { ^b *Sexta*, ^c *Ferrata*.
^{2 Hist. p. 106.} In Gallia ^t *Lugdunensi* one, & *Prima* & *Italica*.
^{Dio. p. 304.} In High Germany { ^h *Quarta* ⁱ *Macedonica*.
^{1 Hist. p. 42.} three, { ^k *Decima* ^o *Octava*, alias *Duoetvicesima*.
^{3 Hist. p. 119.} In Low Germany { ^l *Unaetvicesima* ^m *Rapax*.
^{1 Hist. p. 44.} four ⁿ, { *Prima*.
^{2 Hist. p. 80.} { *Quinta*.
^{Plut. Othone} In Pannony two, { *Decimaquinta*.
^{1 Hist. p. 42.} { *Decimasexta*.
^{3 Hist. p. 118.} In Dalmatia two, { ^o *Septima* ^p *Galbiana*.
^{Which Ta- citus 1 Hist. 18. seemeth} In *Mesia* three, { ^q *Tertiadecima* ^r *Gemina*.
^{ro call Hi- spana.} { ^s *Undecima* ^t *Claudiana*.
^{3 Hist. p. 112.} In Africa one, *Tertia* ^d *Augusta*.
^{3 Hist. p. 131.} In Egypt two, { ^e *Tertia* *Cyrenaica*.
^{Dio. 384,} { ^f *Duoetvicesima*.
^{463.} In Syria ^z four, { ^h *Quarta* ⁱ *Scythica*.
^{2 Hist. 65.} { ^k *Sexta* ^l *Victrix*.
^{1 Hist. 52.} { ^m *Duodecima* ⁿ *Fulminatrix*.
^{Xiphil. 212.} ^{2 Hist. 99.} ^{v 3 Hist. 1, 8.} ^a Dio. p. 384. ^p
^{Dio. Prol. Geogr. 4 p. 243.} ^{b 5 Hist. 202.} ^{c 1 Hist p. 19.} ^{d 15 Ann. 511.}
^{Dio. Spartianus. p. 895.} ^{f 2 Hist. 98.} ^{g Dio Prolemaus.} ^{h 5 Hist. 202.}
^{Dio.}

Vicesima,

Vicesima, if the place be not corrupt in *Dio*, that there were two of that name continued from *Augustus* to his time.

In *Jewry* • three, *Quinta* & *Macedonica*.
Decima & *Fretenfis*.
Quintadecima & *Apollinea*.
 At • *Rome* one, *Prima* & *Adjutrix* & *Classica*.

• 1 Hist. 201.
 • 5 Hist. 202.
Jes. 3. 27. 26.
 c. 5.
 • *Dio*. 384.
 • *Ex lap. Ca-*
pitolino.

The rest of the Countries either had no Soldiers at all, or but only some ^a Auxiliary Garrisons of Cohorts and Wings, *Quas persequi*, saith *Tacitus*, 4 ^x *Annal*, in-
certum est, cum ex usu imperii huc illuc mearent, gliscerent same Book,
numero & aliquando minuerentur; yet may we reason-
 ably presume out of *Tacitus's* ^y Words, that the *Aux-*
ilia annexed to the Legions, joyned to these local, were
 in number not inferiour to the Legions considered alone.
 This number of Legions, or thereabout, we find re-
 tained many Years in the Roman Empire: *Favorinus de*
Hadriano apud ^z *Spartianum*, *Non recte suaderis, famili-*
ares, qui non patimini me illum omnibus doctiorem crede-
re, qui habet triginta Legiones. In *Alexander Severus's*
 time ^a *Dio* reckoneth thirty two Legions, whereof two
 and twenty are the same that we have found in *Gal-*
ba's time; the nine remaining of the thirty one, which
 we had under *Galba*, being miscarried in the mean
 time, or joyned to some other; to wit, *Nona* of the
British, all the seven Legions of *Germany*, and *Vicesi-*
ma Secunda of *Egypt*; and for *Quinta* & *Decimaquinta*
 in *Low-Germany*, we are assured by *Tacitus* of their Ru-
 in at *Vetera*. The Catalogue of the Legions which
 at this Day is extant in the Court of the Capitol, and
 is evidently more modern than *Dio*, hath the same
 number with *Dio*, and nine and twenty of the same Le-
 gions, only in the particular Names instead of *Vicesima*,
Septima Galbiana, and *Tertia Italica* which are in *Dio*,
 it hath *Vicesima Secunda Primigenia*, *Septima Gemina*,
 and *Decimasexta Flavia*, and of the Legions in *Galba's*
 time, that Monument hath but only twenty, lacking
 (beside the same nine which are wanting in *Dio*) *Septi-*
ma Galbiana, and the *Vicesima* which we have placed
 in *Syria*. Now thirty one Legions Imperial, which in
Galba's

1 Hist. 30.
 2 Hist. 80.
 and in the
 same Book,
 p. 91.
 As at this
 time, *Mau-*
ritania,
Rhetia, *No-*
ricum, *Thra-*
cia, &c. *Tac.*
 p. 86.
 • *Pag.* 332.
 • *Neq;* mul-
 to secus in
 his *Auxiliis*
 virum.
 • *Pag.* 808.
 • *Lib.* 55. p.
 384.

Galba's time we do find, according to our Suppositions, contain an hundred eighty six thousand Footmen, and eighteen thousand six hundred Horse. The *Auxilia* of the one kind and of the other, in number not much otherwise. So we have in these times usually maintained by the Empire, Footmen three hundred seventy two thousand, and Horse thirty seven thousand two hundred at the smallest reckoning: Whose ordinary Pay, beside Corn and some Apparel, at one *Denarius*, or *Drachma* a Day for the Footman, and three for the Horse, beside the increase of Wages given to the Officers, amounteth by the Year to an hundred seventy seven Millions five hundred fourteen thousand *Denarii*; in our Mony, five Millions five hundred sixteen thousand sixty two Pounds and ten Shillings, which is more than the Great Turk at this Day receiveth in two Years towards all Charges. And yet they maintained, beside a Guard of many Thousands for the

(1) That is, Whom always he had about him, being 300 in number, for the guard of his Person, and dispatch of urgent Affairs.

^b Livius.

^c As in the *Battel ad Regillum*, the Dictator had Cohortem delectam circa se praesidii causa, Liv. lib. 2. fol. 18. D.

^d Appian.

1 and 2.

Εμὸ. P. 200, 240. Sallust, and others.

Prince with double Pay, another for the Provost of the City, with many Cohorts of Night-watchers, and many Armada's, with proper Soldiers annexed, as shall be declared. Neither can we find throughout all the Roman Story, for lack of Pay, any Disorder or Mutiny to have grown among the Soldiers, though otherwise very mutinously disposed.

The Service at home in the City was performed by three sorts of Soldiers principally; *Prætoriani*, *Urbani*, and *Vigiles*. *Prætorium*, στρατήριον, the General's Pavilion, be he Consul or Prætor, or whatever else; and *Prætoria Cohors*, a Band of chosen Men to the Guard of his Person, so named by *Scipio Africanus*, but induced before in *Romulus's* time, by the name of *Celeres*, selected *ex fortissimis & nobilissimis*, (1) *is ad* (^b *Non in Bello solum, sed etiam in Pace*) *ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν* οὐκ ἀσθενῶν οὐδ' ἀκαταστάτων ἀνέκα τὸ σάματος καὶ πρὸς τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν ἔργων. *Dionys. lib. 2. p. 65.* in the Free Commonwealth not used, but ^c abroad in the War, till *Sylla* and *Cæsar* usurping the State, retained also at home, as among Enemies, their usual Guard. But *Sylla* ^d resigning the State and his Guard both at once, howsoever he is charged by *Cæsar nescire literas*, may seem to have followed a better Grammar than *Cæsar* himself,

self, who dismissing his Guard, and not his Government, committed a notable and dangerous Solecism in matter of State, and opened the way to his own Destruction. After the Death of *Cæsar*, the State being troubled, *Antonius*, by Permission of the Senate, had a Guard, (1) *πρεσβὴν ἐαυτοῦ πρεσβύτου*, of six thousand chosen Men. 3. *Εμφ.* p. 265. And *Octavius* pretending Enmity against *Antonius*, returned out of *Campania*. (2) *εἰς μνηστῆρας ἀνδρῶν ἐς μόνον τῷ σώματος φυλάκην ὑφ' ἐνὶ σημείῳ*, p. 279. and in the Page following, *Antonius* marching from *Brundisium* to *Rome*, (3) *ἐκ πάντων στρατηγείας πλείων ἀνδρῶν ἀβίων ἢ τε σώματα καὶ πρόπον ἀπέλεξατο*. In *Bello Philippensi*, a Prætorian Cohort of two Thousand, going towards *Octavius*, was intercepted at Sea by those of the contrary Party. 3. *Εμφ.* p. 337. and after the War *Antonius* and *Octavius* (4) *ὀκτακισχίλις στρατιώτας διηδόντας ἔτι στρατεύεσθαι σφίσι ἀποδεξάμενοι δίδοντο, καὶ συνελόχσαν εἰς στρατηγείας τάξεις*. 5. *Εμφ.* p. 347. And after the Battel, at *Actium* *Augustus*, avoiding his Father's Fault, and thinking it expedient for the safety of his Person, maintenance of his State, and dispatch of Affairs, to have in readiness a convenient company of Soldiers in Arms, established, under the Name of *Prætoriani*, a Guard of ten thousand Men, divided into ten Cohorts, saith *Dio. c. lib. 53. Tacitus 4. Annal* mentioneth but nine in *Tiberius's* time. In *Vitellius's* time, *prævitare vel ambitu confusus ordo militie, sedecim prætorie, quatuor urbanæ cohortes scribebantur, quibus singula millia inessent*. 2. *Hist.* p. 104. This Guard of Prætorians consisted of *militibus Etruria ferme Umbriaq; delectis, aut veteribus Latio, & coloniis antiquitus Romanis*, differing in that point only from the Guard of Tyrants in ancient times, which commonly consisted of mercenary Strangers; and so the Emperors had also another Guard of Germans, *Tacitus, 1. Annal, Robora Germanorum qui cum custodes Imperatori aderant. 13. Annal, Germanos super eundem honorem custodes additos. Sueton. 8. Nerone. Abductaq; militum & Germanorum statione. Which Guard Galba dissolved, Suet. cap. 12. Germanorum cohortem a Cæsariibus olim ad custodiam corporis institutam multisq; experimentis fidelissimam dissolvit, ac sine ullo commodo remissa*

(1) That is, Put a Guard about his Person.

(2) That is, Bringing with him 10000 Men under one Ensign, for the guard of his Person only.

(3) That is, Selected out of his whole Army a Prætorian Cohort of the best and choicest Men.

(4) That is, Received into Service 8000 Soldiers which desired to continue in Pay, and distributed them into Prætorian Cohorts. Pag. 384. Pag. 333.

* Cap. 34.

- misit in patriam.* Dio. lib. 55. maketh mention also of certain Horsemen of *Batavia*, attending upon the Prince. (1) ξῖνοι τι ἰππεῖς ἐπὶ λεκτοῖς, δις τὸ τῷ βασιλεῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλέας τῆς ἐν τῷ ῥήνῳ νήσου ὄνομα· ἡ μὲντοι ἀειδμεὼν αὐτῶν ἀκρεῖστ' εἰπεῖν δύναμαι. Of the *Prætoriani* some were Horsemen: Tac. 1 Annal, *Additur magna pars prætoriani equitis.* Suet. Claudio, c. 21. call *Batavi* *Africanus exhibuit Claudius consciente turma equitum prætorianorum, ducibus tribunis ipsaq; præfecto;* most Footmen, as *Spiculatores*, and others. Their proper Office was *δορυφορεῖν* (and so they are called of the Greek Writers *δορυφοροί*, and *σωματῶν λαεῖς*) to watch and ward at the Palace, every Cohort in their turn, or to accompany the Prince abroad, in *Forum*, in *Curiam*, in *Convivium*, &c. Tac. 1. Hist. *Consulantibus placuit tentari animum cohortis, quæ in palatio stationem agebat.* And again, Annal 12. *Egreditur Nero ad cohortem quæ more militiæ excubiis adest.* Suet. ^h Othone: *Obstitit respectus cohortis quæ tunc excubabat.* Tac. Annal 1. Miles in *Forum*, Miles in *curiam* comitabatur. Dio. lib. 60. (2) ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις πάντως τοὺς στρατιώτας συνόντας ἔχει, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἐκείνου καταδεχθὲν καὶ δεῦρο ἀεὶ γίγνεται. And not only the Prince himself, but his Wife, Mother and Children had likewise some of these *Prætoriani* attending upon them. Tac. 13 Annal, *Excubias Militares quæ ut conjugi Imperatoris olim, tum et ut Matri servabantur, digredi jubet.* With Germanicus in Germany were due *Prætorianæ Cohortes*, 2 Ann. whether of the Body of the Roman Guard, or after the ancient Use of the Word, I cannot determine. And 1 Annal, Tiberius sendeth with his Son *Drusus*, into *Pannonia*, duas *Prætorianas Cohortes*. At the Plays I find that a Cohort assisted to keep good Order. Tac. 13 Ann. *Statio cohortis assidere Ludis solita demovetur.* Moreover, in accompanying Embassadors sent from the Prince, in doing Executions and Murders, and many other serviceable Points they were by the Princes. In the War, but seldom upon urgent Occasions. Tac. 1 Hist. *Quod raro alias Prætorianus, urbanusq; Miles in aciem deducti.* Of the *Prætorian* Soldiers, the principal Officers were called *Præfecti Prætorio*, Captains of the Guard we may term them, chosen at the first out of Military Men,

Men, till upon the danger discovered that way, how unsafe it was to put such Strength into Mens hands of that Quality though of mean Birth, Wisdom in latter Times and Skill in Law, was in that choice rather respected, as it appeareth by *Papinian*, *Ulpian*, and other famous Lawyers preferred to that Post: by means of whom, peradventure, the Place became in the end more judicial than military; but at all times the greatest Office in the State, *Zes. lib. 2.* (1) ἡ τῶν ὑπαρχῶν ἀρχὴ δευτέρα μετὰ τὰ σκῆπτρα νομιζομένη. The number of them at the first Institution was two. *Mecenas* apud *Dionem*, lib. 52. in his Advice to *Augustus*; (2) τῶν δὲ δὴ ἱππέων δύο τὰς ἀέστες πῆς πρὶ σὺ φρεσὶς ἀρχαί φησὶ χεῖναι. Τὸ, τε γὰρ ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιτέπεισθαι σφαιρεδόν, καὶ τὸ πλείοσι ταχὺ χῶδες ἐστὶ. Δύο τε ἐν ἑξῶσαν οἱ ἐπαρχοὶ ἔτοιμα καὶ ὅτερος αὐτῶν ἐπαίδηται π τῷ σώματι μὴ τοιγὰ καὶ ἐνδεδὶς το σφαιροδόνος. *Agrippina* perswaded *Claudius* to reduce the whole Government to one. *Tacit. 12 Annal* *Distrabi cohortes ambitu duorum, & si ab uno regerentur intensiorem fore disciplinam asseverante uxore, transferretur regimen cohortium ad Burrhum Afrianum egregie militaris fame.* After whose death *Nero* again, *duos praetoris cohortibus imposuit. Annal. 14.* In *Galba's* time *Laco* was only without any Fellow. *Otho* made two, *Plotius Firmus*, and *Licinius Proculus*, as appeareth by *Tacitus 1 Hist.* and so consequently afterward, sometimes one, sometimes two, as it pleased the Prince. Now that which *Mecenas* counsellor *Augustus* to chuse them *ex equitibus Romanis*, and no higher, (lest their high Birth should give them Courage perchance to attempt against their Sovereigns) was observed in a manner continually till the time of *Alexander Mamea*, *Qui Praefectis Praetorii suis, saith Lampridius, senatoriam addidit dignitatem, ut viri clarissimi & essent, & dicerentur: quod antea vel raro fuerat, vel omnino non fuerat: eoque ut si quis imperatorum successorum Praef. Praet. dare vellet, laticlavium eidem per libertum submitteret.* Notwithstanding in *Vespasian's* time, *Titus praefecturam quoq; praetorii suscepit, nunquam ad id facti Praetorio*, that if one be sick, you may not want one to perform so necessary a Charge, p. 325.

[Ff]

tempus

* Some other Grecians call them *υπαρχευσ*.
 1 cap. 6.

2 pag. 190.
 3 Festus.

(1) That is, immediately established a Law, that those which should be of Augustus's Guard, should receive double Pay to the rest of the Soldiers, and they might be more diligent and watchful in their Charge.

* Suet. Augusto.

c. 49. Neque inquam

plures quam tres cohortes in urbe esse passus est

Augustus, et sine

castris reliquas in hiberna et aestiva circa

finitima oppida dimittere assueverat.

cap. 37.

(2) That is, called the

Prætorian Soldiers, and destroyed their Camp, l. 2. p. 677.

* Lib. 2. p. 688.

* *Præfectus Prætorientis. Præfectus Prætor. Illyrici. P. P. Italiae. P. P. Gallia.*

tempus nisi ab equite Romano administratam, Suet. * Titus. Which Opinion of Suetonius I find checked by Tacitus 4 1 Hist. where *Arctinus Clemens* before that time, *quamquam senatorii ordinis*, was made *Præfectus Prætorio*. Besides the two Captains, there was one *Præfectus castrorum*, *Tribuni* as many as Cohorts: And under the Tribunes, *Centuriones*, and other petty Officers, as in the Armies abroad. Their Pay was, in the Free-state, *sesquipleus*, *ἡμιόλιον*; in the Empire, double to the Legionary Soldiers. The Senators, saith Dio. lib. 53. (1) *παρὰ τὴν τοῖς δορυφορήταισιν αὐτὸν διπλασίον ἢ μηδὲν τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις διδεδυμένον ἡμισὶν δηνάριον διὰ πρῶτον, ὅπως ἀνεβίη τὸ φρεσὶν ἔχει*. Tacitus 1 Annal. limiteth the Sum, *An Prætorias cohortes, quæ binos denarios acceperint*, &c. That is, in our Money, fifteen Pence; which, no doubt, is meant of the simple Footman only, for a Legionary Horseman had more. These Prætorian Bands, in *Augustus* and part of *Tiberius's* time, lying dispersed in the City and Colonies about, were by *Sejanus* united and placed together in *castris prope vivarium constructis*, *τῆρος, παρεμβολῆς*, or *στρατηρίου*, they call it in Greek. *Sejanus*, saith Tacitus, 4 Annal. *Vim Præfecturæ modicam antea intendit, dispersas per urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo, ut simul imperia acciperent numeroque et robore et visu inter se, fiducia ipsis, in cæteros metus crearetur*. Pretendebat lascivire militem diductum: Si quid subitum ingruat, majori auxilio pariter subveniri, et severius acturos si vallum statuatur procul urbis illecebris. Suetonius * *Tiberio*. *Romæ castra constituit, quibus prætorianæ cohortes vagæ ante id tempus et per hospitia dispersæ continerentur*. The Ruins are under the Walls of Rome, as it is now not far from St. Laurence-gate. For afterward *Constantine the Great*, perceiving the Order to have more of the bad in it than of the good, (2) *τὸν τὴν περιτομενὰς στρατιώτας ἐξέτριψε καὶ τὰ φρένα τὰ τέτρα ἔχοντα κατέβηκε*, saith *Zosimus*, retaining the Name of *Præfectus Prætorii* still, but destroying the Office, (saith the same * *Zosimus*, who seldom saith (2) That is, well of that Prince) by dividing it into 4 four, and

weaken-

weakening their Authority. *Milites urbani*, in Augustus's time, (if Dio be not deceived, as I think he is) were in number six thousand, distributed into four Cohorts, or Companies. Dio, ^s lib. 55. οἱ τῆς πόλεως στρατοὶ ἑξακισχίλιαι τε ὄντες, καὶ τετραχὶ νευεμμυμένοι. In Tiberius and Caius's time, into three only. 4^t *Annalium*. Tres urbanae cohortes. And Josephus, ἀλώσεως, ^u lib. 2. τρεῖς ταῖς συμμενέσαις σπέραις ἐπιτέτακται φυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν; which, as it appeareth by Suetonius's Claudio, were the cohortes urbanae. In Vitellius's time, quatuor urbanae cohortes quibus singula millia inessent. Tacitus, 2 Hist. pag. 104. Their Governour was called Praefectus urbis, πολιάρχος taken ex senatorio ordine: Whose Office Dio describeth, lib. 52. in Mecenas's Oration; (1) πολιάρχος ἐὶ δὴ τις ἐκ τῶν περιηκόντων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πάντα τὰ καθήκοντα περιεπολιτευμένων, ἀποδεκνύσθω, ἔχ' ἵνα ἀποδημιούντων παρὰ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν (leg. ἀρχόντων, vel etiam ὑπάτων) ἀρχῇ, ἀλλ' ἵνα τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀειπῆς πόλεως περιεπαιτῇ, καὶ τὰς δίκας, τὰς τε παρὰ πάντων ὧν εἶπον, ἀρχόντων ἐρεσίμους τε καὶ ἀναπομπίμους, καὶ τὰς τῶν θανάτων τις τε ἐν τῇ πόλει, πλὴν ὧν αὐτὸς εἶπω, καὶ τοῖς ἔξω αὐτῆς μίχεται πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίων σταδίων ὀκτώσ' ἔχειν. His Office was for Life, unless it pleased the Prince otherwise upon Desert or Displeasure to deprive him. Dio, l. 52. ἀρχέτω διὰ βίης. Tac. 6. Ann. sheweth the occasion of the Foundation of the Office in the old Commonwealth, and the Use of it in the new. L. Piso praefectus urbis recens continuam potestatem, & insolentia parendi graviolem mire temperavit. Namq; antea profectis domo regibus, ac mox magistratibus, ne urbs sine imperio foret in tempus deligebatur qui jus redderet, ac subitis mederetur. Ceterum Augustus bellis civilibus Civium Mecenate equestris ordinis cunctis apud Romam atq; Italiam preposuit. Mox rerum potitus, ob magnitudinem populi, ac tarda legum auxilia, sumpsit e consularibus, qui coerceret servitia, & quod audacia turbidum, ni vim metuat. Notwithstanding this new Office, the Name and Shadow of the old remained still, when both in other matters, and namely to judge in Cases of Appeal from other Magistrates, and in Criminal, not only within the City, but within 650 Stadia round about. 1 Dig. quicquid intra urbem admittitur, ad praefectum urbi videtur pertinere, sed & si quid intra centesimum milliarium admissum sit ad praefectum urbi pertinere. So that Dio, in this place, seemeth to make six Stadia and an half answerable to a Roman Mile.

For in another place he writeth, οἱ πολιάρχου ὁλίγους τε στρατιώτας ἔχον. And Tacitus 3 Hist. maketh 4000 an excessive and disorderly Number for the Urbani, p. 104.

Pag. 384. Pag. 333. Cap. 18. Cap. 10. (1) That is, Let there be a Praefectus Urbis, one of the greatest Countenance, and such as before hath passed all Degrees of Honour with Commendation; not to govern in absence of other Officers, but to undertake the Government of the City both in other mat-

* *Cassiodorus de praefecto vigili-um qui fur-za in furi-bus facis, dum illos postu cir-cumvenis.*

* *De officio praefecti vi-gilum vide Dig. l. tit. 15. cod. l. tit. 43.*

(1) That is, Against the inconveni-ence of Fire by Night, *Augustus* appointed Bands of Soldiers taken *e liber-tini generis hominibus.* (2) That is, Because a-bout that Season ma-ny Parts of the City were wast-ed by Fire, *Augustus* to

meet with such Mis-chances, chose out, *e libertinis*, seven Com-panies, ap-pointing an *Eques* for their Go-vernour, meaning it only for a time. How-beit, by Experience, finding the Use and Necessity of that Institution, he re-tained it still, and so they remain even to our days, collected not only *e li-bertinis*, but of others also, and have their Camps in the City, and Pay of the State:

the Consuls, going forth, *ad instaurandum sacrum in Albano monte*, one or two of the young Nobility were left for fashion-sake, with Title of *Praefectus urbis*, and Authority of the Consuls. *Tacitus* 6 *Annal.* *Duratque adhuc simulacrum, quoties ob ferias Latinas praeficitur qui consulare munus usurpet.* Read *Suetonius Claudio*, cap. 4. *Nerone*, cap. 7. *Aulus Gellius*, lib. 14. cap. ultimo; but principally 1 *Digest. tit. 12.* and 1 *cod. tit. 38.*

where the Points of this Office are set down particu-larly. *Vigiles* were Night-walking Soldiers, appoint-ed by *Augustus*, *ad restringenda incendia, prohibenda* *

furta nocturna, &c. *ex libertinis*; and afterwards of others too, divided into seven Companies, with one

Praefectus Vigilium, a * Gentleman of *Rome*, Tribunes and other Officers. *Strabo*, lib. 5. (1) *ἐπιμελήθη μὲν ἔν*

ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καὶ παρὰ τῶν πρῶτων ἐλαττωμάτων τῆς πόλεως, πρὶν μὲν ταῖς ἐμπρήσεσι συνάξας στρατιωτικὸν ἐν τῷ ἀπελευθέρων τὸ βοηθῆσθαι. *Dio*, lib. 55. (2) *ἐπειδὴ τε ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ*

τέτρω πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως πνεὶ διεφθάρη, ἀνδρας τε ἐξε-λευθέρας ἐπαρχὴ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιχειρίας αὐτῆς καλεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀρχόντα ἰππέα αὐτοῖς τεσσέταξεν, ὡς καὶ δι' ἁλίγου σφῆς

διαλύσων, ἃ μὲντοι καὶ ἐποίησε τῶτο. Καταμαθὼν γὰρ ἐν τῆς πέρας καὶ χρησιμωτάτην καὶ ἀναγκασιωτάτην τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν βοήθειαν ἔσσαν, ἐτήρησεν αὐτὰς. Καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ νῦν οἱ νυκτοσύ-

λακες οὗτοι ἴδιον τίνα τρόπον, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἀπελευθέρων ἔτι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄλλων στρατεύομενοι, καὶ τέχνη τε ἐν τῷ πόλει ἔχουσι, καὶ μισθὸν ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ φέρουσι, p. 385.

The City of *Rome*, though opportunely seated for Sea-matters, as being distant only fifteen Miles from *Mare Tyrrhenum*, and having the River *Tiber* passing through the City of convenient breadth, and for depth able to carry small Vessels, nevertheless many hundred Years neglected the Service: Which thing peradven-ture, among others, was not the least cause which maintained the State in Integrity, and preserved it so long without Corruptions, of which the Traffick and Service by Sea, as these Politicks make us believe, is the principal Mother and Nurse. Notwithstanding, a

conquer-

conquering State, and they which will live, (1) *ἢ γε* (1) That is, *πολιτικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν βίον*, must necessarily have, *καὶ τὰς* Either as Lords of o-
τὴν τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὰς ἀλλοτρίους σύμμετρον. And, ge-
nerally, no State may expect to stand without notable liberty
molestation and danger of Ruin, much less to enlarge, themselves,
which in any kind of Service, on Foot, or on Horse- must neces-
back, or by Sea, is quite defective and utterly disur- sarily have
nished, although perhaps it cannot in all attain to that a compe-
degree of Perfection, which some of their Neighbours tent Power
have attained unto. Wherefore the Romans in the that way
first Punick War, having to deal with the Carthagi- also, *Arist.*
nians, undoubted Lords of the Sea, (2) *ἐν περὶ ὧν*, (2) Of a 7. *Politico-*
and, perceiving the Error, in the Year *ab urbe condita*, long time,
490, determined to apply themselves, and diligently even from
to attend to that part of Service; having before, as stors.
Polybius reporteth, not only no *naves recte*, but no *na-*
ves longe at all, no not so much as any *lembus* or Pas-
sage-boat, but only upon borrowing. As for the Quin- *καὶ ἐπὶ*
quereme, a principal Ship of War, their Shipwrights *νοίαν ἔδει-*
knew not any way what it meant, till such time as one *πορὲ ποιν-*
of the Carthaginians, by great good Chance, was in the *σάμενος*
Streight of *Regium* run upon Ground, and so being *τῆς θαλάτ-*
taken by the Romans, the Shipwrights used it for a *της, τότε*
Pattern. Again, the Men which were mustered, ha- *δὴ πρῶτον*
ving never served at Sea, were set upon Benches in the *ἐν ᾧ λαμ-*
same order, and taught by Practice upon the dry Land *βέροντες,*
to keep their Time and Measure in Strokes. And this *Polyb. l. 1.*
was indeed the first time the *Romans* attended to Ser- *p. 9.*
vice by Water; although some Roman *Writers* upon *Apud Li-*
a Vanity and Ambition have reported, *Anno urbis con-* *vium, l. 4.*
dite 329 classe ad Fidenas pugnatum fuisse cum Veienti- *50 D.*
bus. Which perhaps was some Brawl between Barge- *Lib. 9. f.*
men; as indeed the River is so streight at that place, *106, K. 109.*
that scarce two Barges can pass one by another. And *A, &c. And*
Livy, not altogether free of the Humour, in his for- *Florus, l. 1.*
mer Books maketh solemn mention of the Navy, of *c. 11. about*
Præfectus one maritime, Duumviri navales, socii navales, with the
and so forth, which either were not at all, or not to *Latins: Ex-*
any purpose of War. For, as concerning matter of *parta de*
Merchandise, many Years before, *Ancus Marcus* per- *Antio spo-*
classe; si tamen illa classis; nam scis fuisse rostrata, sed hic numerus illis initium *lia capta*
navale bellum fuit. *hostium*

- ceiving that *Tiber* at the Mouth yielded convenience of Haven, built *Ostia* to lade and unlade Wares there,
- (1) That is, So that Rome was not only served of whatsoever the Country about did afford, but by that means provided also of Sea-commodities. (1) ἡ μόνον ἢ περιώτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ θαλαττίων παροχῶν τὴν ῥώμην γενέσθαι. *Dionys.* c. lib. 3. And yet, to say true, I see not how that Opinion of *Polybius* can in rigour stand with the Causes of the *Tarentin* War some Years before that time, alledged by the common Consent of all the *Roman* Stories, but specified most particularly by *Appian*, p. 443. in his Fragment, περὶ πρεσβειῶν, and the Epitome of *Livy*, l. 12. First, That there was an ancient League with the *Tarentines*, (2) μὴ πλεῖν ῥωμαίους πρὸς τὴν λακωνίαν ἀνεῖν, which sheweth, that the *Romans* haunted the Sea. Then, That the *Roman Duumvir* went with ten *naves* ^f τεττὲ to survey the Coasts of *Magna Græcia*, whereof four were sunk, one taken, and the *Duumvir* slain. But whether now first or otherwise, the *Romans*, upon the occasion before mentioned, entering the Sea, brought thither from their Service by Land, saith *Polybius*, a kind of violent Proceeding, as though Wind and Weather, notwithstanding what once they had determined to do, that they must necessarily go through withal. Which manner of contending and striving, or, rather, forcing of Fortune, as is by Land commendable, and to the *Romans* hath been cause of infinite good, so by Sea, against that wild Element, it did them more harm than their Enemies the *Carthaginians*; who although through their long Experience by Sea, they excelled the *Romans* in Skill and Agility, πρὸ ταχυναυσίαν, yet (3) πρὸ βιαιομαχείαν, καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ τῶν ὀπλισμάτων, being inferiour, they were at the length inferiour in the whole.
- (2) That is, That the *Romans* with their Ships should not pass the Point called *Lacinium*. ἡ δὲ καὶ νῆσος καὶ ἀφ' ἧς τῶν.
- (3) That is, At Handy-strokes in Grapling, and Valour of Soldiers. Ships, as far as concerneth our purpose, were of three sorts; of War, of Burden, and of Passage: the first rowed with Oar, the second governed with Sail, and the last often towed with Cords. Ships of Passage by Sea, were either for transportation of Men, ἀπὸ πλίσσας, called also *σεβασίπιδες*, πτόεις, ὀπλισμέναι: or of Horses, ἵππων, ἢ ἵππων, *Hippagines*, over a River, or some short Cut peradventure by Sea, πορθμεία, Ferry-boats, if the Number were few; and to pass whole Armies with their Carriage, ἡ δὲ, rates, Planks or Fagots tied together, Ships of Burden,

onerariae, φορηγῆ, ἑ (1) ὀκνάδες, which word our (1) Hulks. Vulgar Language also retaineth, were for carriage of Victual and other Provision, sometime for ^{Caesar's 4} transportation of Soldiers also. Of Ships of War, the most ^{Comment.} principal and of greatest Service were *naves longae*, ^{appointeth} μακρὰ πλοῖα, so named of their form, most apt both ^{80: Onerarias ad du-} to be weilded and to make way, whereas Ships of ^{as legiones} Burden were commonly built big in the Belly, and ^{transportandas.} more round for capacity. Now *longae* were sorted again into their several kinds, according to the number of ^h Benches, and Oars placed one above another, ^{καὶ τὸ πρῶτον} as I take it, though peradventure not directly. Some ^{εἰχὺς τὸ} I know have concluded otherwise, That in the *Tri-* ^{καὶ τὸ ὑ-}reme for example, three Men with three Oars sat upon ^{ἑσὶ ἐπ'} one Bench; and some other, that three Men pulled at ^{ἀλλήλοις,} one Oar, directly against both the Authority of an- ^{faith one.} cient Writers produced by themselves, and contrary ^{(3) That is,} to the ancient Portraitsures of *Triremes* remaining yet ^{These Ships} to be seen: so incredible a thing it seemed to believe, ^{(speaking} that which in our Gallies now adays they never saw: ^{of the Li-} whereas in truth *Zosimus* tells us, that very many Years ^{burnica)} before his time they had discontinued to make any ^{are as swift} *Triremes* at all: as indeed from the Battel at *Actium*, ^{at Sea as} till the Battel between *Constantin* the Great and *Licinius* at *Hellepont*, I do not remember, by Sea, any ^{the Gally of} Action of moment. His words be, *lib. 5. pag. 797.* ^{fifty Oars,} (3) *δοῦσι δὲ πῶς ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα τεχναντῆσθαι πεν-* ^{but nothing} *τηκοιτρῶν ἐκ ἥτων, κατὰ πολὺ δὲ τῷ τεμεικῶν ἐλαττέ-* ^{of the like} *μενα, πλείους ἔτεσι τῆς τέτων ἐκλιπύσις δημοκράτας. εἰ καὶ* ^{service to} *πολύσι* ^{the *Trireme*,} *ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐκτίθεσθαι πῶς ἔδοξε τῷ ἐξηκῶν* ^{which kind} *πλοίων τὰ μέτρα; οἷς φαίνονται πολλάκις κεχρησθαι ῥα-* ^{of Ship this} *μαῖοι καὶ καρχεδόνιοι πολεμήσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους.* ^{many Years} But ^{hath not} howsoever, some different circumstance in the manner ^{been built,} of Rowing produced the different kinds of *Naves longae*. ^{although} For, generally, the Ships of War, as before we have ^{Polybius de-} said, although in the flight, and otherwise, for speed, ^{scribeth the} both Oar and Sails were used, in the ^{Measures} *i* Combat were ^{and Pro-} directed only by Oar, as being a thing very serviceable ^{portions of} in those calm Seas, and more at command. The most ^{the *Hexe-*} usual kinds of *Naves longae*, in the Roman Wars, espe- ^{res, an usual} cially ^{Ship in the} ^{Wars be-} ^{tween the} ^{Carthagi-} ^{nians and} ^{Romans.}

¹ *Dio. l. 50. p. 297.* τὸν γὰρ φεύγοντας καὶ ἀνεν ἰστίων ὄντες, καὶ πρὸς τῷ ναυμαχίαν μόνην παρεσκευασμένοι ἦν ἐπεδίδωσαν.

cially

* τὰς μὲν *cially ancient, were these three, Triremis, Quadriremis, ἑξήρεϊς* *and Quinquere-
mis; τεύρης, τετρεύρης καὶ πενήρης, ex-
ceeding one another by one Rank of Oars, and con-
sequently rowed with more strength, and built more
high. In the ninth Year of the first Punick War, the
two Admirals were Hexeres, * Polyb. l. 1. And in the
Writers of Roman Stories we have mention also above
this Number, though seldom used in the Roman Wars,
as of Hepteres, Octeres, ἐννήρης, δεκάρης, ἐκδεκάρης, δωδε-
κάρης, τετραπεκάδεκας, πενταπεκάδεκας, ἑξαπεκάδεκας.
Philip of Macedon, Father to Perseus, had an ἑκαπέδε-
κας. Polyb. in Fragm. p. 17. Which place ¹ Livy tran-
slateth thus: *Regiam unam inhabitabilis prope magnitudi-
nis, quam sexdecim ^m versus remorum agebant.* And
yet the Egyptian Kings exceeded, *usq; ad viginti, &
triginta versus remorum, ἑκοσάρης & τετρακοντῆρης:* And
Philopater, as ⁿ Plutarch and ^o Athenæus testific, built
one of forty Ranks, *τετραεκακοντῆρης*, more like to a
Castle or Palace, than a Ship, being in length four
hundred and twenty foot, and in heighth seventy two,
containing four thousand Rowers,*other Mariners four
hundred, and almost three thousand Soldiers. On the
other side, under *Triremis*, there were two perfect
kinds, *Biremis* and *Moneres*, and two unperfect, ἡμι-
λία and *τεμνημιλία*. *Biremis*, in Greek *δίρης*, and
more usually *δικροτ*, consisted of two Ranks of
Oars; of which the fittest for service, both for light-
ness and swiftness, were called *Liburnice*, as ^p Appian
saith, of the *Liburni*, a People in *Dalmatia*, who were
the Inventers of that Fashion and Building: though in
later times, as it may seem by *Vigetius* and others, all
Ships, though of more or fewer Ranks than two,
built after that manner, were generally called *Libur-
nice*. ^q *Moneres*, mentioned by *Livy*, lib. 38. was a
Gally consisting of one simple Rank, whereof I re-
member five kinds specially named: *εἰκοτῆρ*, or *A-
Etuaria viginti remorum*, of twenty Oars, ^r *τετακόντο-
κόντορ*, ^p, which had thirty, named also by ^s *Polybius* in
Fragmentis, as it seemeth to me, *τετακοντάκωπορ* *τετα-
κόντορ*, ^t *πενήκοντορ* *λέγεται κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κωπῶν ἡ μονήρης καὶ δί-
ρης καὶ ἑφετῆς κατὰ τὸν σῆχος τοῦ κατὰ τὸ ὕψος ἐπὶ ἀλλήλοις.* In-
certus author ad finem *Asiani*. ^u Pag. 71.*

εκακόντορ

εκατόντορες, which had forty, πεντηκόντορες, which had fifty, as the Gallies now adays commonly have, and εκατόντορες, which had an hundred. The Grecians use μονόκρη, and more usually κέλης, which ^t Gel^t Lib. 10. lius tranſlateth Celox, as equivalent to Moneres: and ^{c. 25.} so that gradation in the ſixth of Polybius ſeemeth to induce; τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τεύχεα, καὶ δίκρηλα, καὶ κέληες. Of the unperfect kinds, ἡμιολία and ἡμιολ, ſeemeth to have been a Ship furniſhed with one Rank and a half only, as it were between a Moneres and a Biremis: and τεμνημιολία, between a Biremis and a Triremis, with two Rows and an half. Theſe four kinds under the Trireme, altho' being built, as I ſuppoſe, ad formam longarum navium, yet are not ſo generally comprehended by the Name, but in the Writings of approved Authors, ſtand oftentimes in oppoſition to longæ, and ſome of the kinds to μάχμοι alſo. Livius, l. 21. diſtinguiſheth celoces, and l. 38. τετακοντακώπες, from longæ. ^v Thucydides in his Proem, ſeemeth not to allow the Name of μακρόν πλοῖον το πενήκοντορες, μὲν ὀλί- and yet to ſome other under the Trireme, whereas καὶ χρεώ- Herodotus, Clio, expreſſly nameth it inter ναυπλίας μα-μενα, πν- κώες, the ſame which in ^x another place ſetteth both τετακοντό- τετακόντορες and πεντηκόντορες, in oppoſition to Ships of War: And ſo doth ^y Plutarch; Catone, by overſight, τισὶ πλοῖ- Liburnicæ. And that ſome of the Moneres alſo were οἱς μακρό- μάχμοι, it is clear by Livy, l. 38. Neve monerem ha- βετο ex belli cauſa, which elſe were a vain and needleſſ addition. Beſide theſe ſorts diverſified, as we ſee by ^z ἦσαν δὲ the number of Rows, we have in the Stories particu- πντακοſ- lar mention of others, as Myoparones, Priſtes, Phafeli, ὧν μὲν ἔκ Cercuri, &c. differing peradventure from thoſe we have ἐλάττω αἰ reckoned in the Faſhion and Manner of Building, as μάχμοι, being in ſome part built like to the Longæ, and in part λιβερινὰ to the Hulks, as Appian, 5 Εμφ. witneſſeth, namely δὲ παμ- ^{πληθῆ.} ^z Phafeli trieritici. And theſe kinds of Shipping we ^{εἰς πλοῖα} find alſo to have been employed in Service by Sea, ſometimes principally, and ſometimes ὡς ὑπηρετικά, ^{ἐκ τῶν φορ- and as Accessaries to others. And thus much of the} ^{τίδων νεῶν} ^{καὶ μακρῶν.} different Faſhions of Ships of War, which again were divided into τετακτὰς & ἀπετακτὰς, τωτίτας, and ſuch as were otherwiſe. Τετακτῆ, or conſtratæ, κατὰ φρεακτοί,

so called because they had *κατασρώματα*, Hatches: *απερτε*, ἀπερτοι, having none: altho' *Apbractum* in the Neuter Gender in some places of Tully, Diodore, Plutarch, &c. seemeth to stand for some special kind of Ship, and *κατάσρωται* in Polybius for a Quinqueme. The greater Ships, as *Quadrivremis* and upward, had always, as far as I remember, Hatches: the Tri-

* *Liburnica*
constrata,
Plutarch.
Antonio.
And con-
trarily the
διεστὰ,
in opposi-
tion to κα-
τάσρωται.
Appia-
nus Misori-
dat.

remes and * *Biremes* sometimes otherwise: the rest that were under, in a manner always *απερτε*: *κατασρώματα* were induced, to the end that the Ship might be more capable of Soldiers for her defence; *nam antea*, saith Pliny, l. 7. *ex proa tantum & puppi pugnabatur. Rostratae*, *ερατε*: *χαλκίραις ἢ χαλκέμβολοι*, were such as had *rostra ex ere*, ἐμβόλως ἢ χαλκώματα. *Rostra* were common Ships of War, greater or smaller, covered or open, to all such at the least which were to encounter with the Enemy: in *Speculatoriis*, and such like that were meerly ὑπέρπικα, being not greatly material. For whereas in their manner of Fight by Sea, there were three ordinary ways to offend, either to break the Enemies Ship by running against it, to wipe away her Oars, or to kill the Soldiers which stood at defence upon the Hatches and so board her; for performing the first, it was meet that their own should be surely and strongly headed for that Encounter. *Turritae*, *πυργῶχοι*, which had *ad proam & puppim turrium propugnacula*, *ut in mari quoque*, saith^b Pliny, *pugnaretur velut e muris*. Pollux maketh mention of (1) *πυργίδιον δέξιον & ἐξοδυμον*, which were on the sides.

^b Lib. 32.
(1) The
right and
left Turret.

The Officers in the Navy were *Præfectus classis*, Admiral of the whole Armada; *Duumviri* in the ancient Story, when as two were joyned in the Commission. *Trierarchus* Governor of a particular Ship, then *Gubernator* the Master, *κελευστής*, and other under Officers: the rest *Socii Navales* or *Milites*, *πληρώματα*, ἢ ἐπιβάται. Again, *Socii Navales* of two sorts, *ἐρέται*, *remiges* to handle the Oar, or ὑπέρπικαι, whom *Cæsar* calleth *nautas*, for the other Services in the Ship. *Socii Navales* in the free State were collected *ex ultimæ classis hominibus*, or ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ τετρακοσίας δραχμῶν τιπμμένων, as^c Polybius speaketh; in later times *ex* ^d *Dalmatis*, *Pannoniis*, &c. The Soldiers, *ἐπιβάται*, most com-

^c Lib. 6.
p. 180.
^d 3 Hist.
132, &c.

commonly legionary, accommodated both to fight at Sea, and upon occasion to make their descent into the Land: and in later times to every Armada was annexed his proper Legion with the legionary Officers appertaining. In the first Punick War we have example in Polybius of three hundred remiges, and an hundred and twenty ἐμβάται in each of the Ships of War: and likewise a division of the Armada into four Ranks: the first called *prima legio*, and *prima classis*: and in consequence the second and third: the fourth *triarii*: but I find little mention of this division in the practice of later times. In the fourth Year of the first Punick War, and first of their Service by Sea against the Carthaginians, the Romans manned out an hundred Quinqueremes, and twenty Triremes. Florusⁱ, l. 2. increaseth the number to 160, *navium classis intra sexagesimum diem quam cæsa silva fuerat, in ancoris stetit*: of so wonderful a dispatch must they be, which will be Lords of the World. And yet that of the elder Scipio was more marvelous, who *die quadragesimo quinto quam ex silvis detracta materia erat, naves instructas armatasq; in aquam deduxit*, and that being not assisted by the Publick Purse. In the eighth Year of the said Punick War, three hundred, as it may be collected by Polybius were manned. Regulus sailed into Africk with three hundred and fifty, Appian^m λιβυκῇ. Æmilius and Fulvius had ⁿ three hundred sixty four Ships of Service in the same War: which number can hardly be matched again in the Roman State in many Years after. In the second Punick an hundred and sixty, and two hundred, or not much above. Against Antiochus they manned but eighty, and at other times the like in their more flourishing state. Which Doubt Polybius also noteth in ^o his Story, but leaveth the Solution to another place. For altho' the number of three hundred sixty four seem not so excessive, yet such and so great was the Fleet, by reason of the quality of the Ships, that not only the Grecian, and Macedonian, but even the Persian Power, which covered the Sea with twelve hundred Sail, could not by Polybius's judgment stand in comparison. After Polybius's time Pompey in

bello δειν.

- * *Appian* bello *Piratico* had not above two hundred and seventy.
Mithridat. But in the Civil War he had, as *Appian* witnesseth,
 p. 150.
 * *Εμφ. Ι.* six hundred *naves longas*, ἐν τῇ δὲ τοῖς πλεονεξίαισι. And
 p. 225.
 * *Εμφ. 5.* *Augustus* after he had driven *Sex. Pompeius* out of Ita-
 p. 387.
 teen which fled with *Pompey*, and the Navy of *Antony*; who shortly after, at the Battel of *Actium*, furnished five hundred Ships of War (*μαχηρὰς νᾶυς*) where
 * *Pag. 1278.* *Augustus* had two hundred and fifty. *Plutarch* * *Anto-*
nio. And this was, as I take it, the greatest Strength
 * *Appian* of the Roman State. For whereas we read of sixteen
Εμφ. p. 190. hundred with *Sylla* out of *Asia*; * a thousand with
 * *Tacit.* *Germanicus* in *Germany*, and such-like; they are not to
Ann. 2. be otherwise intended but as Vessels to transport, not
 p. 258.
 for the War.

After the Civil Wars ended, *Augustus*, having as it were walled the State with Legions and Aids by Land, as before we have shew'd, established also, to guard the Empire by Sea, two ordinary Armada's in Italy, the one at *Misenum*, in *mari infero*, to protect and keep in obedience *France*, *Spain*, *Mauritania*, *Africk*, *Egypt*, *Sardinia* and *Sicily*: another at *Ravenna*, in *mari supero*, to defend and bridle *Epirus*, *Macedonia*, *Achaia*, *Asia*, *Creta*, *Cyprus*, &c. and out of Italy, one in * *Ponto Euxino*, for defence of those Countries, consisting of forty Ships at the beginning of *Vespasian's* time. *Egesippus*, l. 2. Besides these Armada's, which remained ordinary for the defence of the Empire, *proximum Gallie littus*, saith * *Tacitus*, *rostrate naves presidebant, quas Actiaca victoria captas Augustus in oppidum Foro-Julienſe miserat valido cum remige*: and besides, *apud idonea provinciarum sociæ triremes*. *Claudius* adjoyning *Britanny* to the Empire, adjoynd also the *British Armada*. And not only by Sea, but also upon the Rivers which bordered the Empire, several Navies were maintained, as *Germanica Classis* upon the *Rhine*, *Danubiana Classis*, *Euphratensis*. *Tacitus*, and others.

- * *Tacit. 2.*
 3 *Hist. p. 90.*
 130. *Arrian*
view.
 pont. *Euxi-*
ni.
 * 4 *Ann.*
 p. 333.

Page 27. **W**HEN *Servius Galba* was second time Consul.] *Cornelius Tacitus*, whom *Vopiscus* calleth *Scriptorem historiae Augustae*, wrote two several Volumes of Histories: One from the Death of *Augustus*, as it may seem, to the Calends of *January*, next after the Death of *Nero*, comprehending *Tiberius*, *Caius*, *Claudius* and *Nero's* time, and the greater part of *Galba*; another from the said Calends to the Death of *Domitian*. Of this latter Volume in order of time, howsoever, it was in order of writing, the first four Books comprize the History of one year, and some months only, from the beginning of *January*, when *Galba* and *Vinius* entred their Consulships, in the year *ab urbe condita* 822. according to *Tacitus*, or rather the consent of the Empire in that time. *Claudio Cesare quartum*, *Vitellio tertium Coss.* saith he, 11. ^a *Annalium*, a Pag. 405. just

just two and twenty years before *Galba* and *Vinius*, *ludi seculares octingentesimo post Romam conditam anno spectati sunt*, which account exceedeth the *Capitolin* (as they call it) by one year, and agreeth fully with ^b *Varro*, ^c *Cicero*, ^d *Pliny* and ^e *Dio's* reckoning. Now although the Prince and an Officer may seem in one person incompatible qualities, yet the custom of that State beareth, that the Emperor the first year of his Empire of order, and estoons upon pleasure supplied the one Consul's place. The reason is in *Appian*. 1. *Μευλ. p. 200.* (1) Σύλλας καί-
περ ὦν Δικτάτωρ εἰς ὑπόκρισιν οὕτως καὶ σχῆμα δημοκρα-
τικῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπέστη καὶ ὑπατὸς αὐτοῖς γινέσθαι σὺν Με-
τέλλω τῷ Δοσέει. καὶ ἀπὸ τῶδε ἴσως ἐτι νῦν οἱ Ῥωμαίων
βασίλεις ὑπάτους ἀποκρίνοντες τῇ πατρίδι ἐσθὶν ὅτι καὶ
ἐαυτοὺς ἀποδεικνύουσιν, ἐν καλῇ τιθέμενοι μετὰ τῆς μεγί-
στης ἀρχῆς καὶ ὑπατεύουσι. Now the first Consulate of
Galba was four years before *Tiberius's* death, ob-
tained by favour of *Livia Augusta*, saith *Plutarch*
in *Galba*; *Λιβίας παρσχίσσης ὑπατὸς ἐκ παλατίης*
προῆλθεν: which I think is an oversight; for she
was dead four years before, in small favour with
her Son, and they in smaller, that sought by her
means to rise in honours. *Tacit. 5. Annalium p.*
369. Quin & parte ejusdem epistole increpuit Tiberi-
us amicitias muliebres, Fusium consulem oblique per-
stringens. is gratia Augusta floruerat, aptus alliciendis
familiarum animis, &c. Neither was it *Tiberius's*
manner to bestow Offices so long beforehand. *Tacit.*
2. Annalium p. 271.
Many excellent Men.] Principally meant, as I take
it, of *Livy*, although his story reach somewhat fur-
ther, of whose eloquence, those Works are witness
that remain: and of his Liberty, *Tacitus 4. & Annal:*
in the Oration of *Cremutius Cordus*. *Titus Livius*
eloquentie ac fidei præclarus inprimis Cn. Pompeium
tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum cum Augustus
appellavit, neque id amicitie eorum offecit. Scipio-
nem, Africanum, hunc ipsum Cassium nusquam latrones
& parricidas, que nunc vocabula imponuntur, sepe ut
injignes viros nominat.

28. Because having no part in the state they were ignorant: *Inscitia reip. ut aliena,*] *Aliena ignorantur,* either because we cannot, or because we care not to know them. The first seemeth here to have place; for whereas, before the people and Senate of Rome took knowledge of all that was done wheresoever, now the most important Affairs of estate passed thorough fewer fingers, in more secret sort. *Dio. lib. 53*
 (2) τὰ μὲν πλείω κρύφα, καὶ δι' ἀπὸρρήτων γίνεσθαι ἤρξατο ποιεῖν ὧν τὸ μὲν λαφύρας ἐδάειξεν διδοὺς ῥαδίως, ἐξ ὧν τὴν πραγμάντων αὐτὰ.

Ibid. Prince Nerva of sacred memory: *Principatum Divi Nervæ & imperium Trajani.*] To certain Emperors the Senate, for their good Government, or importuned by their Successors, awarded *templum* & *caelestes religiones*, and the Title of *Divus*. And not only to the Princes themselves, but sometimes to their Wives, Mothers, and Children also; as we read in the stories. *Appianus 2.* Εμφυλ: (2) καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου πρώτῃ (speaking of *Divus Julius*) ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἐκαστοὶ καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ δεῖ ἀρχοντα, ἢν μὴ τὸ ἕν τι γυνικὸς ἢ ἐπίμεμπτον ὦν, ἀποθανόντα ἀξιοῦσι τιμῶν ἰσοδίων. ἀποθανόντα, saith *Appian*: *Nam Deum honor Principi non antè habetur, quàm agere inter homines deserit.* ^a *Tacitus*. And therefore in this place he nameth *Trajan*, who then lived simply without addition: the other that was Dead, *Divum Nervam*. The Ceremonies of this ἀποθέωσις or Canonizing, as being in part conformable to the use of some Countries in our time, I will here briefly set down out of ^b *Herodian*, and others, at least the principal points. After the Prince's Death, the Body being Buried Honourably, and in Sumptuous sort, according to the manner of other Men, they framed an Image of wax, resembling in all respects the party Deceased, but palish and wan as a Sick Man: and so being ^c laid at the entry of the Pa-

543. ^b *lib. 4. p. 476, 477, 478.* ^c In our time after the Death of the late *Charles* in *France*, his Image was laid in a rich Bed, in Triumphant Attire, with the Crown upon his Head, and the Collar of the Order about his Neck, and forty days at ordinary hours, Dinner and Supper was served in, with all accustomed Ceremonies, as sewing-Water, Grace, Carving, say-singing, &c. all the Cardinals, Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, and Officers attending in far greater Solemnity than if he had been Alive.

d *Xiphilinus*,
p. 316, 317,
318. noteth
some other
particularities
not specified
in this narra-
tion.
e During that
time, saith
Xiphilinus,
there stood
also a Page
with a Fan
of Peacock's
Feathers to
keep away
the Flies
from his
Face, as if he
were but a-
sleep.

f *Herodiam*.
lib. 4. μαμρυ-
μαρον τι πιν-
δος εσθλ ης
δπονκισια.
Dio, lib. 56.
in epitaphio
Augusti:
ουκ ειν εσθλ
τηνδαιν δολον
η εν πεποισι,
ειναι την συ-
ζων, ης ης δεδ,
ουκ ειν εσθλ.

g *Pharus*.

lace in ^d an Ivory-Bed, covered with Cloth of Gold, the Senate and Ladies assisting in Mourning Attire, the Physicians daily resorted unto him to touch his pulse, and consider in College of his Disease, Doctorally at their departure resolving, that he grew in worse and worse terms, and hardly would scape it. At the end of ^e seven days they opined, and found by their Learning, the Crisis belike being bad, that the Patient was departed: Whereupon, some of the Senate appointed for that purpose, and principal Gentlemen, taking up the Bed upon their Shoulders, carried it thorough *Via Sacra* into the *Forum*; where a Company of young Gentlemen of greatest Birth standing on the one side, and Maids on the other, sung Hymns and Sonnets, the one to the other in Commendation of the Dead Prince, entuned in a Solemn and Mournful note, with all kind of other Musick and Melody, as indeed the whole Ceremony was a ^f mixt Action of Mourning and Mirth, as appeareth also by *Seneca*, *Σπουδακωνισμος* at the-Consecration of *Claudius*. *Et erat omnium formosissimum (funus Claudii) & impensa cura plenum, ut scires Deum efferrī, tibicinum, cornicinum, omnisque generis aeneatorum tanta turba, tantus convetus, ut etiam Claudius audire posset.* Afterward they carried the Hearse out of the City into *Campus Martius*, where a square Tower was Builded of Timber, large at the bottom, and of competent height to receive Wood and Fagots sufficiently, outwardly bedeck'd and hung with Cloth of Gold, Imagery-Work, and curious Pictures. Upon that Tower stood a second turret in figure and furniture like to the first, but somewhat less, with Windows and Doors standing open, wherein the Hearse was placed, and all kind of Spiceries and Odours, which the whole World could yield, heaped therein: and so a third and fourth turret, and so forth, growing less and less toward the top: the whole Building representing the form of a ^g *Lantern* or watch-hour, which giveth light in the Night. Thus all being placed in order, the Gentlemen first sid about it, marching in a certain measure, then follow

5

h Dio. lib. 56
in funere Au-
gusti: καὶ
τάτῃ δ' ἔτι
ἐκαστοὶ παρχει
λαβέβις,
ὅρῃσαν αὐ-
τήν (τὴν πε-
ρὰν) καὶ ἡ μὲν
ἀνελίσκετο,
αἰτὶς δ' ἡ τις
ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀφί-
στis, ἀναστα-
σις, αἰς καὶ ἡ
ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ
εἰς τὸν ἐκαστὸν
ἀνδρῶν.

(1.) That, one *Lucius Geminus* a Senator swore that he saw *Drusilla* ascending up into Heaven, and conversing with the Gods wishing to himself and his Children utter destruction if he spoke an untruth, calling to witnesses both sundry other Gods, and especially the Goddess herself of whom he spoke, for which oath he received a million of Sesterces, which makes 7812l. 10s. Sterl.

this was the Honour done to the good Princes after their Death: as for the bad, they lacked not likewise the Senates reward, *ut nomen fastis eximeretur, ut stutne deicerentur, ut corpus unco traheretur in Tiberim, &c.*

Ibid. And oft both at once: *Ac plerumque permixta.*] Both at once, or perchance both in one, as in *Antonius Primus's* Army, at the taking of *Cremona*, *cui cives, socij externi interessent.* Tacitus 3. ^a Hist. and in the same Book: *Principes Sarmatarum Jazygum in commilitium asciti, trabuntur in partes Sido atque Italicus Reges Suevorum.* So that this War, and such like, though in respect of their Captains civil, by reason of external helps might be called *permixta.*

Ibid. *Illyricum* troubled.] As in *Orho's* time by the *Rhoxolani.* Tacitus in this first Book, p. 50. in *Vitellius*, by the *Daci.* Tac. 3. Hist. p. 129. in *Vespasian's* by the *Sarmatae*; *Iosephus* ἀλλότ. 7. c. 12. and generally the Nations upon that Border, invaded the Romans under *Domitian.* Tacitus, in the Life of *Agricola*, p. 605.

Ibid. *Britany* all Conquered, &c. *Britannia perdomita: & statim missa cohorte in Sarmatarum ac Suevorum gentes.*] Some learned Men correct this place, which no doubt is corrupted, thus: *Perdomita Britannia ac statim amissa: coorte Sarmatarum ac Suevorum gentes.* *Perdomita Britannia*, is meant by *Julius Agricola* in *Domitian's* time. Tacitus in vita ^b *Agricola*: *Quia tum demum perdomita est Britannia*: now must it be lost again in the same *Domitian's* time (for this History passeth no further) which cannot be proved by any Story, no nor by any slender Conjecture. Tacitus writing the Life of *Agricola* in *Trajan's* time, *Ea insecuta sunt*, saith ^c he, *reip. tempora, quæ sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Mæsia Daciaque, & Germania, Pannoniaque, temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi: tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati & capti. nec jam de limite imperij & ripa, sed de Hibernis legionum & possessione dubitatum.* The loss of *Britany*, if there had been any such, had much better becomeed this Place,

Place, than any other Calamity that he could have told us. But *Agricola* left the Countrey in good quiet, and so no doubt it continued all *Domitian's* time. As for any matter happening under *Adrian* (which yet was no loss of the Countrey, but some disorder) being out of the compass of this History; and as it is likely, of his Life that wrote it, I will easily believe it was not intended to be briefed in this Place. More according to the Story, and with less change in the Letter, we may thus amend it.

Britannia perdomita & statim missa (i. e. missa facta, ἀρτιμένην) coorte Sarmatarum ac Suevorum gentes, to signify that all *Britany* was Conquered, but not all retained. App. p. 5. (1) τῆς Βρετανίδος νῆσ. saith he, τὸ κρετίστον ἔχουσιν ὑπερ ἡμῶν (οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι) ἐδὲν τ' ἄλλης δέδοται. ἔδ' εὐφορος αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἐδ' ἦν ἔχουσιν.

Ibid. Abused by a counterfeit *Nero*.] This happened in *Titus's* time. *Zona* as *tomos* 2. (2.) ἐπὶ τέττε καὶ ὁ ψευδονέρον ἐφάνη. ὃς ἀλιανὸς ἦν, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τερέντιος μάξιμος. περὶ τοῦδε καὶ τῷ νερόνι καὶ τὸ ἔδος, καὶ τ' φωνήν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκίθαρώδει, ἐκ τε τ' ἀλίας τινὰς περὶ Σεποῖσαςτο. καὶ ὅτι τὸν εὐφρότην περὶ χαρῶν πολλὰ πλείως ἀνῆρτησαςτο καὶ τέλος περὶ ἀρτάβατον τ' ὅτ' ἀρῶν κατέφυγεν ἀρχηγὸν, ὃς καὶ δὴ ὀργῆς τ' τίτον ποιεύμενος, ἐνέξατο τῆτον καὶ καταγαγεῖν εἰς Ῥώμην παρεσκευάζετο. *Suetonius Nerone* seemeth to make it in *Domitian's* time. *Quum post viginti annos*, (after *Nero's* Death) saith he, *adolescente me extitisset conditionis incertae*, *qui se Neronem esse jactaret, tam favorable nomen ejus apud Parthos fuit, ut vehementer adjutus, & vix redditus sit.* *Tacitus* 2. *Hist.* and the *Abridgment* of *Dio*. p. 204. make mention of another, which in *Orho's* time was slain in *Cythno insula* by *Calpurnius Asprenas*.

Ibid. The most fruitful tract of *Campania*, and the City of *Rome* wasted by Fire.] *Suct. Tito*. c. 8. *Quedam sub eo fortuita ac tristia acciderunt, ut conflagratio Vesuvij montis in Campania, & incendium Rome per triduum, totidemque noctes.* f *Xiphilinus* the

At length he fled to *Artabanus*, King of the *Parthians*, who bearing ill Will to *Titus*, gave him Entertainment, and made Provision to reduce him to *Rome*. f *Page* 228, 229.

(3) And at abridger of *Dio*, describeth this burning of *Vesuvius* Rome filled all at large, with all the Circumstances and Miracles; the Air about the City, and darkened the Sun. (3) εἰσέλαθε δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ῥώμην, καὶ τὸ αἶερα καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπλήρωσε, καὶ ἤλιον ἐπεσκίασε. *Plinius Secund.* in an Epistle to

(1) That *Tacitus*, setteth it out upon occasion of his Uncle's Death, who was stifled there with Ashes and Smoak. In the later Emperor's time, the same Mountain burned again in such vehement sort, that they at Constantinople were choaked all up with the Ashes that issued from it, if we may safely believe their own Stories. Now for the wasting of Rome by Fire,

Xiphilinus, p. 230. delivereth it at large. (1) πῦρ δὲ δὴ ἕτερον τῷ ἐξῆς ἔτει πολλὰ πάντῃ τῷ ῥώμης ἐπὶ νείματο. καὶ γὰρ τὸ σεραπείον, καὶ τὸ ἰσῆον, ταῖς σεπτά, καὶ τὸ ποσειδώνιον, τὸ τε βαλανεῖον τὸ τῷ ἀγρίππῃ, καὶ τὸ πάνθειον, τὸ τε διριβιτώριον, καὶ τὸ τῷ βάλβι θεάτρον, καὶ τῷ πομπηῖ σκηνῇ, καὶ τὰ ὀκταεῖα οἰκήματα μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων, καὶ τὰ νῆα τῷ διὸς τῷ καπιτωλίνῃ μετὰ τῶν σωνάων αὐτῶν κατέκαυσεν.

P. 29. The Islands, &c. *Plenum exiliis mare*] *Mare pro insulis*. So *Tacitus*, 4. Ann. p. 342. calleth *Seriphus*, *Saxum Seriphium* by way of Contempt: for such commonly were the Islands, into which the *Relegati* were sent. The usual Islands of Deportation, were *Pandataria*, *Planasia*, *Cercina*, *Seriphus*, *Gyarus*, *Cythera*, *Amorgus*, *Donusa*, *Trimerus*, *Baleares*, *Sardinia*, *Naxus*, and perhaps others.

Ibid. The Cliffs, &c. *Infecti cædibus scopuli*.] The *relegati in insulam* were commonly upon a second Message led aside to some Creek or Promontory, and so quietly made away; or peradventure, *scopuli* is taken here, *pro insulâ*, as *mare* was before.

Ibid. Or forbear them.] *Xiphilinus Domitiano* maketh mention of *Herennius Senecio*, whom *Domitian* put to Death, because after the Questorship, he had not demanded in all his Life any higher Office. *Tacitus in vita Agricola*, p. 605. *Salarium tamen proconsulari solitum offerri, quibusdam à seipso concessum, Agricola non dedit* (*Domitianus*) *sive offensus non petitus, sive, &c.*

Ibid.

a ὅτι ἐστὶ μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐν πολλῇ βίᾳ καὶ τῷ ταμίᾳ ἡθελῇ. But *Tacitus* himself in the Preface of *Agricola*, alledgeth another Reason, because he published a Book in praise of *Helvidius Priscus*.

Ibid. As Spoils.] In Tiberius's time, when Libo Drusus was accused of Treason, *bona damnati inter accensatores dividebantur*, & *præturæ extra ordinem datæ ijs qui senatorij ordinis erant*. Tacitus 2. Annal. Again 3^d Annal. Hunc (Titium Sabinum) Latinius Latia-^b Page 364.
ris, Porcius Cato, Petitiuſ Rufus, M. Opſius prætura functi aggrediuntur cupidine consulatus; speaking not of the time here intended, but of the same manner of Proceeding; rather of other Men, than other Manners.

Procuratorships.] Procurator, saith Cicero *pro Cæcina*, dicitur is, qui omnium rerum ejus, qui in Italia non sit, absitve reip. causa, quasi quidam penè dominus est, h. e. alieni juris vicarius. Appian. p. 282, translates it ὁ ἀποδημίαν ἐπιτερουῶν. From this general Notion, the word was afterward particularly applied to certain Offices, which were appointed in every Province, (beside the Presidents, or Lieutenants) as it were, Treasurers or Receivers, to gather up the Revenues of the Empire. Dio. l. 53. (2) That is, Procurators we call them which receive, and according to their Commissions, pay out the common Revenues.
ἐπὶ πλεῖστας ὀνομαζόμενους τὰς τε κοινὰς προσόδους ἐκλέγοντας, καὶ περὶ τεταγμένα σφίσι ἀναλίσκοντας. Tac. in vita Agricole bringeth in the Britains complaining: singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, è quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona serviret. ^c An Office of Gain, rather than Honour, supplied by the Gentlemen of Rome, or by the Prince's Libertines, generally by his most assured, and trusty Servitors. And this was their first Institution. Beside this, they were set also to spie the Lieutenants Actions, and sometimes they had special Commission to murder them. Sometimes they were sent into smaller Provinces, as Governors with Jurisdiction, then called *procuratores cum potestate*, or *vice-præsides*. Tac. in this Book: Dux Mauritania, Rhætia, Noricum, Thracia, & quæ aliæ procuratoribus cōhibentur, ut cuique exercitus vicina, ita &c. Claudius, especially enlarged the Office, Cujus, saith, ^d Tacitus, *sepius audita vox est, parem vim rerum habendam à procuratoribus suis judicatarum, ac si ipse statuisset*. Ac ne fortuito prolapsus videretur, senatus quoque consulto cautum, plenius quàm antea & uberius. And in Tiberius's

time, Pontius Pilatus, who put Christ to Death, was but only procurator, not Lieutenant, or President. Tacitus 15. ^c Ann. *Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat.*

Inward Credit.] Such was the Credit of Mæcenâs with Augustus, and of Salustius Crispus, who as Tacitus ^f Ann. 3. p. 309. *reporteth, Quinquam prompto ad capeffendos honores aditu, Mæcenatem æmulatus, sine dignitate senatoriâ multos triumphalium, consulariumque potentiâ antecit. Incolumi Mæcenati proximus, mox primus, cui secreta imperatorum inmitterentur, in some, such as cared not to bear Office of Honour, but otherwise governed the Prince peaceably, in quality of Favourites, or Minions, as they call them.*

The Bond-men.] In Ancient time by a Decree of the Senate, the Bond-men could not be put to the Torture, *in caput Domini*: but Tiberius saith, Tacitus 2. ^a Ann. *callidus & novi juris repertor mancipari singulos aëtori publico jubet: scilicet ut in dominum ex servis satoo senatus-consulto quaeretur.* Afterward, *indicia servorum*, without Torture were usually received as good evidence, and largely rewarded. Tacit. 16. ^b Ann. in the cause of Petronius; *corrupto ad indicium servo.*

Ibid. That the Gods are careful rather, &c.] Titus the Emperor, having shipped away all the Informers and promoters, *ingenti animo securitati nostræ ultionique prospexerat, idèoque numinibus æquatus est*, saith Pliny, in his Panegyrick, attributing to the Gods both qualities, to save us from harm, and to revenge us when we are harmed, and carrying a more reverent conceit of them, than his fellow Tacitus seemeth to do in this place, and in some other places beside. 14. Annal. *Prodigia quoque crebra & irrita intercessere. Anguem enixa mulier, & alia in concubitu mariti fulmine exanimata: tam sol repente obscuratus, & tactæ de cælo quatuordecim urbis regiones. Quæ adèò sine curâ deùm eveniebant, ut multos post annos Nero imperium & scelera continuaverit.* ^c Annal. 16. *Exutus omnibus fortunis, & in exilium actus (Cassius Asclepiodorus) æquitate de-*
am

im erga bona malaque documenta. And yet in some other places he letterth fall somerimes religious Sentences, carrying himself as it were in balance doubtfully between the carelesness of *Polybius* that way, and the superstitiousness of *Livy*, two principal Writers of the *Roman* Story.

Ibid. The reasons and causes of things, not only, [Sec.] The commendation of an History consisteth not in reporting bare events, but in discovering the causes of those events, without which, the Reader can pick but small profit out of a simple Register-Book.

ἢ ἄτως ὅτι φρονήσαν, ^d faith *Polybius*, (1) ἢ αὐτῶν ἢ πράξεων ἐξηγήσεις, ἢ τοῖς γράψαν, ἢ τοῖς ἀναγινώσκον τὰς ἱστορίας, ὡς ἢ προτέρων, ἢ ἢ ἄμα, ἢ ἢ ὁπρηνόμενον τοῖς ἔργοις. ἱστορίας γὰρ εἰς ἀνάλυσιν τίς καὶ δια τίς, καὶ πῶς, καὶ τίνος χάριν ἐπεσχεῖται. καὶ τὸ πρῶτον πότρεα ἔυλορον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος, τὸ καλακρινόμενον αὐτῆς, ἀγωνισμα μὲν, μάθημα δὲ οὐ γινέσθαι, καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν τέρεται, πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέλλον οὐδὲν ὀφείλει τὸ παραῖπαν. *Scribere bellum*, faith *Sempronius Asellio* in *Gellius*, quo initum consule, Et quomodo confectum sit, Et quis triumphans intrecierit, Et quæ in eo bello gesta sint iterare; non prædicari autem interea quid senatus decreverit, aut quæ lex rogatione lata sit, neque quibus consiliis ea gesta sint; id fabulas pueris est narrare, non historias scribere. Nobis non modo satis esse video quod factum esset id pronunciare; sed etiam quo consilio quaque ratione gesta essent demonstrare. And *Dionysius*, *Αρχαιολογ.* pag. 238. (2) Τοῖς ἀναγινώσκον τὰς ἱστορίας ἢ ἰκανὸν εἰς ὀφέλειαν, τὸ τέλος αὐτὸ ἢ πρῶτον ἀκούσαι. ἀπαυτί δὲ ἕκαστος καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἱστορεῖται ἢ ὁπρηνόμενων, καὶ τοὺς τέρας ἢ πράξεως, καὶ τὰς διανοίας ἢ πρῶτον, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τὸ δαιμονίον συγκυρήσαντα καὶ μηδὲν ἀνέκοι γινέσθαι. ἢ περὶ τῶν τοῖς πρῶτον παρακολυθεῖν. The like lib. 11. p. 505. For this vertue *Theopompus*, is by the same *Dionysius*

d lib. 3. p. 72.

(1) That is, neither are the writers of Stories nor readers so much to regard and insist upon the bare narration of the Actions themselves, as the precedents, the adjuncts and consequences of the Actions. For take away from Story the causes whereupon, and the manner how, and the purpose wherefore things were done, and whether the Action had such success as in probability was to be expected, that which remaineth is a Tale indeed, but no instruction. For the present delighting but afterward profiting nothing at all.

c lib. 5. cap. 18.

(2) That is, in reading of Stories the principal profit consisteth not in knowing only the end of things and events, but every Man desireth to understand the causes of that which passed, the manner of doing, the drift and devices of the doers, the occurrences of fortune, and to be ignorant of nothing which belonged any way to the action. *f in fragmentis.*

extolled, and praised in most exquisite manner. (3)

(3) That is, the last of his virtues and most peculiar and proper, as being by no other History writer old nor new so exactly performed, is this, in every Action not only to see and declare what was apparent to the view of the World, but also to search out the secret causes of Actions, and to see into the affections of their minds who were agents: things not easily seen of the common sort, and finally to discover all the Mysteries both of pretended virtue and cloaked vice. The examination and trial by Theopompus's Writings being no less exact than the arraignment of Souls fabulously devised before the infernal Judges.

τελευταῖον, faith he, ἐστὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ (Θεοπόμπου) καὶ χαρταῖς περικατάστον, ὃ παρ' ἑδνὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγραφέων ἕτως ἀκρίβως ἐξέγραψαι, ὥστε τὴν πρεσβυτέρων, ὥστε τῶν νεωτέρων. τίς ἢ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐστὶ; τὸ καθ' ἑκάστην περᾶν μὴ μόνον τὰ φανερά τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁρᾶν καὶ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐξετάζειν καὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς αἰτίας τῶν περᾶν, καὶ τῶν περᾶν αὐτὰς τὰ παθὴν τῶν ψυχῶν, ἀμὴν ῥά διὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εἶδεναι. καὶ πάντα ἐκκαλύπτειν τὰ μυστήρια τῶν τε δοκῶν ἀρετῶν, καὶ τῶν ἀγνοούμενων κακίας. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ, ὡς ὁ μυθεύμενος εἶναι τῶν ψυχῶν ἀπολυθεῖσθαι τὸ σώματι ἐξέλασμός ἐστι τῶν ἐκείνους δικαστῶν. ἕτως ἀκριβῶς εἶναι ὃ διὰ τὸ θεοπόμπου γεγραμμένον. Now Tacitus in this place setting us down a Theorem of History, wherein without Controversie he excelled; that an Historiographer is to give knowledge of Councils and Causes: another natural, wherein he had no great grace, that *eventus plerumque sunt fortuiti*, that is, either had no Causes, or no Causes that could be discovered, may seem in (4) νοημάτων διαρίσεις to have seen very nearly, but yet in (5) συνθέσει, to have looked not so well about him: joyning somewhat strangely two contrary Notions together.

P. 30. City Soldier.] The Soldiers that were Resident at Rome were of two sorts, *Prætoriani* and *Urbani* propriè dicti, both of them by Tacitus here, and elsewhere comprehended by the name of *Miles urbanus*. *Miles urbanus longo Cæsarium sacramento imbutus*: and again, *ne urbano quidem militi satis confisus*, meaning only or principally of the *Prætorians*. In his proper signification and standing in opposition to *Prætoriani*, Tacit. pag. 58. *addidit classi Urbanas cohortes*, ὅς πλεροῦς ἐκ *Prætorianis*; again, *quod raro aliàs Prætorianus, Urbanusque miles in aciem deducit*: now when it doth stand for the one, or both, only circumstance must help to discern.

Ibid. That secret of state disclosed: *Evulgato imperii arcano*.] *Evulgare arcana imperii*, may seem to be that which *Dionysius* in the place before alledged, calleth, τὸ ἐκκαλύπτειν τὰ μυστήρια τῶν τε δοκῶν ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγνοούμενων κακίας, in Affairs of State to reveal the good openly

(4) In division of Notions. (5) In Composition.

pretended,

pretended, and the ill secretly intended. Notwithstanding, *arcana imperii*, being in mine Opinion so sundry in nature, can hardly be bounded with one definition. Tacitus, ^a *Annal. 2. Censuit Gallus in* ^{a pag. 271.}

quinquennium magistratum comitia habenda. Haud dubium erat eam sententiam altius penetrare, & arcana imperii tentari: the secret of state herein was, that whereas, hope of Honour or Gain is the only sovereign mean in Court to retain Suiters and Servants in diligence and due Devotion, to speed so many at once were to make so many slack Waiters; and for so many years beforehand to drive the rest to despair. In the same ^b Book. Augustus *inter* ^{b pag. 283.}

alia dominationis arcana, vetitis, nisi permissu, ingredi senatoribus aut equitibus Romanis illustribus, seposuit Ægyptum: ne fame urgeret Italiam, quisquis eam provinciam, claustraque terræ ac maris quamvis levi presidio adversus ingentes exercitus infedisset.

The secret is, into a Countrey which Rebelling might endanger the State, never to suffer Men of great Houses, or great Credit among the common people to have access. In this place, as it may seem, are meant the secret truths of appearances in Affairs of State; for the Mass of the people is guided and governed more by Ceremonies and shews than matter in substance. The Example is of an act done in undue place, whereof there had been no Precedent before. In Congruity a Prince of Rome were to be Created at Rome, and an Emperor in the Seat-Town of the Empire, and so it had been always observed: but the truth was, and so much the secret imported, that in substance it mattered not much where he were made, that afterward could maintain it with Arms, and with the good liking of the Subjects of the Empire. This secret of State

Galba disclosed, and making his profit thereof against Nero, gave occasion to other to practise the like against him. The Soldiers of Germany in the choice of Vitellius, as Plutarch reporteth, (1) *ὅτι οἱ στρατοὶ οὐκ ἔμελλον ἀνδράποισι πᾶσιν ὡς Ἰσθίων καὶ λυσισανῶν ἀμείνους εἶσμεν αὐτοκρατορὰ ἀιρεῖσθαι.* Vitellius likewise passed out the same way he came in.

(1) That is, go to now, by choosing Vitellius let us shew to the World that we are able to make an Emperor better than those of Spain and Portugal.

Nam Portugal.

Nam posse ab exercitu principem fieri, sibi ipsi Vitellius documento est, saith *Mutianus* in *Tacitus*, lib. 2.

^c pag. 95.

^c Hist. And generally after this secret was by *Galba* once disclosed, more Emperors were made abroad, than at *Rome*. Besides these, *imperii*, or *dominationis arcana*, ^d *Tacitus* maketh mention of *arcana domus Augustæ*: that is, secrets of Court, or of Palace, and 3. ^e *Ann. of secreta imperatorum*.

^d *Ann. l. pag.*
218.

^e pag. 309.

Ibid. Making indeed very bold with their Prince as being new in state.] *Tacitus* 2. Hist. *Recens Galbæ principatu censuerant patres ut accusatorum causæ noscerentur*: and 4. Hist. in the Oration of *Curtius Montanus*; *Elanguimus P. C. nec jam ille senatus sumus, qui occiso Nerone delatores, & ministros more majorum puniendos flagitabat. Optimus est post malum principem dies primus*. Now *accusatores*, promoters, or informers, are reckoned *inter instrumenta imperii*, with as good reason as one *Locusta* in *Claudius* and *Nero's* time, *nuper veneficii damnata & diu inter instrumenta regni habita*, saith *Tacitus*, 12. ^f *Annal.* For accusers, certain it is, that many good Princes, or not very bad, have been content to maintain them. *Mutianus* the mouth of *Vespasian*, *censuit prolixè pro accusatoribus*: *Tacitus* 4. ^g Hist. *Helvidius Priscus* sueing *Eprius Marcellus* upon the Decree *Dubiâ voluntate Galbæ*, became suddenly non-suit, *ibidem*.

^f pag. 440.

^g pag. 176.

P. 31. His Journey to *Rome* was slow.] At what day *Galba* began his Journey from *Spain* to *Rome*, and when he entred the City, the stories being lost, it is hard precisely to determine. Notwithstanding, to give some light to this place, and withal, to yield a reason of the times set down by me ^h elsewhere, I think good to note the reasons which moved me thereto. First *Galerio Trachalo*, *Silio Italico Coss. Neapoli de motu Galliarum cognovit (Nero) die ipso, quo matrem occiderat*. *Suet.* ⁱ *Neron*. Now *Agrippina* was slain, *ipsis Quinquatruum diebus*: *Tac.* 14. ^k *Ann.* & *Suet.* ^l *Nerone*; and *Quinquatrus* begin the Nineteenth day of *March*: *Ovid. Fast.* 3. so allowing some competent time from *Vienne*, or *Lions*, to *Naples*, it will appear that *Vindex's* rebellion began

^h In the end
of *Nero* and
beginning of
Galba.

ⁱ cap. 40.
^k pag. 479.
^l cap. 34.

gan about the Tenth or Twelfth of March. Again, Xiphilinus saith that Galba reigned Nine Months and Thirteen Days, which is to be understood from the time he took the Empire upon him in Spain, as Xiphilinus himself noteth in the last Words of *Vespasian's* time: So that Galba, dying the Fifteenth of ^a Jan- ^{a Tac. i. Hist.} uary, began his Reign about the First, or Second of April. Nero began the 13th of October: Tac. 12.

^b Ann. (1) καὶ ἤρξεν ἐπὶ τρισκαίδεκα καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ μηνῶν ^{b pag. 447.} ἡμέραις δέοις, ἐτελείσθην δ' ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑκατόν μῆνας, saith (1) That is, *Zonaras* Tomo II. which two sayings, cannot both be true: For if Nero Deceased in July, then Reign- ^{and he} ed he more than Thirteen Years and Eight Months; ^{Reigned} but if his Reign was no longer, which Xiphiline also ^{Thirteen} assureth us of, then died he not in July. Again, the ^{Years and} same Xiphiline writeth; (2) καὶ τότε συμβαίνει ἐν- ^{Eight Months} αὐτὸν τε καὶ δύο καὶ ἑκοσὶν ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ νέ- ^{wanting two} ρωνος μέχρι τοῦ τοῦ οὐρανίου ἀρχῆς διαδοῦν. But ^{Days, and Di-} the first day of *Vespasian's* Empire, was the First day ^{ed in the} of July, Tac. 2. Hist. so that Nero's Death was ^{Month of} upon the Eighth day of June; and so it should seem ^{July.} by *Tacitus*, in this very Book, *septem à Neronis fine* ^{(2) That is,} *mensēs sunt.* *Aurelius Victor* saith, *Menses septem di-* ^{by just Com-} *esque totidem (imperavit Galba)* which understood ^{putation} from Nero's Death, agreeth justly with the former ^{from Nero's} Account. About the very same time with Nero, Di- ^{Death till the} ed *Vindex* in France. The Word came first of his ^{beginning of} Death, to Galba in Spain, and certain days after of ^{*Vespasian's*} Nero's in post. *Plutarch* Galba. And certain it is, ^{Reign, there} that Nero never had any News of *Vindex's* over- ^{was one} throw. For it could not have been otherwise, but ^{whole Year,} that being heard must needs have wrought some no- ^{and two and} table alteration at Rome. *Philostratus* l. 5. de vita ^{Twenty days,} *Apollonii.* (3) ἀκούσαι φασιν ὡς Νέρων μὲν περὶ τοῦτο, ^{pag. 225.} (3) That is, ^{it was repor-} τὸ θνήσκει δὲ βίβριξ, as though at *Messana* in *Sicily*, ^{ted (at Messa-} the News of Nero's Destruction had first been repor- ^{na where A-} red. Of Nero's Death, *Icelus* brought Galba the News ^{pollonius then} in Seven days from Rome. *Plutarch*, ἦκεν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ^{was) that Ne-} ἰκελὸς ἀνὴρ ἐπελεῖθερος, ἐβόλομαϊος. So allowing ^{ro was fled,} some time for Provision, it may seem that Galba set ^{and Vindex} forward about the beginning of July, and entred ^{Dead.} the City, as it may be reasonably supposed, about Sep-
tember

ember following; his Journey saith Tacitus, was slow, the way long, and his Men heavy loaden.

Ibid. Galba brought in the *Spanish* Legion.] That is, as I think, *Septima Galbiana*, gathered (as it may seem by Tacitus 3. ^c Hist. Dio. ^d lib. 55. and ^e Suetonius) by Galba in Spain, which notwithstanding, seemeth to have been sent away into *Illyricum* before his Death, under *Antonius Primus* Lieutenant, and therefore without cause remembred here. In the tumult of *Otho*, I find no mention of any *Hispana legio*, neither in Tacitus in this Book, nor any writer beside, unless percase they alone were asleep, when all the World besides was in Arms.

Ibid. To the straits of the *Caspian* Mountains.] *Suetonius* ^f *Nerone*. *Parabat* (Nero) *Et ad Caspiae portas expeditionem, conscripta ex Italiciis senum pedum tyronibus nova legione, quam Magni Alexandri phalangem appellabat.* *Xiphilinus* addeth further that he had purposed a voyage into *Aethiopia*.

P. 32. Lieutenants of Legions: *Legati legionum*.] *Legatus*, in this very Book hath three significations. 1. *Legatus* for an Ambassador, p. 24. *Censuerant patres mittendos ad Germanicum exercitum legatos.* 2. *Legatus*, or *Legatus consularis*, or *consularis* for a Lieutenant, Depury, President, or Governour of a whole Province or Army. p. 21. *Othonem in provinciam Lusitaniam specie legationis seposuit.* p. 42. *Hordeonius Flaccus consularis legatus aderat.* p. 19. *Inferioris Germaniae legiones diutius sine consulari fuere.* 3. *Legatus legionis*, or *legatus Praetorius*, or *legatus* simply, but by circumstance to be discerned, for the Lieutenant of a Legion, whereof were in every Army as many as Legions. p. 44. *Calius legatus vicefima legionis.* p. 586. in *visa Agricola* speaking of the same Legion and Man: *Quippe legatis consularibus nimia ac formidolosa erat.* *Nec legatus Praetorius adhibendum potens.* p. 42. *Nullo legatorum, tribunorumve pro Galba nitente.* p. 44. *Fædis legatorum certaminibus*, spoken equivocally, and to the vantage of the Word, for the one of them was *legatus consularis*, and the other *legatus legionis*.

P. 33. Provinces abroad: *E provinciis.*] *Scilicet Caesaris*, only meant, as I take it, here. For *Augustus*, after the War at *Actium*, enforced forsooth by the Senate to undertake the Monarchy, divided the Provinces into two sorts. The quiet and peaceable Countreys he rendred into the Senate and people's hand; the Provinces that limited and bordered the Empire, with the rest where any Rebellion or War might be feared, he retained to himself, and his Successors, in shew to sustain himself all danger alone, and leave to the Senate the sweet at their ease, but in truth, to keep himself always Armed, and them without Arms. To the Senate and people, as ^a *Strabo*, and ^b *Dio* write, belonged these Provinces following, which ^c *Tacitus*, if I be not deceived, callieth *Publicas provincias*. *Due consulares*, *Africk* with *Numidia*, and *Asia*, so called, because these two Provinces were properly assigned to those who had been Consuls, whereas, for the rest it sufficed to have, born inferiour Office: and *decem pratorie*; *Bætica*, *Narbonensis*, *Sardinia*, with *Corfica*, *Sicilia*, *Epirus*, *Macedonia*, *Achaia*, with *Theffalia*, &c. *Creta*, with *Cyrene*, *Cyprus*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*. To himself, he retained *Hispania-Tarracensis*, *Lusitania*, *Gallia-Lugdunensis*, *Belgica*, *Aquitania*, *Syria*, &c. *Cilicia*, *Ægypt*, *Dalmatia*, *Mæsia*, *Pannonia*, and the tract of *Rhene* upon the French side, called by the name of ^d *superior and inferior Germania*, as it is also at this day called *Germany*, but by *Caesar's* Description comprehended in *Gallia*; and a very small part of *Belgica*, who knew no other *Germania*, but that which the latter Writers call for difference sake (1) *γερμανίαν μεγάλην* beyond the *Rhene*: whereas, *Tacitus* in this first Book naming often *Germany*, meaneth always the other two Provinces, so called, because the *Germans* continually passing the *Rhene* inhabited the Countrey, and so by little and little changed the name. *Caesar* lib. 2. com. Dio. lib. 53. Tac. lib. 1. ^e *Ann.* and in his Book ^f *de moribus Germanorum*. *Treveri* & *Nervii* circa-affectationem Germanicæ originis ultrò ambitiosi sunt, tanquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis, à simili-

a lib. 17.

b lib. 53.

c 13. An. p. 450.

d In Marcellinus, lib. 15. p.

1461. Germania prima;

(wherein

were Magon-

tiaci, Vangi-

ones, Nemeies,

& Argento-

ratu) and

Germania se-

cunda, A-

gr. p. in a &

Tungri muni-

ta.

(1) Great

Germany.

e pag. 242.

f pag. 574.

(2) From the head of the Rheni.

(3) To the British Ocean.

g τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι
Dio. pag. 341.

(4) That is, of both the publick and Princes Provinces, *Aegypt* only excepted, the Governors were taken out of the Senators: for the publick Provinces annual and chosen by lot (except they were conferred on any upon some special privilege, as of Marriage or multitude of Children) and sent out as it were from the body of the Senate, not wearing Sword, nor *paludamentum*, and differently called Pro-

consuls whether they ever had been Consuls or not: having also as many Serjeants attending as usually they had in the City, and as soon as they were out of the *Pomitorium* assuming the Emblems of their Office, which they always retained until their return. Now for the Governors of the Princes Provinces, he reserved them for his own choice, and appointed that they should be termed *Legati* and *Propraetores*, though they had peradventure born the Office of Consulship before. (5) That is, the name of *Propraetores* he gave to those of his own choice, and continued their Office more or less during pleasure; appointing likewise that they should wear the *Paludamentum* and Sword, as having Authority of life and death over the Soldiers.

tudine & inertia Gallorum separentur. Ipsam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt Vangiones, Treboci, Nemetes, &c. Of these two Germanies, superior, saith Dio, was (2) ἡ μὲν τὰς τῆς ποταμῷ (ῥήνῳ) ὑπερῶς, and stretched to Mentz, or Cobolentz rather: inferior, downward (3) μέχρι τῆς ὁκεανῷ βρετανικῇ. Beside these Provinces, whatsoever was afterward Conquered, or became Subject to the Roman Empire, as England in Claudius's time, Pontus Polemoniacus, and Alpes Cottiae in Nero's time, Dacia in Trajan's, &c. & increased the Emperor's portion. Now the Governors that were sent into the Senate's Countries, both Prætorian and Consular, were called *Proconsules*, whether they had ever been Consuls or no. Those which the Emperors sent into theirs were called, *Legati*, or *Legati Consulares*, or *Propraetores*, except peradventure they sent sometimes their Procurators, as in small Provinces before we have noted. Dio. lib. 53. (4) καὶ τότε πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς τὰς βασιλεὺς ἐκλήρων τῶν ἐθνῶν πλὴν Ἀιγυπτίων ἀρχεῖν κατέδειξεν (ὁ Ἀυγὺς) ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπειρησὶς, καὶ κληρωτὸς εἶναι, πλὴν εἰ τῷ πολυπαιδίᾳ. ἢ γὰρ μετὰ προνομίᾳ προσεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς τῆς γερουσίας συλλογῆς πέμπεσθαι, μήτε ξίφος φεράων, μήτε στρατιωτικῇ ἐσθῇτι χρωμένους, καὶ ἀνθυπάτους καλεῖσθαι μὴ ὅτι τὸς ὑπατευκότας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸς ἄλλους τῶν ἐς ἐρασιγηκότων, ἢ δοκύντων γε ἐς ἐρασιγηκέναι μόρον ὄντας ῥαβδόχοις τε σφᾶς ἐκλήρες, ὅσοις περ καὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματι γενόμενοι. χεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπίσημα καὶ παρασκευὰ ἅμα τῷ ἔξω τῷ πωματρίᾳ γινέσθαι περικελευσμένοι, καὶ διαταγῆς, μέχρις ἂν ἀνακομισθῶσι, ἔχεν ἐκείνοι. τὸς δὲ ἑτέροις ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρεῆς, καὶ προσβούλῃς αὐτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγους τε ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπατευκότων ὀπλίστασθαι. Ὁ paulo post, (5) τῇ τε ἐν ὀπλίσσει τῇ τῶν

ἀρτιστρατήγων τὰς αἰρετὰς χεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω ἢ ἐν-
αὐτῷ χρόνῳ, ἐφ' ὅσον ἑαυτὰ δέξοι, ἀρχὴν ἐποίησε. ὃ
τε στρατιωτικὴν πολλὴν φρουρὰν, καὶ ξίφος, δίσκος καὶ στρα-
τιώταις δικαιοῦσαι ἔξεσιν, ἔχουσα. Tacitus in this Book
speaking of Gallia Narbonensis a publick Province;
Vinus, saith he, proconsulatu Galliam Narbonensem
severè rexit, who never had been Consul before: h pag. 252.

^h Annalium 1. I find Granius Marcellus called Prae-
tor of Bithynia, which was at the first Division a
publick Province, and so continued, as appeareth
out of Pliny's 1 Tenth Book of Epistles. And in
the same place of Tacitus, mention is made of a
Questor, an Office not used in the Prince's Countries,
and in Claudius's time damnatus lege repetundarum

Cadius Rufus accusantibus Bithynis; which action I
think, lay not against the Prince's legati, as execu-
ting their charge rather by way of Commission,
than by virtue of Office. But of Proprietor the case
is clear, 12. Ann. p. 430. in Britannia P. Ostorium
propratores; and p. 434. of the same Man, C. far
cognita morte legati, &c. Vitellius in this Book is cal-
led, legatus consularis inferioris Germanie: and 4.

^k Ann. L. Apronius inferioris Germanie proprietor.
Suetonius ^a Nerone. Duce Julio Vindice, qui tum
eam provinciam proprore obtinebat. Id est, Galliam
Lugdunensem, belonging to the Prince. In Africa,
Caius beside the Proconsul, the Office and name
due to the place, super-induced a legatus, as from
himself to take charge of the Soldiers there. Tac.

^b Hist. 4. Legio in Africa auxiliaque tutandis im-
perii finibus, sub divo Augusto Tiberioque principibus,
proconsuli parebant. Mox C. Caesar turbidus animi,
ac ^c M. Sullanum obtinentem Africam metuens, at-
latam proconsuli legionem, misso in eam rem legato
tradidit. Aequatus inter duos beneficiorum numerus,
et mixtis utriusque mandatis discordia quæ sita, aucta-
que. Pravo certamine legatorum jus adolevit, dis-
turnitate officii, vel quia minoribus major emulandi
cura. Proconsulum splendidissimus quisque securitati ma-
gis quàm potentiæ consulebant. Dio. lib. 50. (1) ἐπε-
δή τε λίαν σείσω ὁ δὲ τε πλεονέκεια, καὶ τὰ γυναι-
κήσων υἱὸς ἀρχαῖς δὲ ἀρχαῖς ἔτυχεν, ἐπεβόηθη μὴ
αὐτῇ τῇ

(2) That is, *νεωτερίων* τὶ ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι δύνα-
 μιν πολλὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν καὶ ξενικὴν ἔχεν ἔμελλε, καὶ δι-
 χα τὸ ἔθνος νεύμας, ἑτέρω τό, τε στρατιωτικόν, καὶ τὰς
 νομάδας τὰς περὶ αὐτὸ προσέταξε, καὶ ἔξ ἐκείνου καὶ δι-
 ο τὸτο γίνεσθαι. Only of Egypt the Governour
 there are sent *Quæstors* cho-
 sen by lot.

(3) That is, as *præses*, *rector*, &c. I take to be common to both
 the Emperor sorts. Again, in *provinciis publicis* were *Quæstores*
 sendeth Pro- beside Procurators; in the Princes, Procurators on-
 curators to all ly. Dio. lib. 53. (2) πέμπονται γὰρ εἰς μὲν τὰ τῶ δό-
 μω καὶ τε βελήε λεγόμενα ἔθνη οἱ ταμίαι, οἱ δὲ ἄν-
 κληρῶν ἀποδείξῃ pag. 342, and pag. 343. (3) τὰς
 ἐπιτρόπους εἰς πέντε ὁμοίως ἔθνη τὰ τε αὐτῶ δὴ καὶ τὰ
 τοῦ δήμου πέμπει ὁ καίσαρ.

d Tac. l. Hist. P. 34. Of Spain, &c. *Hispania præerat Cluvius*
 p. 51. *Rufus.* Id est, *Hispania Tarraconensi*, for that only

(4) That is, after the Vi- of the three Provinces, into which Spain is divided,
 story at *Augu- was furnished with Soldiers, and of such especially*
 stus made in this place *Tacitus* intendeth, not extending his
 Egypt Tri- speech to the naked and peaceable, which afterward
 butary, and he calleth *inermes*. *Cluvius Rufus* was a famous Ora-
 committed the Govern- tor, and wrote a Story of that time alledged by *Ta-*
 ment thereof *citus*, 13, and 14. Ann. who, notwithstanding his
 to *Cornelius* Preferment was by *Galba*, d swore with the first to
Gallus. For *Orbo*, and in the beginning of *Vitellius's* time retur-
 considering the great- ned to Rome, *non adempta Hispania quam rexit ab-*
 store of peo- sens. *Tacitus* 2. Hist. pag. 90. In the Ninth Book
 ple both in and Nineteenth Epistle, *Pliny* maketh mention of a
 the Towns Speech that passed between *Virginus*, and *Cluvius* :
 and the his Words be these, *ita secum aliquando Cluvium lo-*
 Countrey, *cutum* : Scis, *Virgini, quæ historiæ fides debeat* ; *pro-*
 moreover *inde si quid in historiis meis legis aliter ac velles, ro-*
 their levity *go ignoscas. Ad hoc sic illum, Cluvi, ne tu ignoras, ideo*
 and incon- *me fecisse quod feci, ut esset liberum vobis scribere,*
 stancy, that *que libuisset* ?

P. 35. Egypt and the Garrisons there the Gentlemen
 of Rome.] (4) τὴν αἰγυπτίαν, saith Dio. lib. 51. μετὰ
 τὴν περὶ ἀκτίον νίκην ὑποβελή ἐποίησαν (ὁ Αὐγύς) καὶ
 τὴν γὰρ τὴν κορυφαίαν ἐπέτεψε. περὶ τε γὰρ τὸ πολυ-
 but also expressly forbid any of them to sojourn there, except by per-
 mission namely from him.

ανδρον κ' τῶν πόλεων, κ' τ' χώρας, κ' πρὸς τὸ ῥάδιον, τὸ τε κέρων ἢ τρέπων αὐτῶν, ἢ τε σποδομπόαν, κ' τὰ χρήματα, ἵδναι βουλευτῇ ἢ ὅπως ἐγχειρίσαι αὐτὴν ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλ' ἐδὲ ἐνεπίδημῃν αὐτῇ ἐξουσίαν ἴδωκεν, ἂν μὴ τινι αὐτὸς ὀνομαστὶ συγχωρήσῃ. Tacitus, 2. Ann. pag. 283. writeth that not only Senators, but also, *equites Romani illustres*, (that is, as I think, those whom 16. Ann. pag. 551. he termeth, *equites Romanos dignitate senatoria*) were forbidden to go thither, but upon permission; *Ne fame urgeret Italiam quisquis eam provinciam, claustraque terræ ac maris quamvis levi præsidio adversus ingentes exercitus infedisset.* Arrianus, lib. 3. is of Opinion, that the Romans in ordering Egypt followed the Example of Alexander the Great, who, saith he, (5) κατανεῖμαι λέγειν εἰς πολλὰς ἢ ἀρχὴν ἢ αἰγυπτῆς, ἢ τε φύσιν ἢ χώρας θαυμάσας κ' ἢ ὀχυρότητα, ὅτι ἢ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο ἐνὶ ὀπίρρεψαι ἀρχὴν ἢ αἰγυπτῆς πάσης. καὶ ῥωμαῖοι μοι δεῦσιν παρ' ἀλεξάνδρου μαθόντες. ἐν εὐλακῇ ἔχειν αἰγυπτὸν κ' μηδὲνα ἢ ὑπὸ βελῆς ὅπῃ τῷ θεῷ ἐκπέμπειν ὑπάρχον αἰγυπτῆς, ἀλλὰ ἢ εἰς τὰς ἰππείας σφίσι ξωλελόντων.

(5) Is reported to have divided the Government of Egypt amongst many, having in admiration the natural fire and strength of the Country: wherefore he thought it not safe to commit the entire Regiment thereof to any one Man. And the Romans in my Opinion, learned this point of Alexander strictly to guard Egypt, and for the same cause to make none of the Senators Governor there, but only of the *ordo Equestris*.

a cap. 12.

P. 36. Who being privileged to wear Gold-Rings: *Quem annulis donatum.*] In Spain, when he brought the News of Nero's Death. *Annulis donare* is all one with *equestri dignitate donare*. Tac. 2. Hist. *postulante exercitu ut libertum suum Asiaticum equestri dignitate donaret, inhonestam adulationem compefcuit*, (Vitellius) *dein mobilitate ingenii quod palam abnuerat, inter secreta convivii largitur, honoravitque Asiaticum annulis, fædum mancipium, & malis artibus ambitiosum*. Suet. ^a Vitellio, *Primo imperii die aureis donavit annulis super carnem, quum mane rogantibus pro eo cunctis detestatus esset severissimè talem equestris ordinis maculam*; speaking of the same Man with Tacitus. Dio. lib. 48. (1) δεκλυίοις τε χερσὶς ἐκόσμησεν, κ' εἰς τὸ ἢ ἰππείων τέλος εἰσέγεγχευεν (Ἀυγυςτος ἢ Μήναν) for in Ancient time, though afterward Wealth increasing every one began to brave

(1) That is, Augustus honoured Men with Golden Rings, and entred him among the Equestres.

(2) That is, it in Gold, yet, (2) ἥ πάλαι Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶν ἔχ' ὅτι
among the
ancient Ro-
mans it was
not lawful
for any (I
mean not of
those only
which some-
times had
been Slaves,
but of all o-
thers Free-
born and li-
berally
brought up)
to wear
Gold-Rings,
except he
were either
Senator or
Eques. And
therefore the
Princes be-
stow this up-
on the freed-
men whom
they favour,
as a great
honour, tho'
otherwise
they wear
Rings of
Gold, as be-
ing thereby
made better
than common
freed-men
and equal in
degree with
the Equites.
(3) That is,
Nero used O-
rto as his in-
ward Friend
and Compa-
nion, because of his Riot, and being often noted by him of sparing and nigardline's he
took it in very good part. And it is reported, that on a time, Nero, as he was anoint-
ing with a very costly Ointment, having besprinkled Orto with a little thereof, the
day following, Orto entertaining him again, set in divers comely Silver and Golden
Pipes spouting out the Ointment like water and washing the place. (4) That is, there
was one M. Salvius Orto so familiar with Nero, both for likeness of their conditions,
and fellowship in vices, that when once in speech with Nero, he let fall a word: So
may you see me Emperor as this, and this is a truth, he did him no harm, but only re-
plied, No, I will not so much as see thee a Consul. b Pag. 1503.

τῶν δαυαυαίων ποτὲ, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἦν ἐλευθέρῳ γένει
τεγορέων, ἀκλυτοῖς χρυσοῖς, πλὴν ἥ τε βασιλευσὶν καὶ
τῶν ἱππέων χρῆσθαι ἔχον. καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῖς ἐξελευθέροις,
οἷς ἂν ὁ τὸ κράτος ἔχων ἐθελάσῃ, καίτοι καὶ ἄλλως χρυ-
σοφοῦσιν, ὅμως ἐν τιμῇς μέρεν, ὡς καὶ βελτίστον ἢ κατ'
ἀπελευθερίαν ἱππύειν τε δωζέμενοις δίδουσαι. This
privilege the Prince conferred not only upon his
own, but also upon other Men's liberty, (although
inuitis or ignorantibus patronis it was not lightly
granted, or if it were, it was recalled) and it drew
with it jus ingenuitatis, but not to exclude the pa-
tron ab hereditate liberti, lib. 40. Digest.

P. 37. In grace with Nero, &c.] (3) φίλῳ ὃ πρὸς
ὄθωνι, καὶ συμβιωτῇ διὰ τὴν ἀσωτίαν ἐχρήστο. καὶ σκωπτό-
μενος ὑπ' αὐτὰ πολλάκις εἰς μικρολογίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν
ἔχαιρε. λέγειν δὲ ποτε μυστῶ τῶν πολυτελεῶν χειρα-
μάν τε νέωνος, καὶ τὸ ὄθωνα καλαβρέξαιτος, ἐκείνος πάλιν
τῇ ὑπερίσσει δειχόμενος αὐτὸν ἅμα πολλαχόθεν ἀργυ-
ροῦ καὶ χρυσῆς περιβάλλειν ἀφ' ὧν βωλῆνας, ὥσπερ ὕδαρ
τὸ μύρον ἐκ χέουρας καὶ κατακλύζουρας. Plutarchus Gal-
bá. (4) ἦν δὲ τις μάρκας σαλῦιος ὄθων, ὃς ὕτως ἐκ τε
τῆ ὁμοιότητος τῶν τρόπων, καὶ τῆ κοινωνίας τῶν ἀμαρ-
τημάτων πρὸ νέωνι ὠκείωτο, ὥστε καὶ ἐιπὼν ποτὲ πρὸς
αὐτὸν, ὕτω με καίσαρα ἴδεις, ἔβην διὰ τὸ το κακὸν
ἔπαθεν, ἀλλὰ τοσούτον μόνον ἀνέγκυσεν, ὅτι, ἐπεὶ ὑπα-
τὸν σὺ ὀφθαί. Xiphilinus Nerone.

Ibid. Poppæa Sabina.] Concerning the matter how
it passed between Nero, Poppæa, and Orto, read Su-
etonius Orbone, c. 3. and Plutarch b Galbá, differing
from Tacitus in some little circumstances. But to
this place of Tacitus most contrary, and without
question irreconcilable is Tacitus himself in another,
13. Annal. p. 471.

because of his Riot, and being often noted by him of sparing and nigardline's he
took it in very good part. And it is reported, that on a time, Nero, as he was anoint-
ing with a very costly Ointment, having besprinkled Orto with a little thereof, the
day following, Orto entertaining him again, set in divers comely Silver and Golden
Pipes spouting out the Ointment like water and washing the place. (4) That is, there
was one M. Salvius Orto so familiar with Nero, both for likeness of their conditions,
and fellowship in vices, that when once in speech with Nero, he let fall a word: So
may you see me Emperor as this, and this is a truth, he did him no harm, but only re-
plied, No, I will not so much as see thee a Consul. b Pag. 1503.

P. 38. Sulpician and Lutatian Houses.] *Plutarch*, p. 1490. speaking of *Galba's* Pedigree, (5) *μῆτρα δ' ἔχει*, saith he, *εὐγενείας ἀξίωμα ἢ Σουλπίων δίκην*. And *Tacitus*, lib. 2. *Hist. Post Julios, Claudios, Servios*; both somewhat strangely using the ^c forename. *pro gentilitio*, to note the house which was *Sulpitia*: of which you may read more at large in *Sueton. Galbâ* c. 2. and 3. But *Galba*, saith *Plutarch*, (6) *ἰσχυροῦ μῆτρον ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ Κάλτῃ Συγγενείᾳ*. Qu. *Lutatus Catulus* being his Great Grand-Father by the Mother. That he was of Kin to *Livia Augusta*, as *Plutarch* writeth, I have not else read, although it is true, that *observavit ante omnes Liviam Augustam, cuius & vivæ gratia plurimum valuit, & mortuæ testamentò pænè ditatus est*. *Suet.* c. 5. But of Kindred I find no word, neither do I greatly believe it: Only a Step-Mother he had named *Livia Ocellina*, who Adopted him, and therefore he was called *Lucius Livius Ocellinus*, after her name, *usque ad tempus imperii*, if *Suetonius* in ^d *Galba* do not deceive us.

Ibid. Near me in Blood: *Propinquos aut socios belli*.] *Augustus* Adopted *Agrippa* and *Tiberius* as *socios belli*, the rest as *propinquos*. So *Otho* was to *Galba*, *socius belli*, and *Dolabella*, who as *Plutarch* affirmeth was also in speech about the Adoption, *propinquus*. *Tac.* p. 58. *Cornelius Dolabella propinquitate Galbæ monstratus*, if it be, as I think, the same Man of whom *Plutarch* speaketh.

P. 39. Of one Family.] *C. Julius* Adopted *Augustus*; *Augustus* *Livia* and *Tiberius*, who Adopted *Germanicus*, whose Son *Caius* was, and *Claudius* his Brother; and lastly, *Claudius* Adopted *Nero*, in whom failed the *Julian* Line. *Ausonius*.

Aeneadum generis qui sextus & ultimus hæres.

Polluit, & clausit Julia sacra Nero.

I shall cease, &c. *Desinam videri senex*.] *Id est, Desinam contemni quasi senex. Non legiones, non classes perinde firma imperii munimenta, quam numerum liberorum*. *Tac.* c. 4. *Hist.* in the person of *Titus*. Literally to construe, it may seem somewhat strange, that a Man should cease to seem Aged, because he had Adopted one that was One and Thirty Years Old,

(5) He was descended of the most honourable house of the *Servii*.

(6) This forename of *Servius* was so general to the *Sulpitii* that the *Sulpitii* surnamed *Rufi* assumed another forename, turning the aforesaid after a sort in *gentilitium*.

Whereupon, in the life of *Atticus*, we read, *M. Servius Sulpicius*, and in *Julius's* obsequens *P. Servius Sulpicius Rufus*.

(6) Gloried more in his Affinity with *Catulus*, d cap. 4.

f Tac. 1. Hist.
pag. 37.

Old, as Piso^f was, to whom in common intendment he might have been Father, and so was reputed to all constructions, and purposes in Law. But Adoption, as Generation, doth in a sort internize, and Eternity knoweth no Agedness.

P. 41. That being of Ancient time observed as cause to break up Assemblies.] *Cic. in Vatinium. Augures omnes usque ab Romulo decreverunt, Jove fulgente cum populo agi nefas esse. Philippica 5. Jove tonante cum populo agi non esse fas quis ignorat? 2. de divinatione. In nostris commentariis scriptum habemus: Jove tonante, fulgurante comitia populi habere nefas. Anon after. Comitiorum solum vitium est fulmen, quod idem omnibus rebus auspiciis optimum habemus, si sinistrum fuerit.*

Ibid. Where each Man maketh choice of his fellow.] This manner of mustering was, that the first Man should chuse out the second, who in the Bartel should stand fast beside him, the second, the third, and so forth, each his Mate till the last Man. An Army so gathered, was in the Opinion of those Ancient Times, thought in a manner invincible, and questionless it had very many singular Commodities. *Livy lib. 9. Ad Vadimonis lacum Hetrusci, lege sacra- ta, coacto exercitu, cum vir virum legisset, quantis nunquam aliis aut simul copiis, simul animis dimicârunt.*

pag. 14.

Much after the same manner^a *Xenoph. 1. paus.* describeth the Persian Muster, either because it was so indeed, or because in his judgment, being an excellent Commander, so had been the best. *Cyrus* the General maketh choice of 200 trained Gentlemen, such as he knew most fit for the servine. Each of those 200, chuse four more Gentlemen; and so rising up to a Thousand Gentlemen, every Gentleman maketh choice of Thirty common Soldiers, namely,

b πολυτα.

10^b Targets, 10 Slings, and 10 Bows.

Ibid. Their donative, which they had used of duty to receive.] The Prince's liberalities to the Soldiers were called *Donativa*, to the people or otherwise to his Friends, *Congiaria*, doubtless because at the first certain measures called *congii* of Wine or Oil were bestowed, and afterward other things being given;

given, yet the Ancient Name remained. ^c Tac. 12. ^e pag. 435
 Ann. *Additum nomine Neronis donativum militi, con-*
giarium plebi. And Sueton. ^d Nerone of the self ^e cap. 7.
 same thing: *Deductus (Nero) in forum tyro, populo*
congiarium, militi donativum proposuit. Which pro-
 priety of speech Tully, as it may seem, not regard-
 ing, useth *congiarium* instead of *donativum*, 16. *ad*
Attic. ep. 8. An iret ad tres legiones Macedonicas, quæ
iter secundum mare superum faciunt, quas sperat suas
esse. Ea congiarium ab Antonio accipere noluerunt.
 Or rather, as I think, the word *donativum* came in
 with the Empire, not known in the Free-State. Do-
 natives the Princes usually bestowed upon some
 great Victory, or other extraordinary occasion. *Claudi-*
us, was the first who at his Creation promised to the
 Soldiers Donative, Fifteen Thousand Sesterces a Man;
 that is, about Six-score Pound Sterling. *Primus Cæ-*
sarum fidem militis etiam præmio pignorat, saith
^e Suetonius: and when Nero his Adopted Son did ^e cap. 19.
 take *togam virilem*, he gave them another. Nero at
 his entry, *promisit donativum ad exemplar paternæ*
largitionis, Tac. Ann. 12. and after the Conspiracy
 of Piso was detected *bina nummum millia viritum ma-*
nipularibus divisit; that is, about Sixteen Pound, and
 divers times in the *Gracian* Journey, inducing as it
 were by so many precedents a kind of necessity to
 his Successors. *Nymphidius* promised them in *Galba's*
 Name Thirty-Thousand Sesterces; that is, about
 Twelve-score Pound; but *Galba* at his coming pay-
 ed nothing at all. And herein the Adoption of *Pi-*
so: *nullum orationi aut lenocinium additum, aut præ-*
tium. *Adrian*, following a more agreeable course
 to that time, in the Adoption of *Verus*, bestowed
 Three-Hundred-Millions of Sesterces upon the Sol-
 diers: and *Antoninus* at the Marriage of his Daugh-
 ter *Faustina* exceeded, *usque ad donativum militum.*
Spartian. p. 818, and 828.

P. 42. Two and Twenty Hundred Millions: *Bi-*
us vicies mille sestertium.] *Mille*, by error, for *mil-*
lies. Tac. 2. ^f Hist. *Novies millies sestertium*, not ^f pag. 105.
novies mille; for so is the use of the Tongue. Now
 in these Speeches pronounced adverbially is under-

stood of course, *centena millia*, so that *bis & vicies millies*, is as much as if he had said, *bis & vicies millies centena millia sestertium*. Plutarchus Antonio interpreteth *Decies* by *πέντε & ἑκοντα μυριάδες* (*degyxwān*) that is, *decies centena millia sestertium*; counting as he doth four *sestertii* to a *drachma*. *Sestertius*, *quasi semis tertius*, that is two and an half; and according to the same Analogy, in Greek, *τέμπεον ἡμισάλαντον*, is four Talents and an half; and in Dutch, *drit halb batzen*, two batz and an half. Now *sestertius* signifying two and an half, as the vulgar note also importeth, II. S. or joyned H. S. that is, *duo & semis*, is meant always of so many *asses*; and therefore four *sestertii* are precisely equivalent to a *denarius*, so called of *dena ara*. Now all the Greek Stories without exception, writing of the Roman Affairs, instead of *quatuor sestertii* set down *δεγχαμὴν ἀπικμὴν*, not only in small summs, but in huge great, where the difference must of force appear, if in their Opinion there were any between them. Seeing then *denarius* and *drachma*, according to the consent of the most old Writers against a few, are of equal value, both containing four Sesterces, eight Drachms making an Ounce, and the Ounce in our time esteemed at Five Shillings Sterling, our present summ of *bis & vicies millies centena millia sestertium*, reduced to *Engliss Money* now Currant, amounteth to seventeen Millions one Hundred eighty seven Thousand and five Hundred Pounds. Neither can this summ seem strange, for Nero in fourteen Years, when ^a *Vitellius paucissimis mensibus novies mellies H. S. intervertisse creditur*, about seven Thousand Thousand Pounds.

P. 44. The Astrologers also: *Mathematici*.] This use of the word *Mathematicus pro Apotelesmatico* is utterly ^b unknown to the Ancient Grecians, and to the Romans also, for ought I remember, till the Emperor's time. Before, they were called *Chaldei*, *non ex artis, sed ex gentis vocabulo*, saith Tully: then *Mathematici*, (a name undue to their occupation) or *Planetarii*, and ^c *Chaldei* also: in our time *Astrologi*, a word of the Ancientest, both Greek and

Latina

^a Tac. 2. Hist. p. 105.

^b Gellius lib.

I. c. 9. Geomet-

riam, Gnom-

onicam, Musi-

cam ceteras-

que item dis-

ciplinas altio-

res μαθημα-

τα veteres

Græci appella-

bant, vulgus

autem quos

gentilitio vo-

cabulo Chalda-

os dicere oportet,

mathematicos dicit.

^c Tac. 12. An-

p. 427. qui ob-

ijiceret Chal-

daos, magos

interrogatos

sper nuptia

imperatoris.

Latin applied to that part of the Mathematical Sciences, both now, and then also, known by the name of Astronomy. In Augustus's time, (1) Ἀγείπας τὰς ἀσεργίας καὶ τὰς γῶνας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήλασε. Dio. lib. 49. p. 281. In Tiberius's time, Facta & de Mathematicis, Magisque Italiâ pellendis senatusconsulta, quorum è numero L. Pituanus saxo dejectus est. In P. Martium Coss. extra portam Esquilinam, cum clasticum canere jussissent, more prisco advertère. Tac. 2. Ann. p. 269. In Claudius's time, ^d De Mathematicis Italiâ pellendis factum senatusconsultum atrox & irritum. And in Vitellius's time, ^e pulsi Italiâ Mathematici. Ulpianus lib. 7. de officio Praefectus. Præterea interdicta est Mathematicorum callida impostura: nec hodie primum interdici eis placuit, sed vetus hæc prohibitio est. denique extat senatusconsultum Pomponio & Rufo Coss. factum quo, cavetur, ut Mathematicis, Chaldeis, ariolis & ceteris, qui similem artem fecerint, aqua & igni interdiciatur, omniaque bona eorum publicentur. And anon after, scipissimè denique interdictum est ferè ab omnibus principibus, ne quis omnino hujusmodi ineptiis se immisceret. Yea before the Princes came in, M. Popilio Lænate, Cn. & Calpurnio Coss. C. Cornelius Hispallus Prætor edicto Chaldaeos intra decimum diem abire ex urbe atque Italia jussit: levibus atque ineptis ingeniis, fallaci siderum interpretatione questuosam mendaciis suis caliginem injicientes: saith Valerius lib. 1. Tertullian in his Book, de habitu muliebri, and again, in lib. de Idololatria, is of Opinion, that the Angels which fell from their first Creation were Authors of Astrology, and therefore exiled out of Heaven, as their Creatures out of Italy. Expelluntur, saith he, Mathematici, sicut angeli eorum. Urbs & Italia interdicitur Mathematicis, sicut cælum angelis eorum. Eadem pæna est exitii discipulis & magistris. All these Laws notwithstanding they remained at Rome, saith Tacitus, and that in as good credit as before, the better believed; the oftner they had perused the Gails. Juvenalis Satyra 6.

(1) That is, Agrippa Banished Astrologers (for so in Dio's time they began to call them) and Magicians out of the City.
d Tac. Ann. 12. p. 440.
e 2. Hist.

f A.V.C. 770.
bur Tacitus, 2.
Ann. placeth it in the year before.

g A.V.C. 615.

Inde fides arti, sonuit si dextera ferro,
 Lavaque si longo castrorum in carcere mansit.
 Nemo Mathematicus genium indemnatus habe-
 bit.

And of Ptolemaeus the same Juvenal:

Præcipuus tamen est horum, qui sapius exul,
 Cujus amicitia conducendaque tabella
 Magnus civis obit & formidatus Othoni.

h cap. 4.

i Tacitus.

Suetonius^b Othone nameth him Seleucus, by error, as it may seem; for Seleucus was Vespasian's Man. ⁱ Nec erat intactus tali superstitione (Vespasianus) ut qui mox rerum dominus Seleucum quendam Mathematicum rectorem & præscium palam habuerit.

a In his Book
 de rebus
 ad id. & c.
 v. 295.

P. 45. The Lakes of Campania, and Towns of Achaia.] The Ancientest and best Historiographers, taking their pleasure in explicatione consiliorum, and feigning Orations, have left us sometimes rather an Image of their own Wits, than of the times whereof they have written. The nature of which, in my Opinion, were better learned ex Actis urbis diurnis, Actis senatus, and such like, if any were extant, than by any Story we have. Not that I think a simple Collection of Memoirs of the like use in other respects, as a story well written. Neither do I condemn that liberty of feigning Speeches, which I see granted them by ^a Dionysius Halicarnassæus and other good writers, so it be done with Judgment and pro decoro personarum, including no evident absurdity or contradiction. Which inconvenience, Tacitus, tho' otherwise sharp sighted enough, in this place, in mine Opinion, hath scarcely avoided. Those which were wont Campaniæ lacus & Achaie urbes classibus

b Xiphilinus,
 pag. 190. &
 Suetonius Ne-
 rone. c. 19. pra-
 torianos pro
 consensu ad in-
 choandum o-
 pus cohortatus
 est.

c pag. 183.

adire were the ^b Prætorian Soldiers: Those whom Otho had here to talk with, were the Legionaries of Spain, as they passed the Mountains, who surely could not in possibility accompany Nero into Achaia. Hist. c. 4. in the Oration of Vocula: Non adeo turbatam civilibus armis rem Romanam, ut Treveris etiam & Lingonibus despectui sit. Melius Divo Julio, Divoque Augusto notos eorum animos. Galbam, & infracta tributa hostiles spiritus induisse. Nunc hostes, quia molle servitium, cum spoliati, exurique fuerint, amicos

amicos fore. And yet it is plain by Tacitus himself, and all other Histories of that time, that Treveri, and Lingones, were of all the French, the only Men which Galba, atrocibus edictis, aut damno finium perculerat, relieving the rest of their Tribute, and making them Citizens. Vulcatius Gallicanus in the life of Avidius Cassius, bringeth in M. Antoninus the Philosopher, profoundly disputing the causes of the fall of certain Emperors, among others of Pertinax. *Enumeravit deinde omnes principes qui occisi essent habuisse causas quibus mererentur occidi, nec quenquam facile bonum vel victum à tyranno, vel occisum; dicens meruisse Neronem, debuisse Caligulam, Othonem & Vitellium nec imperare voluisse. Nam de Pertinace & Galbâ paria sentiebat, cum diceret, in Imperatore avaritiam esse acerbissimum malum; whereas, Pertinax was living thirteen years after Antoninus was dead, succeeding in state to Commodus his Son. Appianus placing in the Roman Battel Domitius, in dextro cornu, Lucius Scipio in the middle Battel, and Eumenes in levo: and of the Enemies Antiochus in dextro, Philippus in the middle, and Seleucus in levo, in joyning like a good and skillful Captain matching the middles, opposeth the left to the left (a thing not possible in nature) Eumenes to Seleucus and his people, which indeed was true, as it appeareth by Livy, but Appian's ordering of the battel is false. For Eumenes by Livy, and in truth was placed, in dextro, Appian's words be p. 76. (1) ἐπεσάτει ὁ τῷ μὲν Δεξιῷ Δομίτιος, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸν ἔστη (S. Domitius) ἢ ὕπατον. τὸ δὲ λαὸν ἔδωκεν Εὐμενέϊ of the Enemies, (2) ἐφείσκει τοῖς μὲν Δεξιοῖς Ἀντίοχος αὐτὸς. τοῖς δὲ ὅπῃ δάτεον. Σέλευκος ὁ ὕπῃ Ἀντιόχῳ. τῇ δὲ φάλαγγι Φίλιππος, ὁ ἐλεφαντάρχης. Now in the joyning Eumenes, saith he, p. 77. (3) τὸς ἰππέας ἐπήγαν ὅπῃ τὸς ἀντικεῖν Γαλάτας τε καὶ Καπαδόκας. and least we might doubt where the Cappadoces stood, he concludeth with these words, (4) καὶ τὸς Εὐμείας τάδε μὲν ἦν περὶ τὸ λαὸν ἢ φάλαγγος ἢ Μακεδόνων. The like error is in Dionysius, lib. 6. (5) ἢ τὸς ῥωμαίων στρατῶν, saith he, τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν κίρας εἶχεν ὁ ἱππάρχης τῷ δὲ αἰετῷ ἐναντίως σέξτω τὰ κεντῶν.*

d pag. 862.
e M. Antoninus.

lib. 37. fol. 305.

(1) That is, Domitius Commanded the right Wing, in the middle battel was the Consul himself; the left Wing was given to Eumenes.

(2) The right Wing was led by Antiochus himself, the left by Seleucus his Son: the main Battel by Philip master of the Elephants.

(3) Charged with his Horsemen against the Galatians and Cappadocians which were over against them.

(4) And these things were done on the left hand of the Macedonian Battel.

(5) Of the Roman Army the left Wing was Commanded by Eumenes General of the Horse, over against Sext. Targui-

nus. p. 255.

(6) In the *πύλῳ*, whom before he had placed, (6) *ἐπὶ τῷ λαῷ τῷ*
left Wing of *λαλίων κίρα* [C], in the Battel, *ad lacum Regillum*.
the Latins.

(7) Errors in marshalling the Men in Battel. And in Callisthenes's Story of Alexander Polybius, l. 12.
noteth many (7) *σφάλματα τακτικά*.

The Golden Milliarium.] Milliarium aureum was
a Golden Pillar set up by Augustus, as Dio witnesseth,
& lib. 54. *in capite fori Romani*, saith Pliny, (8) *εἰς ὃν αἱ*
τετρημέναι ἰταλίας ὁδοὶ πάσαι τελευτῶσιν. Plutar-
chus Galbâ ; So called, because from thence began
the account of Miles. Beside Milliarium aureum,
there were Milliarium lapidea ; that is, little Pillars
of Stone erected by order from C. Gracchus at the
end of every Mile. Plutarchus Gracchus, (9) *περὶ δὲ*
τούτοις διαμνησθῆσαι καὶ μίλιον ὁδὸν πάσαν (τὸ δὲ μί-
λιον ἕκτω σταδίων ὀλίγον ἐπιδεῖ) κίονας λιθίνους σημεῖα
τῷ μέτρῳ κατέστησεν. Whereupon, grew the usual
Phrase, *ad tertium, quartum, quintum ab urbe lapi-*
dem, for three, four, or five Miles from the Ci-
ty.

(9) That is, moreover having measured out the whole way by Miles, (a Mile being little less than eight stadia) he erected Pillars of Stone as marks of the measure, p. 1535.
h Page 139.
i Flavius Sa- binus.

P. 51. Not upon Judgment, or any.] Tacit. 3. ^h Hist. *Populi mobilem animum ; Et si se ducem i praeuisset, eisdem illas adulationes pro Vespasiano fore*, which now they used to Vitellius. And in the ^k same Book, *vul- gus eadem pravitate infectabatur interfectum (Vitelli- um) quâ foverat viventem*. Juvenalis Satyrâ 10.

Sed quid

k pag. 150.

Turba Remi? sequitur fortunam, ut semper, Et odit

l Vulturni. n. (unde Sejanus erat antrope Tacito An. 4.) templum Nov- etia dea. Liv. l. 7.

Damnatos. Idem populos, si ¹ Nortia Tusco Favisset, si oppressa foret secuta senectus Principis, hâc ipsâ Sejanum diceret horâ Augustum.

Ibid. Framing Acclamations at pleasure.] The formula of Acclamations in Senate is to be seen in the later Roman Stories, in favour, as in ^m Lampridius, to Alexander Severus, *Auguste innocens dii te servant, &c.* In ⁿ Vulcatius Gallicanus, to Antoninus, *Antonine pie dii te servant, Antonine clemens dii te ser- vent, &c.* to Divus Claudius, in Trebellius ^a Pollio. *Auguste Claudi dii te nobis præsunt (dictum sexagies)* b pag. 1145. *Claudi Auguste, &c.* in Flavius ^b Vopiscus, to Tacitus the Emperor, *Tacite Auguste dii te servant, te dili- gimus,*

gimus, te principem facimus, &c. In disfavour, as in ^c Lampridius after Commodus's Death, *Hosti patriæ* pag. 876: honores detrahantur, parricide honores detrahantur, parricide trahatur, &c. Of popular Acclamations we may guess they were much after this form.

P. 53. Easily believed: *Credula fama.*] *Dionysius* noteth in *Thucydides* among many other Innovations in speech, that he commonly changed Actives into Passives, and Passives into Actives, τὰ μὲν παθητικὰ ῥήματα δευτέρῃ ποιῶν, τὰ δὲ δευτέρῃ παθητικὰ. In *Tacitus* here we have *credula*, to signifie, cui facile credatur, Passively, whereas, *credulus* in common Latine, and so it is used, pag. 20. signifieth only, qui facile credit; likewise pag. 37. Ne vulgi largitione centurionum animos averteret, i. e. largitione quæ fiat vulgo, sive gregario militi. Again, 15. Ann. p. 518. *Injurie minorum*; i. e. quæ minoribus inferuntur. But to give a taste once for all of *Tacitus's* Grammar, I will note here three or four places, worthy the noting. Hist. 3. p. 133. *Ii omnes Mutiano volentia scripsere*; *volentia*, pleasing. Pag. 145. *Turbæ sacricolarum inmixtus, ignarusque delituit*; i. e. ignotus. In another place, *gnarum id Casari*, for notum; and pag. 147. *Quæ gnara Vitellianis, incomperta hostibus*. 1. Ann. p. 244. *Fama dediti Segestis vulgata, ut quibusque bellum invitis, aut cupientibus erat*, ὥς ἢ ἐκείνῳ ἢ βελομένῳ ἢ ἀκοντὶ πόλεμῳ. 15. An. pag. 524. *Hæc atque talia plebi volenti fuere*, δὴ μὲν βελομένῳ ἢ. In vita *Agricolæ*. *Ut quibus bellum volentibus erat*. 5. Hist. pag. 202. *Cæsar Titus ut superior sui jam crederetur*, κρείττων ἐαυτοῦ. Ann. 2. 280. *Appellitque Colophona, ut Clarii Apollinis oraculo uteretur*. Homer. ὁδυσ. κ. 407. *Χρησόμενος θεβαίῳ τεύχεσσιν*. Ann. 3. 306. *Adulteros earum morte aut fuga punivit*; i. e. exilio, φυγῇ. To be short, who so list seek and look more nearly into *Tacitus's* Phrases, shall doubtless find as many strange points in his Grammar, as *Dionysius* hath done in *Thucydides*.

(1) That is, the Parthians inhabit beyond the River of Tigris, in castles and holds. Now of late they have some Cities also, among others *Ctesiphon*, where the King's place of Residence is. They were a several Nation among the ancient Barbarians, and this name had they even under the Persian Empire, notwithstanding at that time their Territory was small, neither had they any dominion abroad. But when the Persian Monarchy was dissolved by the Macedonian Power, and Alexander's successors waging War one against another, began to wither and decay, then attempted the Parthians first of all to come forward under the Conduct of one *Arfaces*, of whom all the Kings afterward were called *Arfacidae*. And so good was their fortune that they Conquered all the Countrey adjoining, together with the Province of *Mesopotamia*. In fine, they grew to such height both of Glory and Strength that they opposed themselves in open War against the Romans, and till this day are accounted the only Men to match and make head against them. p. 80. d And *Solis & luna fratres* also, saith Marcellinus, lib. 23. quod *Arfaces* astris ritus sui consecratione (ut ipsi existimant) permixtus est omnium primus. (2) Alexander's successors being divided one against another, and the Macedonian power greatly weakened with continual Wars, *Arfaces* by Birth a Parthian, is said first of all to have persuaded the Barbarians of those Quarters to revolt from the Macedonians. And assuming the Diadem by consent, both of the Parthians and other Barbarians there about himself was King. And after him the Crown continued for a long time in his Posterity.

chus, to wit, *Antiochus*, surnamed *Deus*, Grandchild <sup>e *Aminianus*,
lib. 23. p.
1651. affir-
meth it was
Seleucus Ni-
casor.</sup> to *Seleucus*, Founder of the Syrian Kingdom, p. 90.
(3) καὶ παρθυαῖος ἡ ἀποδοῦς τότε ἦρξαν, ὡς τῆς αἰ-
μῆς ἡ σελευκιδῶν ἀρχὴς. From this *Asaces* the
Parthian Kingdom continued to *Artabanus*, who
Reigning in *Alexander Severus's* time, was then de-
stroyed by *Artaxerxes* a Persian, and so the Empire
of those Eastern Countreys united again to the
Crown of Persia. *Herodianus*, lib. 6. *Vologeses*, or
Vologesus (for ^f both ways we find it written; the
Græcians call him *Ουολόγασον*) was at this time
King of *Parthia*, Son to *Vonones*, that died in *Clau-*
dius's time, Anno urb. con. 802. and Brother to *Pa-*
cornus King of *Media*, and *Tiridates* by *Nero* Crow-
ned King of *Armenia*.

P. 61. The fees of vacations : *Vacationes*.] Id
est, *pretia vacationum*; for so he termeth them, 1.
Ann. p. 233. *Mox indiscretis vocibus pretia vacatio-*
num incusat. Now *vacationum*, of what? *Mune-*
rum. For so *Tacitus* speaketh in another place, *hinc*
vacationes munerum redimi. So that *vacationes* in
this place, and again, p. 43. is as much as *pretia*
vacationum munerum. For the common Soldier by
the strictness of Ancient Discipline was tied and
bound to many servile ministeries in the Camp, by
^a *Tacitus*, called *munera*, as is aforesaid, and by <sup>a 1. *Annal.*
b *lib. 2. cap.*</sup> *Vegetius*, *munia*, as to bring in Wood, Straw, Hay,
Water, &c. Being negligent, or failing in execu-
tion thereof, they were cudgelled and whipped by the
Centurions. Tac. 1. Ann. *Fracta vite in tergo mili-*
tiæ, alteram clara voce, ac rursus aliam poscebat cen-
turio Lucilius. Whereupon, in all mutinies the Cen-
turions were the Men principally shot at by the com-
mon Soldier. In the German sedition at the entring
of *Tiberius*, they muttered first among themselves
venisse tempus quo cuncti modum miseriæ expose-
rent, sævitiamque centurionum ulciscerentur: and
straight after put it in execution against them. *Re-*
pentè lymphati districtis gladiis in centuriones inva-
dunt. Ea vetustissima militaribus odiis materies, &
sæviendi principium. Prostratos verberibus multant sex-
agenis singulos, ut numerum centurionum adequarent.

E

Tum

Tum convulsos laniatosque & partim exanimos, ante vallum, aut in amnem Rhenum projiciunt. Now the wealthy Soldier, and those which had means, redeemed and bought out for Money this service at the Centurion's hands. So the Soldiers in *Pannonia* complain. ^c *Denis in diem assibus animam & corpus aestimari; hinc vestem, arma, tentoria, hinc sexvitiis centurionum, & vacationes munerum redimi.* And the German. ^d *Mox indiscretis vocibus pretia vacationum, angustias stipendii, duritiam operum ac propriis nominibus incusant vallum, fossas, pabuli, materie lignorum adgestus, & siquæ alia ex necessitate, aut adversus otium castrorum quærentur.* That then which here they demanded was, that for purchasing immunity from these munera, they should not be forced to pay any Money to the Centurions.

Ibid. His own Coffers: *Ex Fisco suo.*] *Fisci, sparteæ sunt utensilia ad majoris summe pecunias capiendas; Asconius.* And so Tully useth the word, in *Verrem.* *Fiscos complures cum pecunia Siciliensi à quodam senatore ad equitem Romanum esse translatos.* And in the same sence we read it in *Tac.* 1. ^e *Ann. cum fisci de imperatore rapti inter signa, interque Aquilas veherentur.* In *Suet.* ^f *Claudio, positis ante se cum pecunia fisci, &c.* Whereupon, quia major summa est pecunia publica quam privata, ut pro censu privato loculos, & arcam & sacellos dicimus, sic pro publico thesauro ærarii dicitur fiscus, saith *Asconius*, applying the names of fiscus and ærarium both to one thing; as Tully doth, *Verrinâ.* 3. *Quaternos H. S. quos mihi senatus decrevit & ex ærario dedit, ego habebō, & in cistam transferam ex fisco.* But after the division of the Empire made by *Augustus*, in pub-

(1) That is, in name the publick Treasury was severed from *Augustus's* Exchequer, but in truth that also was spent at his disposition.

licas, & principis provincias, the words were no more indifferently used; *Fiscus* being appropriated to signify the Prince's Treasury, and *Ærarium* the publick, a difference notwithstanding more of names than of substance. (1) λόγῳ μὲν ὃ τὰ δημόσια καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου (Ἀυγύστου) διακρίνεται. ἕτερον δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ ἀνελίσχεται. *Dio.* 1. 53. p. 343.

Ibid.

Book of TACITUS.

Ibid. Being a Freed-man.] *Ingenui* were commonly murdered privily; *servi*, or *libertini generis* publicly executed. Such also was *Asiaticus's* end, that carried the credit with *Vitellius*, as soon as *Vespasian* came in, Tac. 4. Hist. *Asiaticus*, ut *libertus malam potentiam servili supplicio expiavit*.

Ibid. The City-Prætor calleth the Senate.] For both the Consuls were slain. In which case or otherwise in their absence *jus vocandi senatum* belonged to the Prætor urbanus. Cic. lib. ad familiares. § 10. *Paulo post idem mihi Munatius eas literas legendas dedit, quas ipsi miserat, & eas quas publice. Placuit nobis ut statim ad Cornutum prætorem urb. Literas deferremus: quique Coss. aberant, consulare munus sustinebat more majorum. Senatus est continuo convocatus.*

P. 62. With all other princely prerogatives.] The principal Titles usually annexed to the Prince's place were these. 1. *Princeps*, 2. *Imperator*, 3. *Cæsar*, 4. *Augustus*, 5. *Tribunitiæ potestatis*, 6. *Pater patriæ*, 7. *Pontifex maximus*. Tac. 1. Ann. *Augustus cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine Principis sub imperium accepit*; which Title of *Princeps*, as I think, was borrowed from *princeps senatus*, in the former state. 2. *Imperator*, hath a double signification both touched by Dio. lib. 52. (2) ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἑκάστῳ ὃ ἦ ἀντοκρατορεὶς ἀπέκλιπεν ἐπέθετο (ὁ Ἀυγ. &c.) λέγει δὲ ὅτι ταῖς νίκαις καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον διδομένην τιμὴν, ἀλλὰ ἢ ἰτέραν ἢ τὸ κράτος σηματοδοτοῦσαν. And not only this latter which began first in *Julius Cæsar*, A.U.C. 709. importing Sovereign Majesty, but also the other was usual under the Emperors, both in the Prince's Style, and conferred likewise upon private persons that had deserved it. Tac. 3. h Ann. *Tiberius id quoque Blæso tribuit, ut imperator à legionibus salutaretur, prisco erga duces honore, qui bene gesta rep. gaudio & impetu victoris exercitus conclamabantur, erantque plures simul imperatores, nec super cæterorum equalitatem. Concessit quibusdam & Augustus id vocabulum, ac tunc Tiberius Blæso postremum.* In the Prince's Style thus,

E 2

Imp.

(2) That is, in that year *Augustus* took to himself the name of *Imperator*. I mean not that name which in Ancient time was given to certain persons upon some notable Victory, but this other signifying Sovereign Power and Majesty. h pag. 330.

pag. 468.

(1) That is, *Divinus* desired most earnestly to have been called *Romulus*, but perceiving that thereby he came into suspicion of affecting the Kingdom, he desisted from that purpose, and was sur-named *Augustus*, as being somewhat more than a Man. For in Latin things most precious and sacred are called *Augusta*. And so the Greeks call him *Sebastos*, which is derived of a word signifying divine adoration.

(2) That is, **Tribunitial Authority** gives the Emperor power to stop any thing done by others against their own liking. Moreover it pre-

pag. 468. (1) That is, *Octavius* desired most earnestly to have been called *Romulus*, but perceiving that thereby he came into suspicion of affecting the Kingdom, he desisted from that purpose, and was surnamed *Augustus*, as being somewhat more than a Man. For in Latin things most precious and sacred are called *Augusta*. And so the Greeks call him *Sebastos*, which is derived of a word signifying divine adoration.

(2) That is, *Tribunitial Authority* gives the Emperor power to stop any thing done by others against their own liking. Moreover it preserves their person from all manner of injury or contumely giving them Authority immediately to make away without judgment or formality of Law, as an execrable person, whoever shall offer them never so little an indignity in word or deed. And albeit, the Princes themselves bear not the Office of Tribunes, as being *Patritii*, and therefore by Law not capable thereof, yet take they to them all their power and Authority at the highest reckoning that ever it was, and by it account the years of their Government (writing for example, *Tribunitia potestatis quartum*, *Trib. pot. quintum* the fourth and fifth year of their Empire) as though they assumed that Authority from year to year with the yearly Tribunes.

πρωστίθενται

προστίθενται οἱ αυτοκρατορες) καὶ δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ ἀρίσ-
 μαις τῶν ἑτῶν τ' ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ κατ' ἑτῶν αὐ-
 τὴν μετὰ τῶν ἀνδραγαθῶν λαμβανόντων, περιβαίνει.
 Tac. 3. Ann. p. 321. *Tiberius potestatem tribuniti-*
am Druso (filio) petebat. Id summi fastigii vocabu-
lum ^b *Augustus reperit, ne* ^c *Regis aut Dictatoris no-*
men assumeret, ac tamen appellatione aliqua cætera
imperia præmineret. 1. Ann. p. 215. *Augustus po-*
sito Triumviri nomine, Consulem se ferens, & ad tu-
endam plebem Tribunitio jure contentum. *Flavius*
Vopiscus in the Life of Tacitus the Emperor; *Tribu-*
nitia potestate, quæ pars maxima regalis imperii est.
 As for the Office of *Tribunus plebis*, under the Em-
 perors, the ^d name rather than the Authority, and
jus intercedendi in some sort remained. In *Tiberi-*
us's time, *cum premium accusatori decerneretur, Ju-*
nius Orbo tribunus plebei intercessit. And in *Nero's*,
Rusticus Arulenus flammans juvenis, & cupidine lau-
dis offerebat se intercessurum senatusconsulto. Nam
plebis tribunus erat. Tacitus 16. Annal. p. 555.
 6. The name and honour of *Pater patriæ* was gi-
 ven by *M. Cato* to *Tully*, in *Catilin's* Conspiracy,
 and after peculiar to the Princes, unless it were
 some that for modesty, or in respect of their youth
 refused it. *Appianus* 2. Εμφυλ. pag. 210. (3) Κά-
 τωνθ' ἡ αὐτὸν (τ' *Κικέρωνα*) καὶ παύσατο τ' πατερίδος
 προσωρευσανθ', ἐπεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ δοκεῖ τισιν
 ἡδε ἡ εὐφημία ἀπὸ *Κικέρωνθ'* ἀρξαμένη πειρασθεῖν ἐς
 τῶν νῦν *Αὐτοκρατορῶν* τὰς φανομένους ἀξίας. ἔδ' ὃ τοῖς
 δε, καίπερ ἔσι βασιλεύσιν εὐθὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἅμα ταῖς
 αἰλαῖς ἐπωνυμίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν χρόνῳ μάλιστα ἡδε ὡς ἐν-
 τελὲς ὅτ' ἐν μεγίστοις δε μαρτυρία ψηφίζεται. 7. The
 Office of *Pontifex maximus* was a several charge in
 the free Common-wealth, united in the person of
Caesar at what time he usurped the state, and so for
 the most part continued in his successors, of which

b according
 to Appian
 the Tribuni-
 tial privileges
 were first
 conferred up-
 on C. Caesar:
 ἱερὴν ἰσχύα καὶ
 ἀνελον καὶ ἀ-
 παύσιν, καὶ ὅτι
 αὐτῶν καὶ ἱε-
 ρεῖς περιε-
 γα. 2. Εμφ.
 pag. 219. and
 in Dio among
 the honours
 decreed to
 Caesar by the
 Senate, A. V.
 C. 710.

ἰσοῦν καὶ τὰ
 τοῖς δημο-
 χροῖς ἀδελ-
 να καὶ ὁ αὐ-
 τῶν, ὅπως ἀν-
 τιστῇ ἱερῶν ἡ
 λόγος αὐτῶν
 ὑβρίζῃ, ἱ-
 εροῦν καὶ τῶν
 ἐν τῶν γὰρ
 ἀνίσταται.

c Which
 both were a-
 bolished with
 great Cerles
 to him that
 should go a-
 bout to in-
 duce them a-
 gain. The
 one by *L.*
Brutus, the
 other after
Caesar's death.
 d As Tacitus
 saith in ano-
 ther place;
domines tran-
quilla; co-

dem magistratum vocabula: but not the same power. (3) When *Cato* called *Cicero*,
Pater patriæ all the people assented with a shout. And some think that this honou-
 rable acclamation in *Tully* was a precedent, for the Senate afterward to confer the
 same Title upon their Princes, such as seemed worthy: for even they, though be-
 ing absolute Princes, yet have not this at first together with the rest of their style,
 but after a long time this Title is decreed unto them for a full accomplishment of their
 honour and a final Testimony of their greatest and most virtuous Actions.

(4) That is, and here the Emperors obtained another prerogative such as was never absolutely granted to any of the Ancient Romans, that is, *legibus solvi*, to be tied to no observation of any written Law. *ē* for to some particular purposes some other were *soluti legibus*, as *Sai- pio lege anna- li*, &c.

(1) That is, for these causes the Senate granted *Augustus* power to propose any one thing which himself lifted every Senate, though he were not as then Consul. Likewise that he should have Proconsular Authority once for all, so that he should not need either to depose it when he entered the *Pomerium*, nor again to re- sume it. Beside that in all other places subject to the Empire his power and Authority should be above and superior to all the particular magistrates there, a That is, beside the two Consuls. b *pag.* 336. c *esp.* 44.

we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter. Beside these titles of honour usually expressed in the Prince's style, many other dignities conferred upon *Augustus*, and the first Emperors at several times, and upon occasion, were all in one ordinary decree granted to the Prince, at the first Assembly of the Senate after his coming to state, as 8. *Imperium proconsulare*. 9. *Jus relationis* himself being not Consul, and that of being above all Law. 10. *Legibus solvi*, &c. Dio. l. 53. p. 345. (4) ἥδη δὲ καὶ ἑταρον τι, ὃ μηδὲν ἦν πάλαι ῥωμαίων ἢ πάλαι ἀντικρυς ἐδόθη, προσεκήσαντο (οἱ αὐτοκράτορες) λέλωσαι γὰρ δὴ ἦν νόμων ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ λατινικὰ ῥήματα λέγει, τῷ ἐν ἐλθέειν καὶ πάλαι ἀναξίας νομίσεως ἐστὶ καὶ ἐδένει ἦν γὰρ χαμμένων ἐνέχονται. Again, p. 351. (1) διὰ ταῦτα ἡ γερυσία χρηματίζειν αὐτῷ (πρὸς Ἀυγύστου) ὡς ἐνός ὅτε αὖ ἐβλήθη κατ' ἐκάστην βελλήν, καὶ μὴ ὑπατάσθῃ, ἔδωκε, τήν τε ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀνθύπαλον ἐσσεὶ κατὰ πάσας ἔχεν, ὥς μήτε ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ τῇ εἴσω ὅς παμμεγέθυς κατὰ τίθεσθαι αὐτῷ, μὴτ' αὐτοῖς ἀναγινώσκῃ, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ πηκῶν τὸ πλεον ἦν ἐκαστοῦ ἀρχόντων ἐκείνῃ ἐπὶ τρεῖς. The Consul *apud Vopiscum* in *Probo*, having made relation to the Senate of *Probus's* Letters elected Emperor by the Soldiers, *Decerno igitur*, saith he, *P. C. votis omnium concinentibus* (*Aurelio Probo*) *nomen Casareum, nomen Augustum, addo Proconsulare imperium, Patris patrie reverentiam, Pontificatum maximum, jus a tertie relationis, Tribunitiam potestatem.* Posthac acclamatum est Omnes, Omnes. *Vopiscus*, p. 1161.

P. 63. Of his principal Bond-men: *E prioribus servis.*] *Primoribus servis* it would be, as I think. *Servorum n. alii primores alii mediastini.* Of *primores*, *Tacitus* maketh mention, 4. ^b *Ann.* *Lygdus etate atque formâ carus domino, interque primores ministros erat.* Now that *dispensatores* were of the better sort, it appeareth by that of *Suetonius* ^c *Nerone.* *Certum dominis servorum numerum indixit* (*Nero*) *nec nisi ex totâ cujusque familiâ probatissimos,*

beside that in all other places subject to the Empire his power and Authority should be above and superior to all the particular magistrates there, a That is, beside the two Consuls. b *pag.* 336. c *esp.* 44.

ne dispensatoribus quidem aut amanuensibus exceptis recepit.

Ibid. Seventy three years.] Galba was Born, saith ^d Suetonius. Messala & Lentulo Coss. 9. Calendas Jan. Anno ab urbe condita 751. slain, 822. 18. Cal. Febru. So that Galba lived but 23 days only above seventy years. And yet Suetonius in two or three places agreeth with Tacitus. Only Xiphilin hath 72, which is with the most.

P. 64. Two of all Mortal-Men the most.] Otho and Vitellius are here compared as like, in opposition both to a good Prince. 2. ^c Hist. as unlike, with notes of distinction, opposed the one to the other. *Vitellii ignave voluptates: Othonis flagrantissima libidines. Vitellius ventre & gula sibi ipsi hostis: Otho luxu, sevitia, audacia reip. exitiosior ducebatur.* Of the one side an ill mind in a Man of nothing, of the other an ill mind joyned with Courage and edge.

^g pag. 232.

Ibid. If Pompey had prevailed, if Brutus the popular state would have stood.] Of Brutus, I cannot call it in Question, carrying that honourable mind which no doubt he did to the liberty of his Country: but surely for Pompey I cannot affirm it; his doings affirm rather the contrary, and Tacitus himself teacheth us otherwise, 2. Hist. pag. 78. *Mox & plebe infima C. Marius, & nobilium sevitissimus L. Sulla, victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Gn. Pompeius occultior non melior.* Salust, apud Suet. l. de claris grammaticis. *Pompeius omni probo, animoque inverecundo.* Appianus 2. ^e Eup. maketh report of a word that escaped Pompey, a Man not used to dissemble that way, a little before the Battel at Pharsalia. (2) τοῦτο δ' ἐννοῶν τοῖς φίλοις, ὅτι ἡδ' ἡμεῖς, ὁπόταν ἂν ὀκράσηται, μεγάλων ἐς αἰεὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀρξεί κακῶν, παύσαται ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἥ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῷ τὴν διανοίαν προσηκόντων τινος ἐν τῷ φόβῳ νομίζοντες ἡγῶντο ἡδ' ὅτι Πομπήιον κρατύνουσα μεθεῖναι τὴν μοναρχίαν. Of the same Opinion is Tully also in his Letters, ad Atticum, whose Judgment, as of a Man of Affairs, and in re presenti, we may justly account above all exception

(2) That is,

Pompey before he set

his Men in

array at the

Battel of

Pharsalia, to

them about

him let fall

unawares a

word, where-

by it was discovered

that

himself if the

victory had

gone on his

side, would

still have retained

the

Monarchy.

This day,

quoth he,

whether soever

of us two

shall win,

will be the

beginning of

great calamity

for ever to

the Roman

state,

(3) I tell
you this up-
on mine own
knowledge.

ception, lib. 8. ep. 11. *Neutri exorōs est ille, ut nos beati simus. uterque regnare vult. De Pompeio & Casare, lib. 9. ep. 6. Mirandum in modum Cneus noster Sullani regni similitudinem concupivit.* (3) *ἰσθῆς οὐ λῆγῳ.* lib. 7. 5. *Ex victoriā tum multa mala, tum certè tyrannis existet.*

P. 65. The only Prince before his time which changed.] For after him, *Titus* his Son changed also the same way. *Suetonius Tiro, cap. 1. Titus amor ac delicia generis humani: tantum illi ad promerendam omnium voluntatem vel ingenii, vel artis vel fortunæ superfuit: & (quæ difficillimum est) in imperio, quando privatus, atque etiam sub patre principe, ne odio quidem, nedum vituperatione publicâ caruit.*

Ibid. The Army growing insolent, &c. *Cæso cum omnibus copiis Julio Vindice ferox prædā gloriæque exercitus.] Exercitus ex re ipsâ atque opere exercitii nomen accepit. Veget. lib. 2: cap. 1. and so it seemeth that Tacitus here doth in some sort appropriate the name to the Roman trained Soldier, terming the raw and untrained of Vindex, copias, which word, notwithstanding is common to both sorts, 1. Hist. p. 20. Ægyptum, copiasque quibus coerceretur, meaning of the two Legions remaining there. Beside this use, copie hath also in Tacitus another signification for Provision, or Victuals, 3. Hist. p. 115. Ut specie parandarum copiarum civili, prædā miles imbueretur, and p. 118. Lixas calonesque Bebricum mittis, copias, ceteraque usui allaturos, p. 137. & locus ipse castrorum placebat, latè prospiciens, tuto copiarum aggestu, florentissimis ponè tergum municipiis, 4. Hist. p. 171. Nihil æquè exercitus nostros, quàm egestas copiarum fatigabat, and so it is taken in this Book, p. 46. Privatis & promiscuis copiis juvere militem.*

P. 66. That in the Legions every tenth Man was allotted to die.] In Ancient time if some great part of the Army had lost their Ensigns, thrown away their Weapons, and run cowardly out of the Field, the manner was for the General to put all the Standard-bearers, Centurions, &c. to Death, and of the common

common fort every tenth Man. The example is in *(1)* That is, *Livy*, lib. 2. fol. 26. of *Appius Claudius* in the *Vol-* if at any time it happen that whole ensigns pre- fect by the Enemy do forsake their standing and run away, the manner of the Ro- mans is not straight- ways to put them all to Death with- out differ- ence, but they follow a mean course both profitable and terrible. For the Tri- bune calling the Army to- gether and producing those which failed in ser- vice, first he checketh them sharply, and in con- clusion out of the offenders he chuseth by lot some- times five, sometimes eight, some- times twenty, (always ha- ving an eye to the num- ber, and aim- ing as near as

common fort every tenth Man. The example is in *Livy*, lib. 2. fol. 26. of *Appius Claudius* in the *Vol-* if at any time it happen that whole ensigns pre- fect by the Enemy do forsake their standing and run away, the manner of the Ro- mans is not straight- ways to put them all to Death with- out differ- ence, but they follow a mean course both profitable and terrible. For the Tri- Tribune calling the Army to- gether and producing those which failed in ser- vice, first he checketh them sharply, and in con- clusion out of the offenders he chuseth by lot some- times five, sometimes eight, some- times twenty, (always ha- ving an eye to the num- ber, and aim- ing as near as

scian War, in *Dio*, of *Augustus* and *Antony*; lib. 49. pag. 275, and 279. in *Tacitus* of *L. Apronius* Pro- consul of *Africk*, when Ancient Discipline was well nigh expired, *Annal.* 3. pag. 305. The manner is in *Polybius*, lib. 6. pag. 186. (1) ἐάν ποτε συμβῇ καὶ σημαίας τινὰς ὁλοσχερῶς πῖεσθαι, λιπεῖν τὰς τόπας, τὸ μὲν ἀπαντὰς ξυλοκοπεῖν, ἢ φονεῦειν ὑποδοκιμαζούσι, λύσιν δὲ τὰ πρᾶγμα ἵνα εὐρίσκονται συμφέροντα ἅμα καὶ καταπληκτικὴν, σωαθροῖσας γὰρ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὁ χιλιάρχος, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τὰς λελοιπότητας, καθήκοντι πικρῶς, καὶ τὸ τέλος, ὅτε μὴ πέντε, πρὸς ὀκτώ, ποτε δὲ ἑικοσι, τὸ δ' ὅλον πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος αἰεί σοχα- ζόμενος, ὥστε δέκατον μάλιστα γίνεσθαι τῶν ἡμαρτηκό- των, τῆς ἐκ πάντων πληρῆται τῆς ὑποδεσιναικῶν καὶ τὰς μὲν λαχόντας ξυλοκοπεῖ ἀπαραιλήτως. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὸ μέτρον μακροῦς δὲ ἀντὶ πυρῶν ἔξω κέλευει τὰ χάρακας, καὶ τὴν ἀσφαλείαν ποιεῖν καὶ παρεμβολήν.

And not only upon the causes before rehearied of, (2) *Ληψιαξία*, and *ὀπλοειξία*, but upon a occasion of a mutiny, *Scipio* in *Spain* in the second War *Pu-* nick, and in later times also, when severity of Disci- pline was much decayed, *Cæsar* at *Placentia* renew- ed the Custom, and *Antony* at *Brundisium*, *Livius*, l. 28. fol. 218. *Appianus*, 2. *Ἐμφυλ.* p. 224. 3. *Ἐμφ.* p. 280. *Dio*. l. 41. 109.

Ibid. The Colony of *Lions* discontented.] The Se- nate fearing that *Lepidus* and *Plancus*, whom they had called into *Italy*, would betray the side, and go to *Antonius*, willed them still to stay in *France*, and found the Colony of *Lions*, at the confluent of the *Rhone*, and *Saone*, and there to place those which before had been driven out of *Vienna* by the *Allobroges*, *Dio*. lib. 46. Now *Lions* in *Nero's* time

he can to take every tenth Man,) and those on whom the lot falls are beaten to Death with clubs without remission. To the rest he gives them their allowance in *Barley*, instead of *Wheat*, and so commands them to *Quarter* without the *Trench* and places of *surety*. (2) Forfaking their standing and casting away their *Armour*. a *Ap-* rianus 3. *Ἐμφ.* p. 283. in oratione *Ciceronis*. διακλίσαντες (ὁ *Αντώνιος*) εἰς θάνατον ἢ σεσιπείαν, ἢ φυλακὴν, ἢ τάξιν ἐν πολέμῳ λιπόντας, ἐφ' ᾧ μόνον οὐ στρατιωτικὸς νόμος τῶν οὕτως αἰμὴν δεῖσι τιμωρεῖται. b λεγόμενοι μὴ ὀδυσσάντων, καὶ ὅτι λυγροὶ καλεῖσθαι. *Dio*, p. 216.

F

being

e pag. 549.

d 31250l.

Englsh.

being Burnt, *hanc cladem*, saith Tacitus, 16. c. Annal. ^d *quadrages H. S. solatus est princeps*, and therefore they had cause to love Nero, as of the other side to hate Galba, *qui relictus ipsorum occasione ira in fiscum verterat*, Tac. p. 46.

e cap. 19.

pag. 34.

g pag. 120.

h Tac. 2. Hist.

p. 105.

i pag. 1502.

(3) That is, for in a public Play the Tribunes and Centurions wishing good luck to Galba the Emperor, according to the usual manner of the Romans, many of the Soldiers at the first murmured, and when as the Captains persisted in their wishes, they answered and cried again, *He doth not deserve it.*

Ibid. The Countrey-Man: *Paganos*.] *Paganus* a Towns-Man, a Countrey-Man in opposition to *Miles*, Veget. lib. 2. c. 23. *Nam si doctrina cesset armorum, nihil paganus distat à milite*, and that which Suetonius ^e Galba uttereth in these words, *Dimota paganorum turba*; the self same circumstance Tacitus in this ^f Book noteth with these, *Disiecta plebe, conculcato senatu*; and Tacitus himself, 4. Hist. p. 163. *Tria millia legionariorum, & tumultuariæ Belgarum cohortes, simul paganorum, lixarumque ignava, sed procax ante periculum manus*. And again, 2. Hist. *Multæ & atroces inter se militum cedes, manente legionum, auxiliorumque discordia; ubi adversus paganos certandum foret, consensu*. Antonius Primus ^g 3. Hist. disgracing the *Prætorians* (who were before discharged of their Service, and disarmed by Commission from ^h *Vitellius*) names them *paganos*. *Vos, inquit, nisi vincitis, pagani, quis alius imperator, quæ castra alia excipient?* Like as Cæsar at Rome in a mutiny, and afterward Alexander Severus at Antioch, dismissing his Soldiers in displeasure, called them *Quirites*, *Quirites discedite atque arma deponite*. Sueton. Cæsar, c. 70. Lampridius Severo, p. 1003.

P. 69. The very first day of January.] And before that day, as it may appear by ⁱ *Plutarch*, the Army of upper Germany had given shrewd signs of small good liking of Galba. (3) *Δίας ὃ ποτε ἔσθι, καὶ τῶ χιλιόχων καὶ λόχα γὰρ τὸ Ῥωμαίοις σὺνθεσι, εὐτυχίαν ἐπευχόμενον τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Γάλβᾳ, διδομένησαν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ἅτα ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἐπιμνηνόντων ἐκείνων, ἀντεφώνον, Οὐκ ἄξιον*. Now to break down the Images of the Prince was the usual beginning in all Rebellions, 3. Hist. pag. 114. *Trierarchi magno tumultu Vitellii imagines invadunt, & paucis resistentium obtruncatæ, &c.* in the same Page, *simul Vitellii imagines derepta*.

P. 71. Coleyn: *Coloniam Agrippinensem*.] Founded by *Agrippina*, *Claudius's* Wife, *Tacit.* 12. *Annal.* pag. 429. *Sed Agrippina quo vim suam sociis quoque nationibus ostentaret, in oppidum Ubiorum in quo genita erat, veteranos, coloniamque deduci imperat, cui nomen inditum ex vocabulo ipsius.*

Ibid. The principal Men of the Colonies.] *Principes Coloniarum*; be the *Decuriones*, *Principes castrorum*, whom *Vegetius* ^a lib. 2. calleth also, *milites principes*, and *Tacitus*, 3. ^b *Hist. primores castrorum*, ^a cap. 9. ^b pag. 123. are the *Aquiliferi*, *Signiferi*, *Options*, &c. qui privilegiis muniuntur. Whereas the rest, the common Soldiers, are called, *Munifices*, quod munia facere coguntur.

P. 72. *Julius Civilis*.] The same Man who afterward with the *Batavians*, and aid of the *French* and *Germans*, maintained War so long with the *Romans*, as it appeareth, 4, and 5. *Hist.* Of the event here noted *Tacitus* maketh mention again, 4. *Hist.* p. 158. *Julius Paulus*, & *Claudius Civilis*, regia stirpe, multo ceteros (*Batavos nobiles*) antebant. *Paulum Fonteius Capito falso rebellionis crimine interfecit. Injuncta Civili catenæ, missusque ad Neronem, & à Galbâ absolutus, sub Vitellio rursus discrimen adiit, flagitante supplicium ejus exercitu. Inde causæ irarum, spesque ex malis nostris.* Where is to be marked, that he calleth him there *Claudius Civilis*, whom here he nameth *Julius Civilis*, forgetting himself in the one or the other, or else the describers of Books not forgetting their accustomed negligence.

Ibid. Of *Batavian's* eight Cohorts, the aids of the fourteenth Legion.] The great and notable Rebellion of *Britany*, by the vertue of *Suetonius Paulinus*, and valiantness of the fourteenth Legion, not without great loss of Men being suppressed; *Nero* sent out of *Germany* thither a fresh supply of 2000 Legionaries, a thousand Horse, and eight Cohorts of Auxiliaries, which I take to be the very eight Cohorts of *Batavians* mentioned here. However, certain it is, that these Cohorts of *Batavians* were assigned as Auxiliaries to the fourteenth Legion: That

Nero, for what occasions soever, upon special confidence of their valour, sent for into *Italy* the same Legion, with her Auxiliaries: That in the Troubles of *Vindex* the Auxiliaries upon some Quarrel departed from the Legion, in prejudice, as it may seem of Nero's cause: That *Galba* coming to state the Legion, was sent into *Illyricum*, the *Batavians* into *Britany* again, and in the mean season, as they were in their way thitherward, hearing the News of *Vitellius's* Commotion, they joyned themselves to the side. For Confirmation of the Premisses *Tacitus* alone may suffice, 14. *Annal.* pag. 496. *Auxitque copias Caesar missis à Germaniâ duobus legionariorum millibus, octo auxiliariorum cohortibus, ac mille equitibus,* 2. *Hist.* pag. 65. *Mote ad imperium Othonis, è Dalmatiâ, Panmoniâque legiones, præcipui fama Quartadecimani rebellione Britannie compressa. Addiderat gloriam Nero eligendo potissimos, unde longa illis erga Neronem fides.* And in the same Book, pag. 73. *cobortes Batavorum, quas bello Neronis à Quartadecima legione digressas, cum Britanniam peterent, audito Vitellii motu in civitate Lingonum Fabio Valenti adjunctas retulimus, superbè agebant, ut cujusque legionis tentoria accessissent, coercitos à se quartadecimanos, ablatam Neroni Italiam, atque omnem belli fortunam in ipsorum manu sitam jactantes.*

P. 73. Now that the British host was adjoyned.] If it be true that *Trebellius desertus* (à militibus) ad *Vitellium perfugerit*; if it be true which *Paulinus* alledgeth, 2. *Hist.* *Britannicum militem hoste ac mari distineri*: which *Tacitus* himself writeth, pag. 19. *In Britannico exercitu nihil irarum. Non sanè aliæ legiones per omnes civilium bellorum motus innocentius egerunt,* how can it be true that here is said, *Adjuncto Britannico exercitu,* and in another ^c place. *Vitellius è Britannico dilectu octo millia sibi adjunxit?*

c pag. 86.

P. 74. With the name of *Germanicus*.] The first of the Romans that bare the name of the place he Conquered was *Cn. Martius* of *Corioli*, named *Coriolanus*; then *P. Scipio* the Elder of *Africk* subdued, ^d *Africanus*. *Lucius* his Brother likewise of *Asia*, *Asteticus*.

d Livius lib.
30.

siaticus. Many of the *Metelli*, more for distinction, than for any notable Conquest obtained. The former Emperors at pleasure sometime took some few names to themselves, sometimes bestowed them on others. In the later Times, Vertue decaying, Ambition in Titles increased. *Xilipbinus Commodus*, p.

296. (1) ἔτω καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐμμελῆ τὸ κάθαρμα, καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἕτως ἐπίσειλιν. Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λύκιος Αἰλίου Αὐρήλιου Κόμμοδος Αὐγυῖος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐθυχῆς, Σαρματικὸς, Γερμανικὸς, Μίχης, Βρεττανικὸς, Εἰρηνοποιὸς καὶ οἰκουμένης, Ἀνίκης, Ρωμαῖος, Ἑρακλῆς, Ἀρχιερεὺς, Δημαρχικὸς ἐξουσίας τὸ ὅκλως καὶ δεκάδον, Αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ὄγδοον, Ἰσάβητος τὸ ἑβδόμον, Παῖς παύσιδος. And *Justinian*, accounted of as a sober Emperor, hath his Style notwithstanding not much shorter. *Imp. Caesar Flavius Justinianus Alemanicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Atticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus, Pius Felix Inchyus Victor ac Triumphator semper Augustus*. Now what right *Vitellius* had to the name of *Germanicus*, where he had never seen Enemy in face, seeth he was Emperor, the fountain of Justice, who can do no wrong, we will not dispute it.

P. 74. A lucky sign.] Many of the Latin Stories (for to them and their Disciples this vertue is peculiar) account it, I think, a capital Crime to set down any notable mutation in state without many prodigious *portenta*, miraculous *omina*, &c. inducing the change, most of them being counterfeit, and coyned to drive a the Reader into an Extasie, many hapning commonly, and remembred only when any notable event did ensue. In the b second Book, at *Orbo's* Death, we have another Tale, much of this making, or somewhat worse, with a Preface to give it some Credit, as for our Eagle, here she was surely either a notorious Cozener, or else notoriously ignorant of what would befall, thus to give *omen haud dubium* of great Prosperity, which in effect dured but a moment.

P. 77. Nothing else but Strangers and Enemies : contrariwise themselves a Roman Colony.] And so was *Vienna* too. The Emperor *Claudius* in a Speech in

(1) That is, so exceeding great was the madness of that vile Monster *Commodus*, and with this stile he sent a Letter to the Senate, *Imp. Caesar L. Aelius Aurelius Commodus Augustus Pius Felix, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Maximus, Britannicus, concordia orbis terrarum, Invictus, Romanus Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunicia potestas, xviii. Imperat. viii. Consul vii. Pater patria.*
a πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν ἀρχιερέων.
b pag. 84.

in Senate, which yet is extant at *Lions* graven in Brals: ORNATISSIMA ECCE COLONIA VALENTISSIMAQUE VIENNENSIVM QUAM LONGO JAM TEMPORE HUIC CURIAE SENATORES CONFERT? And Tacitus himself almost in the next Sentence, *Tum vetustas dignitasque Coloniae valuit*, speaking of *Vienna*, so that both being Colonies, and both external alike, this Rhetorick of his was here out of season.

Ibid. Sacred Veils, and insules: *Velamenta & insulas.*] *Velamenta & insule*, signs of submission and humble demanding of mercy, 3. Hist. *Antonius Primus*, vehemently assaulting *Cremona*, *primores velamenta & insulas pro muris ostentant.* And *Coriolanus* wasting the Roman Countrey, *sacerdotes suis insignibus velatos isse supplices ad castra hostium traditum est*, saith ^c *Livy*. And the same *Livy*, l. 30. fol. 241. *Haud procul aberat (Carthaginiis portu Scipio) cum velata insulis ramisque oleæ Carthaginiensium occurrit navis.* Now ^d *insule*, saith *Varro* and *Festus*, were certain, *velamenta lanea, quibus sacerdotes & hostiæ, templaque velabantur.* So that by their description there should seem to be no great difference between *velamenta* and *insulas*.

P. 78. *Lucus*, a Free-Town: *Municipium id Vocontiorum est.*] *Municipium* and *Colonia* though used indifferently in many good Authors, yet indeed, and in preciseness of speech carry several senses. And so doth Tacitus, 2. ^e Hist. put them as diverse. *Dispersi per municipia & colonias Vitelliani.* The difference is that, *municipia in civitatem extrinsecus assumuntur*, and *coloniae à civitate educuntur*. *Gellius*, ^f lib. 16. *ex oratione D. Hadriani ad Italicensis*, distinguisheth them in this manner. *Municipes sunt cives Romani ex municipiis, suo jure & suis legibus utentes: muneris tantum cum P.R. honorarii participes, à quo munere capeffendo appellati videntur: nullis aliis necessitatibus, neque ullæ P.R. lege restricti, quum nunquam P.R. eorum fundus factus esset. Coloniarius alia necessitudo est; non enim veniunt extrinsecus in civitatem, nec suis radicibus nituntur, sed ex civitate quasi propagatæ sunt, & jura institutaque omnia P.R. non sui arbitrii habent.*

habent. Now that *Lucus* was indeed *municipium*, according to the exquisite use of the word, may appear by *Pliny*, lib. 3. cap. 4. *Vocontiorum civitatis fœderatæ duo capita, Vasio & Lucus Augusti.*

P. 81. *Perrin Wing.*] Our Printed Books have in *Alpe Graja*, corruptly no question. For *Alpes Grajæ* are the passage out of *Savoy* into *Italy*, as I think, by Mount *Senise*, or *St. Bernardo-minor*; the direct way from *Lions* to *Milan*. Out of *Switzerland*, where *Cacina* was, be the *Penina* by Mount *St. Bernardo-major*. The *Cottia* are out of *Dauphiny* into *Italy*, by Mount *Gineura*. In the *Vatican* Copy of *Tacitus*, it is, *cum alpe tarina*, which with less mutation of Letters, and more possibility of circumstance, we may rather imagine should have been, *cum ala Petrina*, than *cum ala Taurina*, which passed the other way with *Valens*. And *Tacitus* himself, 4. *Hist.* pag. 178. maketh mention of one *Claudius Sagitta*, which was è *Vitellianis*, and *Præfectus ala Petrinæ*.

Ibid. His heavy Legionary: *Subsignanum militem & grave legionum agmen.*] *Subsignanus miles & grave legionum agmen* (and yet there was here but one whole Legion, the one and twentieth) may seem to signify both one thing, as being contradivided both to *Auxiliaries*, 2. *Hist.* p. 91. *Erupere legionarii in perniciem auxiliorum*, 4. *Hist.* *Id solum, ut in tumultu, monuit, subsignano milite media firmare. Auxilia passim circumfusa sunt.* And yet in another place we have, *Quicquid sub signis sociorum.*

Ibid. Were not to mislike such Examples: *Exemplum ultrò imputavit.*] *Imputare* in *Tacitus*, is a word of a middle signification, indifferent to the good part and bad: yet more standing for *beneficii loco numerare*, or some such like thing. Examples, p. 42. *Neque enim erat adhuc, cui imputaretur*; that is, for as yet there was none whom they might account benefitted by the revolt. In this place *exemplum ultrò imputavit*, he accounted this fact of his standing sure to his old Master beneficial to *Otho* also, and the example not to be disliked of any Prince whatsoever. *Plutarch*, I know, in the beginning of *Otho* seemeth

to

(1) That is, to take it otherwise, p. 1513. (1) κέλευσαι (ὁ ὄθων)
 Otho com- Μάριον Κέλσον ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἡσπάσατο καὶ δι-
 manded Ma- λέχθη φιλανθρώπως, καὶ παρεκάλεσε τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιλα-
 rius Celsus to θέσθαι μᾶλλον, ἢ τὴν ἀφέστως μνημονεύειν. τῷ δὲ Κέλ-
 be brought σε μὴτ' ἀγνῶως ἀποκρινάμενος μὴτ' ἀναίσθητος, ἀλλὰ
 before him, φήσας· ὁ αὐτὸς τῷ τρόπῳ διδόναι τὸ ἔγκλημα πῶς
 whom he ἐγκλησθαι γὰρ ὅτι Γάλβα βέβαιον ἑαυτὸν παρέχειν, ὃ
 embraced (ἐγκλησθαι γὰρ ὅτι Γάλβα βέβαιον ἑαυτὸν παρέχειν, ὃ
 and intreated χάειν ἑδραίαν ὀφείλειν) ἠγάσθησαν οἱ παρόντες ἀμφο-
 very kindly, τέρων καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπήνεσαν. But we may give
 desiring him him good leave to err in construing one hard place
 rather to for- of Tacitus, that in so many easie in Caesar mistaketh.
 get that ever But to proceed in Examples, 2 Hist. p. 87. Pro-
 he was in ditionem ulterius imputabant; spatium longi ante praeli-
 fault, than to um itineris, fatigationem Othonianorum, permixtum ve-
 remember hiculo agmen, ac pleraque fortuita fraudi suae assignan-
 that he tes. 5. Hist. pag. 213. in the like fence. Potuisse
 was forgi- tunc opprimi legiones, et voluisse Germanos, sed dolo a
 ven. To se flexos imputavit Civilis. In both places the mean-
 whom Celsus ing of Tacitus is, that in benefit of their Adversary
 made answer they had prevaricated with their own side, pag. 99.
 both Coura- Unde metus, et ex metu consilium, posse imputari
 gious and of his honesty. Vespassiano, quae apud Vitellium excusanda erant. That
 Pertinent, is, that they might reckon and score it up as a be-
 saying, that nefit to Vespassian, which with Vitellius needed ex-
 the accusation cuse, 4. Hist. pag. 159. Ambiguam fortunam belli
 it self gave Vespassiano imputaturos; victoriae rationem non reddi:
 sufficient proof That is, if the War fell out ill, or hard of their side,
 of his honesty. Then forsooth they took Arms in Vespassian's behalf;
 For what if well, they should never be brought to the reckon-
 else was he ing. 3. Hist. pag. 151. Reip. haud dubie intererat
 charged Vitellium vinci. Sed imputare perfidiam non possunt,
 withall, but qui Vitellium Vespassiano prodidere, cum a Galba de-
 that he had scivissent. Id est, qui Vitellium, Vespassiano prodide-
 been faithful re, perfidiam suam reip. beneficii loco numerare non
 to Galba, to possunt, as though they had done it for the good of
 whom he their Countrey, who before had revolted from Gal-
 was nothing ba, a good Emperor to cleave to Vitellius or Otho.
 beholden? In the Book de moribus Germanorum, pag. 571. Gau-
 Whereupon, dant muneribus, sed nec data imputant, nec acceptis
 they that obligantur; that is, neither in bestowing do they
 were present account it, as though they had done you a benefit,
 much admir- nor in receiving as though they were bound, or be-
 red them holden.
 both, and the
 Soldiers did
 not dislike it.

holden. This strange use of the Word *imputare*, as Latin goes now a-days, and therefore by me confirmed by many Examples, in Tacitus's time was not so strange. Suetonius Tiberio, cap. 53. *Imputavit etiam, quod non laqueo strangulatam in Gemonias abjecerit, proque tali clementiâ interponi decretum passus est, quo sibi gratia agerentur.* Plinius, lib. 8. ep. 21. *Recitavi viduo, hoc assensus audientium exegit, & tamen ut alii transeunt quedam, imputantque quod transeant; sic ego nihil prætereo, atque etiam non præterire me testor.* In both places, *imputare* for *beneficii loco numerare*. But further I say, it standeth also for *maleficii loco numerare*, and *vitio vertere*. Tac. 2. Hist. *Vitellio initium belli nemo imputabat; that is, no body charged him with that fault,* 3. Hist. *Casum Cremonæ bello imputandum. In vita Agric. Approbate reip. nunquam exercitui imputari potuisse aut moras belli, aut causas debellandi.*

P. 82. *Sophonius Tigellinus.*] Of Tigellinus, all the Stories are full. After the Death of Burrhus, Nero, saith ^a Tacitus, *duos Prætoris cohortibus imposuerat, a 14. Annal.* *Fenium Rufum ex vulgi favore: Sophonium Tigellinum ex intimis libidinibus assumptum, (2) ἀσέλγεια (2) That is, in Luxurious-
τε καὶ μαιφρονία πᾶντας τὰς κατὰ εὐσέβειαν ἀνθρώπων, in Luxury-
ὑπερβῆσαν. for those were indeed the two virtues, ness and cru-
by which Tigellinus won credit with Nero. Tacitus, 15. Ann. p. 351. *Fenium vita famaque laudatum, per severitiam impudicitiamque Tigellinus in animo principis anteibat, pag. 537. Poppæa & Tigellino coram, quod erat severienti principi intimum consiliorum, interrogat, &c. 14. Ann. pag. 504. he is described as the only Author of all the miseries of that time. Validior indies Tigellinus, & malas artes, quibus solis pollebat, gratiores ratus, si principem societate sceleris obstringeret, metus ejus rimatur, &c. pag. 501. Tacitus bestoweth as favours upon him, these friendly terms: flagrantissima flagitia, adulteria, vetus impudicitia, infamia, p. 536. Tigellino scilicet comitante cum pellicibus, pag. 526. he notes him as Author, or privy at least to the burning of Rome. Plusque infamiae id incendium habuit, quia**

G

prædiis

prædiis Tigellini Æmylianis proruperat. A fit Man in all respects for such a bad Master, and unfit to have been by *Galba* protected.

Ibid. To Furnish the City of *Rome*.] *Tac.* 3. Hist.

P. 131. *Africam eodem latere sitam, terra, marique invadere parabat, clausis annonæ subsidii inopiam ac discordiam hosti facturus.* For so was it, that *Egypt* and *Africk* furnished the City of *Rome* for Corn.

(1) That is, they of *Africa* beside eight Months Provision of Corn yearly for the people of *Rome*, pay all manner of Tributes, and willingly support all other charges of the Empire. (2) That is, *Egypt* pays more Tribute in one Month than the *Jews* do in a whole year. And beside this great sum of money they yield Provision of Corn for *Rome*, for the space of four Months.

■ 13. *Annal.*

Josephus, ἀλώσ. 2. cap. 28. (1) χωρὶς δὲ ἢ ἑτέριον καρπῶν, οἱ μιστὶν ὀκτώ τὸ καλὰ τὸ ῥώμην πληθῆσαι τρέφουσιν, καὶ ἔξωθεν παντοίως πορολογύνται (οἱ λιβύες) καὶ ταῖς χρεῖαις τῆ ἡγεμονίας παρέχουσιν ἑτοίμους τὰς εἰσφοράς. Et paulo post. (2) τὰ ἢ ἐνιαυσίῳ παρ' ὑμῶν (Ἰουδαίων,) φόρου καθ' ἓνα μῆνα πλέον ῥωμαίοις παρέχει (ἡ αἰγυπτίη) καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἔξωθεν, τῇ ῥώμῃ σίτον μηνῶν τεσσάρων.

P. 83. Mighty in Money, and because she was Childless.] Rich and Childless, two good helps to get many Friends, every Man contending to please them, of whose Wealth he may hope to be Heir. *Silvanus*, being in *Nero's* time accused, *repetundarum valuit*, saith ^a *Tacitus*, *pecuniosa orbitate* & *sancta*: and yet in the end he deceived them all, overliving those, *quorum ambitu evaserat*. Contrarily in *Germany*, *nulla orbitatis pretia, sed quanto plus propinquorum, quo major affinium numerus, tanto gratiosior senectus.* *De moribus Germanorum*, pag. 571.

P. 85. Himself and *Titianus* his Brother, Consuls till the Calends of *March*.] In the Free State, the two Consuls entering the first of *January*, remained in Office the whole Year out, unless they chanced to Die, or upon special and rare occasions resign'd. Afterward, *cum belli civilis præmia festinari ceperunt*, as *Tacitus* speaketh, when many more for their good service to the side had deserved to be pleased, than there were places to pleasure them in, a shift was found to abridge the time, and so to speed many in one Year. The Author of this disorder was *C. Cesar*, *An. urbis condita*, 709. when

as being Consul, *sine collega*, he resigned to *Fabius* and *Trebonius*, Dio, lib. 43. pag. 155. (3) *πρωτον* (3) That is, then first of all contrary to the Ancient Custom a prece lent was given, that a Man should bear the Office of Consulship neither for the term of a whole Year, nor for the remainder of the Year, if happily upon another Man's Death or Resignation he was chosen to the place, but that one during his Life time, not compelled by Law, in whose Creation no error was committed in matter of *Auspicia*, should resign the place, and cause another Man to be chosen in his room. And from this time forward very few enjoyed the Consulship a compleat Year, but as it chanced some more some fewer either Months or Days. b As the Princes oftentimes did.

(4) That is, they chose not two Consuls for the whole Year according to the Ancient Custom, but even at that time of Election they nominated more, for six Years before this some had succeeded others in the same Year, though the former neither by Death, nor Misdeemeanor, nor other causes were deprived. Howbeit, then they were made as it pleased them who were chosen for the whole Year: but now even at the first Creation, no Man was nominated for the whole Year, but some for one part of the Year, and some for another.

ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῷ ᾧ ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ ἀνέμαλλον ; ὃ καὶ νῦν ποιεῖται. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἢ τινὰς αὐτοῦ ἢ ἑτέρας ἤδεισαν, καὶ διὰ τὸτο σμικροτέρως σφὰς ὑπάτους ὑπεκάλειν. And again, lib. 43. pag. 155. (3) τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἑδὲν ἀφ' ἑρμεν (nos Consules, least we might have been ignorant of his preferment) ἀλλήλων. ἢ δὲ ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν οἱ κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ ὑπατεύοντες καρπύνονται. Notwithstanding this minor Consulship served well enough to make up a number. Example, in *Vespasian* who bearing the Office of Consul in *Claudius's* time *c per duos novissimos anni menses*, of ordinary never before, *an. 823.* is styled *Vespasianus iterum*. Tac. 4. Hist. p. 172.

(3) That is, in all other things there is no odds between us Consuls, only they which enter first enjoy the prerogative of giving the name to the Year.

b sc. ἡμέτεροι καὶ μὴναι.
c *Suet. Vespas.* c. 4.

P. 86. For polling the Provinces: *Repetundarum criminibus*.] The Action of *Repetunde* lay against the Governors of Provinces for Money unduly extorted, or cruelty exercised in their jurisdiction, so called of the more principal part, because by that Action, *pecunias injustè ablatas, vel si quid aliud ablatum, captum, conciliatum, aversumve siet, provincialibus repetere jus fasque esset*: and not only the sum extorted, but an Arbitrary mulct was imposed beside, double, or treble, *nomine pænæ*. This Law was induced by *L. Calpurnius Piso*, *Anno primo tertii belli Punici*: and afterwards revived by other with many new clauses and strait sanctions, Tac. 15. An. p. 518. *Magistratuum avaritia Calpurnia scita peperit*. And yet notwithstanding all the good Laws in that case enacted, the Proconsuls and Propretors, both before and under the Emperors, ceased not to rack and poll the poor Countreys. Nay, the more Laws there were, and greater Penalties Established, the more they Robbed and Spoiled the Provinces; to make good great extortion abroad, with great bribery at home, according to the Greek senary, (4) ὁ πολλὰ κλέψας, ὁλίγα δὲ ἐκφεύξεται. And therefore *Tully* telleth us, (in jest, or in earnest) that the Provinces would surely prefer supplication to the Senate, that the Law, *de repetundis*, made in their behalf, at their request might be repealed. His Words be these, *Proamio prioris actionis in Verrem. Plenum facere mulem testibus possum, C. Verrem*

(4) He that hath stoln much with giving a small matter shall escape well enough.

C. Verrem in Sicilia multis audientibus sepe dixisse se habere hominem potentem cuius fiducia provincia spoliaret: neque sibi soli pecuniam quærere, sed ita triennium illud præturæ Siciliensis distributum habere, ut secum pulchre agi diceret, si unius anni quæstum in rem suam converteret: alterum patronis & defensoribus suis traderet; tertium illum uberrimum, quæstuosissimumque annum totum iudiciis reservaret. Ex quo mihi venit in mentem illud dicere, quod apud M. Glabriorem nuper cum in rejiciendis iudiciis commemorassem, intellexi vehementer Populum Romanum commoveri, me arbitrari fore, uti nationes exire legatos ad Populum Romanum mitterent, ut lex de pecuniis repetundis iudiciumque tolleretur, si enim iudicia nulla sint, tantum unumquemque ablaturum putant, quantum sibi, ac liberis suis satis esse arbitrentur. Nunc quod ejusmodi iudicia sint, tantum unumquemque auferre, quantum sibi, patronis, advocatis, prætoribus, iudiciis satis futurum sit. Hoc profecto infinitum esse. Se avarissimi hominis cupiditati satisfacere posse, nocentissimæ victoriæ non posse. Under the Empire the Law was understood, as it may seem by Pliny, lib. 2. ep. 11. against extortion only.

Ibid. Crime of Majesty and Treason.] *Lex Majestatis* in the Ancient Free Commonwealth comprehended only points of greatest importance in State: ^d si quis prodicione exercitum, aut plebem seditionibus, denique malè gestâ Republica majestatem Populi Romani minuisset. Augustus put it in ure against Libellers, whereas before, facta arguebantur, dicta impunè erant, or at least not punished with the Penalties, *lese majestatis*. In Tiberius, Caius, Claudius, and Nero's time it was, unicum crimen eorum, qui crimine vacabant, as Pliny speaketh. ^e One was accused to Tiberius, and all was Majesty, quod venditis hortis statuam Augusti simul mancipasset: ^f another, quod violasset perjurio nomen Augusti. A ^g third, beside some undutiful Speeches, that he had set up his own Image higher than those of the Princes, and that in another Image he had cut off the Head of Augustus, and clapped in the place one of Tiberius's

^d Tacitus, 1. Ann. p. 251.

^e Falanius, 1. Ann. p. 251.

^f Rubrius, ibidem.
^g Granius Marcellus, ibidem.

Tiberius's for saving of Cost. ^h Another for making ^h Lutorius
^an Epitaph for the Prince's Son, before he was ^{Priscus} 3.
Dead, Arraigned and Condemned. ^a Another, *quod* ^a L. Ennius
effigiem principis promiscuum ad usum argenti vertis- ^{Ann. 3. p. 318.}
set. ^b Another, for that he had done greater ser- ^b c. Silius 4.
vice for the Prince, than that he was able any other ^{Ann. 340.}
way to requite it. ^c Another, for that in his Story ^c Cremutius
he had commended Cassius and Brutus, Enemies of ^{Cordus Ann.}
the Monarchy, and Dead above threescore Years ^{4. pag. 347.}
before. ^d Others because they were descended of ^d Pompeia
those which in their time had been of near Acquain- ^{Macrina cum}
tance with Pompey. ^e Another, because he had been ^{marito, socero}
a follower of Germanicus, of whom Tiberius with- ^{quero, ac}
out just cause had ever been jealous. ^f Another, ^{fratre. 6. An.}
for making a Tragedy, wherein certain Verses were ^{382.}
of doubtful understanding. In Claudius's time ^e one ^e Titius Sabinus
was Arraigned and Condemned of Majesty, for ^{4. Ann.}
dreaming a Dream, another for ^h being dreamed of. ^{364. C. Silius}
In Nero's time one ⁱ Cassius, *quod inter imagines ma-* ^{4. Ann. 340.}
jorum etiam C. Cassii effigiem colisset ita inscriptam ^{&c.}
DUCI PARTIUM. And infinite more for such ^f Mamecius
trifles as these. Seeing therefore that *lex majestatis* ^{Scaurus 6.}
had been of late so odiously executed, it pleased the ^{Ann. p. 388.}
pardoners to term that which indeed was Extortion, ^g Petra 11.
crime of Majesty, the memory whereof was so hate- ^{Ann.}
ful, that in respect of it even other good Laws were ^h C. Silianus
neglected. ^{Dio. pag. 463.}
ⁱ 16. Ann. p. 546.

Ibid. To the *Hispanienses* and *Emeritenses* a new
supply of Families.] In deducing of Colonies a cer-
tain number of Families were assigned, which if
tract of time, or any mischance had diminished, or
adulterated, to have them supplied afresh, or in-
creased, was esteemed of the rest, as a special great
benefit: *Livius*, lib. 32. fol. 259. *C. Acilius tri-*
bunus plebis tulit, ut quinque coloniae in oram mariti-
nam deducerentur. Tricenae familiae in singulas colo-
nias jubebantur mitti. Eodem libro f. 253. Narniensi-
um legatis querentibus ad numerum sibi colonos non
esse, & immistos quosdam non sui generis pro colonis
se gerere, earum rerum causa triumviros creare L. Cor-
nelius consul jussus. creati P. & Sex. Aelii (Patris fu-
it ambobus cognomen) & C. Cornelius Lentulus. Quod
Narnien-

Narniensibus datum erat ut colonorum numerus augeretur, id Cossani petentes non impetraverunt. And in another place, postulantibus à senatu Aquileiensium legatis, ut numerum colonorum augeret, M. & D. familie ex S. C. scriptæ. Tac. 13. Ann. p. 462. Ceterum colonie Capua atque Nuceria, additis veteranis firmatae sunt. Now that Hispalis was a Colony of the Romans, Pliny affirmeth, lib. 3. c. 2. A le-
va Hispalis colonia, cognomine Romulensis: That E-
merita, Dio, lib. 53. p. 348. (1) παυσάμενος δὲ τῷ

(1) That is, this War being ended, Augustus dismissed the Soldiers which were past years of Service, and gave them Licence to Build a City in Portugal, called Augusta Emerita.

k lib. 1. p. 749.

πολέμῳ τῷ ὁ "Αυγὺς τὰς μὲν ἀσπληκτέρας ἡφ' ἐξελισσάων ἀφῆκε, καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐν λυσισταίᾳ ἢ ἀν-
γύσαν ἡμετέραν καλουμένην κτίσαι ἔδωκε. The rea-
son of the name is apparent, Emerita, quod emeriti
milites ἀσπληκτέρας ἐὼ deducerentur. For military Co-
lonies (to leave the other kind which in the Free
State, were derived abroad by the Senate's appoint-
ment, for so * Velleius seems to divide them) they
were devised for a recompence of Old Soldiers,
who having spent the flower of their Age in the
Service of their Countrey, small reason it were to
turn them a begging when they were Aged. Where-
fore Sylla, Caesar, and the Emperors following, at
the end of their Service rewarded the Old Soldier
with an honourable maintenance of Land of Inheri-
tance. In this kind of Colonies at the beginning,
1 universæ legiones ducebantur cum tribunis centurio-
nibus, & suis cujusque ordinis militibus, ut consensu
& caritate temp. officerent. Mela, lib. 2. cap. 5.
namoth some special Legions, and where they were
placed. Secundanorum Arausio, Sextanorum Arelate,
Septimanorum Blitera, Decumanorum colonia Marci-
us Narbo. In process of time this good order de-
caying, m Non ut olim universæ legiones, sed ignoti in-
tar se ducebantur, diversis manipulis, sine rectore, si-
ne affectibus mutuis, quasi ex alio genere mortalium
repente in unum collecti, numerus magis quam colo-
nia: and the proof thereof was according, the Sol-
diers slipping away, in provincias, in quibus stipen-
dia meruerant, and leaving the Colonies desolate.
Whether upon this or whatsoever occasion, appa-
rent it is that Hispalis and Emerita were both decay-
ed,

1 Tac. 13. An.
pag. 491.

m Tacitus.

ed, and therefore with new Families here by grace from *Otho* stocked again.

Ibid. Honoured with a Triumphal Image: *Triumphali statua.*] Tac. 4. Ann. pag. 342. *Famque tres erant laureatæ in urbe statuæ, &c.* and the Sentence before of the same matter. *Priores duces impetrando sibi triumphalium insigni sufficere res suas crediderant.* Again, 15. Ann. pag. 542. *Triumphale decus,* and *Triumphales in foro imagines* of the same. So that we may reasonably gather *Triumphalem statuam* to be either the same with *Triumphalia insignia*, or else parcel of them, and yet inducing the whole. This Title of Honour, *τιμαὶ ἐπινίκιοι*, unknown in the Free Commonwealth, ^{n cap. 9.} was first conferred, as some do suppose, by *Augustus* upon *Tiberius*, Anno urb. conditæ, 742. ^{a l. 4. pag. 361.} *Sueton. n Tiberio. Quas ob res & ovans & curru urbem ingressus est (Tiberius) primus (ut quidam putant) triumphalibus ornamentis honoratus, novo, nec antea cuiquam tributo genere honoris.* But ^{(1) That is,} *Dio* writeth that it was to *Agrippa* two years before first granted: ^{Sacrifices were made to the Gods in the name of Agrippa yet was there no Triumph decreed unto him. For he did not at the first certify the Senate concerning the successes of his Actions. Whereupon in succeeding Ages Men of his place following his Example as a rule never wrote to the Senate, neither accepted the grant of Triumph, but contented themselves with Triumphal Ornaments alone.} (1) *Δυσίαί τῷ τῷ Ἀγρίππῃ ὀνόματι ἐγένοντο, ἃ μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ ἐπέμψθη ὅτε ὁ ἔρχατο ἀρχὴν εἰς τὸ σιδήσειον ὑπὲρ τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἑλν. ἀπ' ἧ δὲ καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτῷ ὁμοίως νόμῳ τινὲ τῷ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ῥώμενοι ἐδ' αὐτοὶ τῷ κοινῷ ἐτ' ἐπέσπελλον, ὅτε ἡ πέμψιν τοῦ νικητηρίου ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ μόναις ταῖς ἐπινικίοις τιμαῖς ἐγαυρῶντο:* and so consequently to ^b *Tiberius*. The cause as I judge of the innovation was, that to *Augustus* who of the old State left nothing standing but Names, and hardly that, the pomp triumphal seemed a thing too full of Majesty for any Subject, and therefore seeking every way to cut the sinews of Liberty, and yet to retain a shadow of Ancienty, he cunningly converted the solemnity of a Triumph into *Triumphalia insignia*. Only the Princes themselves, or their Children, as *Germanicus* in *Tiberius's* time, solemnly Triumphed. Next to *Triumphalia*, in lower degree of Honour were *Consularia insignia*, or *ornamenta*, *τιμαὶ ὑπατικαὶ*, and *Prætorialia* likewise, *τιμαὶ πρατηρικαὶ*, under them, obtained by ^{b Dio, p. 369.}

H

those,

those, I suppose, whom Dio in sundry places termeth, *τέσσαρ δακύντας ὑπαλευμένας ἢ ἐσεσθηγμένας*. And lastly, *Questoria ornamenta*, to make them as Consuls, Prætors, Questor's Fellows. Tac. 4. Hist. p. 154. *Multo cum honore verborum Mutiano triumphalia de bello civili data. Sed in Sarmatas expeditio fingebatur. adduntur Antonio Primo consularia, Cornelio fusco, & Arrio Varo prætoria insignia*, Ann. 11. pag. 418. *Decreta Narcisso questoria insignia, &c.*

Ibid. The cause bred a crime: *Causa in crimen evaluit.*] If these Rhimes have in them any Reason, the meaning may be, that which the Tribune did to the end to execute the Prince's Commandment, that the Soldiers drew to a finistre sence, as done not for the service of the Prince, but rather, *servitiorum in imperatorem armandorum gratiâ*. Plutarch, p. 1514. (2) *οἱ δεσπύτατοι πάντες ἐβόων, ἐπὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ Κεισπίνον ἦκεν διανοόμενον, ἀλλὰ ᾧ σύγκλητον ἐπιχειρεῖν πείρασσι νεωτέροις, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ Κείσαρος ἢ Κείσαρι παρακομίζεσθαι.*

P. 90. Casting away the Marks: *Abjectis militie insignibus.*] *Tribunatus insigne*, the badge or mark of his Office was *παρεζώνιον*, a Dagger. *Martialis*, lib. 14. of a Centurion, *vitis*, a Vine-rod to correct the truanting Soldier. Juvenal of Marius, *Satyra Octava.*

*Arpinas alius Volschorum in monte solebat
Poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro.
Nodosam post hæc frangebat vertice vitem
Si lentus pigrâ muniret castra dolabrâ.
Hic tamen, &c.*

Tac. 1. Ann. p. 227. *Centurio Lucilius interficitur, cui militaribus facetiis vocabulum, Cedo alteram, indiderant; quia fracta vite in tergo militis, alteram clarâ voce, ac rursus aliam poscebat.* Of the Captainship of the *Prætorium*, *ξίφος*, a Sword. *Xiph.* p. 251. speaking of *Licinius Sura* made Captain of the Guard by *Trajan*. (3) *ὅτε πρῶτον τῶ μέλλοντι ᾧ δρυφῶρων ἐπαρξεν τὸ ξίφος, ὃ παραώσθαι αὐτὸν ἐχεῖν, ὥρεξεν, ἐγύμνωσέ τε αὐτὸ καὶ ἀνατείνας ἔρη. λάβε τὸτο τὸ ξίφος, ἵνα ἂν μὲν καλῶς ἀρχῶ, ὑπὲρ ἐμῶ, ἂν δὲ καλῶς κατ'*

(2) That is, the boldest of them cried out with one Voice that *Crispinus* had no good meaning, that the Senate intended innovation, and that those Arms were carried out against the Prince, not in his favour.

(3) That is, whenas first he reached to him whom he intended to make Captain of the Guard, the Sword wherewith he was to be girt, he drew it forth, and holding it up said; Take this Sword, that if I govern well thou may'st use it for me if ill, against

κατ' ἐμὴ αὐτῷ χεῖρ. And Nymphidius in Plutarch depriving his fellow Tigellinus of his Office, (4) *περσέταξεν σποδίσθαι τὸ ξίφος*. To this privilege of wearing a Sword, was annexed perpetual Power of Life and Death over the Soldiers, Dio, lib. 53. p. 342. (5) *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐδενί, ὅτε ἀνθυπάτω, ὅτε ἀντιπρόσωπον, ὅτε ἐπιτετραμένον ξιφοφορεῖν δόδοται, ὃ μὴ καὶ στρατιώτην τινα σποκτεῖναι ἐξεῖναι νενόμισται. ὃ γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς βουλευταῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἱππέυσιν, οἷς τῶν ὑπάρχοντων, συγκεχώρηται. Gladius, ξίφος, or pugio,* (for so they seem to be taken for one) was also one of the marks of Sovereign Authority, as it is at this day. Vitellius resigning the Empire, (6) *τὸ ξίφος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῖς τε ὑπάτοις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς ὤρεται, ὡς καὶ ἡ ἀντιπροσώπου ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτὴν σποδισμένον*. And Tacitus of the same matter, 3. Hist. p. 141. *Postremo fletu præpediente assistenti consuli exsolutum à latere pugioem velut jus necis vitæque civium reddebat.* Suet. Vitellio, c. 15. *Solutum à latere pugioem consuli primum, dein illo recusante magistratibus, ac mox senatoribus singulis porrigens; nullo recipiente, quasi in ade Concordiæ positurus abscessit.*

P. 92. By the Gods Approbation: *Auspiciatò.* That is, *addicentibus avibus*. For although neither Livy nor Dionysius make any mention of any such Ceremony observed in the choice of the Senate, yet seeing we find that *equitum centuriæ* were by Romulus, *auguratò scriptæ*, that the City was founded and named, *capitis ad inaugurandum templis*, the *Aventin* by Remus, the *Palatin* by Romulus, (Livy, lib. 1. fol. 2. although *Ennius* placeth them otherwise,) seeing that Romulus, (7) *ἐν ἔδει κατεσθέναι τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἄπασι, μήτε βασιλείας, μήτε ἀρχὰς λαμβάνειν, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ τὸ δαμόνιον αὐτοῖς (δι' οἰωνῶν) διορίσῃ*, we may probably conjecture that it was not omitted in a case of so great importance, as was the choice of a Council of State. Surely after that Attius Navius had cut with a Razor a Whetstone in Tarquinius Priscus's time, ^a Livy writeth that the *Augural Discipline* grew daily in reputation.

^a *Per auspicia* gave their approbation. Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 2. pag. 61. a fol. 9.

b Although
Livy in the
Oration of
Camillus see-
meth to at-
tribute them
to Romulus
also for kin-
dred sake.
Quid de An-
cilib. vestra
Mars Gradi-
væ, quæ Qui-
vine pater,
lib. 5. fol. 67.

(1) That is,
a Thracian
Shield, re-
sembling a
loving figure
Target,
whose an-
gles be re-
bated.

(2) That is,
among these
Shields
which are
very many,
one they say
there is
which fell
down from
Heaven, and
that it was
found in Nu-
ma's Palace,
not brought
thither by
any Man's
hand, no not
so much as
the fashion
being known
in Italy be-
fore that

time. Upon which two reasons, the Romans were induced to think that the piece was sent from the Gods. So when Numa had determined to have it carried thorough the City, on high days, by some of the most honourable young Men, and to institute yearly Sacrifice in memory thereof; fearing lest the Enemy should privily steal it away, as the report goeth he took this course. He caused many other to be made like unto this, which fell from above, (one Nannius undertaking the Work) that whosoever sought to steal it, for the nearness and likeness of the rest wrought by Man's hands might not be able to discern the form of that which came from the Gods.

P. 95. Allurements of Lust, &c.] Juvenal Saty-
râ Secundâ writeth, that Otho himself, inter instru-
menta belli, carried a certain Looking-glass.

Res memoranda novis annalibus, atque recenti
Historiâ, speculum civilis sarcina belli.

Contrary to that Testimony which Tacitus giveth of
him, 2. Hist. p. 65. Nec Othoni segne, aut corruptum
luxu iter; sed lorica ferreâ usus, & ante signa pedestes,
horridus, incomptus, fameque dissimilis.

P. 96. That the holy Shields called Ancilia.] An-
cilia, clypei^b Martis, arma ab ancisu sic dicta.
Varro. lib. 6. de ling. Lat. Ovidius Fastorum.

3.

Atque Ancile vocat, quod ab omni parte recisum
est,

Quemque notes oculis, angulus omnis abest.

Dionysius Halicarn, lib. 2. p. 96. expressing Ancile
in Greek turneth it, (1) πέλινθον θεακίαν, in figure
much like, saith he, βαβροειδέϊ (βαβροειδέϊ I think
it should be) θυρεῶν τεωτέρεως ἔχοντι τὰς λαγόνδας.
Livy, lib. 1. fol. 5. and lib. 5. fol. 68. termeth
them *caelestia arma*, and *cælo demissa*: whereof the
Story at large is in Ovid, in the place above alledged:
Dum loquitur totum, &c. and in Dionysius, pag. 97.
although with some little difference of circumstance.

(2) ἐν δὲ ταῖς πέλταις πολλαῖς πάντῃ ἔσται μίαν εἶναι
λέγουσι Διοπετῆν. εὐρεθῆναι δ' αὐτὴν φασιν ἐν τοῖς βα-
σσιλείοις τῷ νομᾷ, μηδενὸς ἀνθρώπων εἰσπένγκανθ',
μήδ' ἐγνωσμένον πρότερον ἐν ἰταλοῖς τοιούτῃ χήμασι;
ἔξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ὑπολαβεῖν Ῥωμαῖους Διοπεμπτον εἶναι
τὸ ὄπλον. βεβηθῆναι δὲ τὴν νομὴν τιμᾶσθαι τε αὐτὸ
φερόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν κελίσων νέων ἐν ἱερῇσι ἡμέραις ἀ-
να τῷ πόλει, καὶ θυσιῶν ἐπετείων τυγχάνειν, δεδι-
κότα δὲ ὀπισθεὺς τὰς ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἀφανισμὸν αὐ-

τῷ κλοπαῖον, ἔπλα λήγῃ πολλὰ καλῶσκειν ἵσασθαι τῷ (3) That is, the *Salii* Celebrate a solemn Feast about the time of the *Athenian Panathenaea*, in the Month of *March*, continuing many days, in which they pass through the City solemnly Dancing into the *Forum*, the *Carpus*, and many other both Publick and Private places, wearing party coloured Coats girt to them with Copper Girdles. Over these they cast their Gowns guarded with gards of Purple in their own Language called *Trabea*, which they fasten with a Burton, listly, wearing on their Heads a certain attire which they call *Ancilia*. Beside this every Man is girt with a Sword, and in his right hand holdeth a Spear or Rod, or some such other things, and in his left a *Thracian* Shield. They Dance in certain Military measures to the noise of the Pipe, sometimes all at once, sometimes by turns, and withal, sing old Songs delivered to them by tradition from their Fathers.

of March. *Carisius*, seemeth to place it in the *Quinquatrus*, which began the 19th of March. *Quinquatrus*, saith he, à *quinquando*; i. e. *lustrando*, quod eò die arma *Ancilia* lustrari sint solita; which Etymology no doubt is erroneous. For *Quinquatrus* without question is derived of *Quinque*. *Ovidius*.

Nominaque à junctis quinque diebus habent.

Then *Quinquatrus* were Holy-days to *Minerva*, not *Mars*, to whom the *Ancilia* properly belonged. So taking his beginning at the Calends of March, the Feast^a continued ἐν πολλὰς ἡμέρας; and by this very place of *Tacitus*, it is clear they were not laid up again before the 14th of the same Month, when as *Otho* took his solemn leave of the Senate and people. *Polybius* fragm. p. 39. extendeth the whole solemnity, (1) ἐν τελευτῇ ἡμέρας. But *motus Ancilium* began certain days after the beginning of the Feast, as it may appear by *Polybius* in that place, and *Livy*, lib. 37. speaking of the same matter: during which time, no expedition was usually undertaken. *Suetonius Othone*, c. 8. agreeing with *Tacitus*, and expounding this place; *Expeditionem impigre atque etiam præpropere inchoavit* (*Otho*) nullâ ne religionum quidem curâ; sed & motis nec dum conditis *Ancilibus*, quod antiquitus infaustum habebatur. *Liv.* lib. 37. *Stativa ad Hellepontum aliquandiu habuere: quia dies fortè, quibus Ancilia moventur, religiosi ad iter inciderant.*

^a *Dionysius.*

(1) To thirty days.

The End of the First Book.

ANNO-

ANNOTATIONS

Upon the SECOND

BOOK

O F

TACITUS.

P. 98. **B**Y the main Sea, *Audentioribus spatiis.*] i. e. *per altum*, in opposition to *litus* & *oram legere*, seu *pratervehi*. So that the meaning of the place is, that *Titus* from *Corinth* to *Cyprus* went along by the Coast, and from *Cyprus* into *Syria* by the main Sea.

Ibid. The Temple of *Venus* at *Paphos*.] *Strabo*, lib. 14. (2) Ἡτα παλαιὰ πόλις, ὅσον ἐνδεκά στα- (2) That is, δίους ὑπὲρ τῆ θαλάσσης ἰδρυμένη, ὑφορμον ἔχουσα καὶ next is Old πόλιν ἀρχαῖον τῆ παλίας ἀφροδίτης. *Homerus*, Ὀδυσ. Θ. *Paphos*, situate about eleven Stadia from the Sea.

Ἡ δ' ἀπὸ Κόπρεον ἱκανὴ φιλομένης ἀφροδίτης
Ἔς Πάφον, ἐνθα δὲ οἱ τρέμεντο βωμοὶ τοῦ θυήεντος.
Dionysius Afer calleth the whole Island, ἐπὶ ἡγερίον αὐτοῦ
Διωνυαῖος ἀφροδίτης. There is an Harbour for Ships, and an Ancient Temple of *Venus*, surnamed of the place *Paphia*.

P. 100. The site of the Temple.] A point proposed, but forgotten to be handled, unless we will take those words, *quonquam in aperto*, as a sufficient discharge thereof: which were somewhat hard, being spoken particularly of the Altars, whereas, *Homer*

(3) The Temple and Altar.

(4) That is, in his 38th Discourse. The *Cetra* Worship *Jupiter*: his Image with them is nothing but an high Oak. The *Arabi-*

ans adore, but whom I know not; the Image which I saw amongst them is a square stone. In *Paphos Venus* hath the chiefest honour, howbeit, her Image you can liken to nothing so well as to a white *Pyramid*, or rather a triangular *Pyramid*.

(5) That is, the leaders and Soldiers banded themselves together, and openly fought to make a change, furiously crying, *These Soldiers which live in Rome at their ease,*

mer maketh distinct and express mention, both of (3) *τέμενον* and *βωμὸς*.

Ibid. Prayers and pure Fire.] If it were an unbloody Sacrifice, as by these words it should seem, it may reasonably be doubted wherefore mention is made before of the choice of Beasts, of the fibres of Kids, and anon, *Cæsis compluribus hostes*. But perhaps there might be bloody Sacrifices before the Altar, although upon it none but unbloody.

P. 101. A figure rising continually round.] The figure which *Tacitus* describeth is a *Conus*. *Maximus Tyrus* termeth it, *πυραμίδα*, which is a somewhat different thing in strictness of terms. His words be these, (4) *διαλέξει. λη. Κέλαιοι σίβυσι μὲν Δία, ἀγαλμα δὲ Διὸς Κελαικόν, ὑψηλὴ δρῦς. Ἀρεβιοὶ σίβυσι μὲν. ὅγνινά τ' ἐκ διδα. τὸ δ' ἀγαλμα ὃ ἦδον, λίθον ἦν τετραγώνον. Παρίοι; ἢ μὲν Ἀφροδίτη τὰς τιμὰς ἔχει, τὸ δ' ἀγαλμα ἐκ ἀνεικάσας ἀλλὰ τὸ ἢ πυραμίδι λεκῆ. or peradventure it was written, πυραμίδι λεκῆ that is, *τειγωνική*.*

P. 104. Received the favours of Princes.] He seemeth to have expressed the very Words of *Josephus*,

4. ἀλώσεως, c. 36. (5) *σωτήριος δὲ οἷσι ἡγεμόνας καὶ διεσπλιώται καθ' ἑταίρειαν φανερώς ἦδη μεταβολὴν ἐβόλῳ, καὶ διανακλῦντες ἐβόαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν τ' Ῥώμης σπλιώται τευφῶντες, καὶ μηδὲ ἀκύνεον πολέμου φήμην ὑπομένοντες διαχρησισινοῦσιν οἷς βέλοναι τ' ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ πρὸς ἐλπίδα λημμάτων ἀποδεικνύουσιν αὐτοκράτορας. αὐτοὶ δὲ διὰ τοῦτων κεχαρηκότες πόνων καὶ θρῶντες ὑπὸ τοῖς κράνεσιν ἐτίεον χαρίζονταί τιμὴν ἑξουσίαν. καὶ ταῦτα τ' ἀξιώτερον ἀρχὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες. Ὁ paulo post: (6) *χρηγήσιν δὲ ἐ μόνον αὐτὸς τότε τ' ἰσχυρὰ τοῖς ἀποδεικθεῖσιν, ὅτε τεία τάγματα, καὶ τὰς οὐδ' ἂν βασιλέων συμμαχίας ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεργήσιν τά τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς πάντα, καὶ τ' Εὐρώπης ὅσα οὐκ ἐπὶ οὐταλλῶν φόβῳ κεχώεσται.**

which never could abide to hear so much as the rumour of War, chose whom they list to the Empire, and upon hope of gain pronounce Princes. Whereas, they who had passed through so many pains, and were now waxen Old under their Helms, must yield that Authority to others, and that having in their own Camp a Man fittest of all other for Government. (6) That is, that not only they would employ their forces to the establishing of such as should be agreed upon there, having presently with them 3 Legions and Auxiliary Forces from the King's; but that the whole East would conspire, and so much of Europe as stood out of fear of *Vitellius*.

P. 108. The beginning of the War.] In declaring of this great and important Action between *Vitellius* and *Otho*, I find *Tacitus*, at least in my conceit, much inferiour to himself otherwise; omitting many necessary circumstances, confounding things together, affirming contrarieties in appearance, and generally leaving his Reader not so fully satisfied, as in a History is to be looked for. As first in the circumstances of *Otho* the principal person, whose paces and footsteps would have been numbred, *Tacitus*, p. 59. bringeth him out of the City, accompanied in a manner with all the Senate toward the latter end of *March*, and as we found by Collection out of ^g other Writers, upon the seven and twentieth day. Then here shewing his Soldierlike manner of marching before his Soldiers on foot, in the end he bestoweth him and his Company no where: whereas, indeed the Senate was left at *Mutina*, and himself marched toward the Enemy, as far as *Brixellum*, a City upon the *Po*, and there sending out his Captains stayed behind, as it appeareth in ^a *Plutarch*, and *Tacitus*, p. 84. circumstances, in mine Opinion, not so lightly to have been passed over. From *Brixellum*, saith *Plutarch*, were dispatched away *Celsus*, *Paulinus*, *Gallus* and *Spurinna*. *Tacitus*, p. 65. seemeth to say, that *Gallus* and *Spurinna* were dispatched at *Rome*, and sent beforehand ^b *ad occupandas Padi ripas*. Which if it were meant to guard the South side of the *Po*, and to stay the *Vitellianists* at least from passing the River, since they could not stop them in the Mountains, a few being able to keep such a passage against a great Army, it hath good reason. But *Gallus* did not so observe it. If to put himself in possession of both sides of the *Po*, and so to have the whole River at Commandment, how could he with a few withstand *Cæcina's* whole Army, having no Advantage of the place? Now to the leading of *Gallus* and *Spurinna* sent before, from what place soever, *ad occupandas Padi ripas*, *Tacitus* assigneth five *Prætorian Cohorts*, *equitum vexilla*, *legio prima Adjutrix*, and two thousand *gladiatores*: in the ^c process of the work, assigning

^g *Suetonius*
and *Marcellinus*.

^a pag. 1517.
^b Perchance
the meaning
of these
Words, *ad*
occupandas
Padi ripas is
to put them-
selves in pos-
session of the
Towns upon
the River.

^c pag. 71. 76.

signing the *gladiatores* to the Government only of
Marcus Macer a third Man, and after him to *Fla-*
avius Sabinus, pag. 77. and setting the other two far
 enough asunder, ^d *Spurinna* at *Placentia* with three
^a pag. 68. *Prætorian* Cohorts, one thousand *Vexillarii* not na-
 med before in the survey of their whole power,
 and a few Horse, and ^e *Gallus* with *Prima Adjutrix*,
^e pag. 70, 29. I cannot tell when, nor where, nor upon what oc-
 casion they divided themselves; but wheresoever he
 was, taking *Bebriacum* in his way to *Placentia*, he
 was in all reason on the North side of the *Po*. Then
 for his other three Captains *Paulinus*, *Celsus*, and
Proculus, whereof mention is made, pag. 58. in the
 preparation of the War, here in the setting out, pag.
 65. they have no charge at all assigned them (and
 to say the truth, I cannot see any great mass of
 Men they could have, leaving *Otho* sufficiently guar-
 ded) nay, they are not so much as once named.
 By way of probable conjecture, we may suppose,
 that *Proculus*, as being Captain of the Guard, stayed
 at *Brixellum*, and attended upon *Otho's* Person. But
Celsus and *Paulinus* are not named before the 71.
 pag. in the Battel, *ad Castoræ*. Where suddenly
 within twelve Miles of *Cremona* they appear, and
 not far from *Bebriacum* (where *Gallus*, pag. 70. was
 left) never mentioned before, besides many other
 with *prima legio* under their leading, being the pe-
 culiar charge of *Gallus*. So that to rove at that which
 it was our Authors fault not to set down plainly,
 we may imagine, that *Paulinus* and *Celsus* were sent
 afterward from *Brixellum* to the Camp at *Bebria-*
cum, either to take joynt-charge with *Gallus*, or else
 charge in his place, as it is more likely, and that
 thereupon *Gallus* withdrew himself, perchance to
 recover his fall mentioned, pag. 76. seeing there is
 no mention of him in the Action, *ad Castoræ*; and
 in an Action which passed at *Bebriacum*, we shall
 find him by and by away, where notwithstanding,
Tacitus last left him, pag. 70. Now whereas *Taci-*
tus, pag. 71. upon not prosecuting a little skirmish
 of the *gladiatores* against the *Vitellianists*, maketh
Otho to send for his Brother *Titianus*, whom he had
 left

left at Rome, to make him Lieutenant-General;
 f Plutarch with great reason and probability, saith it f pag. 1519.
 was done after the Battel, *ad Castoris*, upon dislike
 of Paulinus's slow proceedings; and that Proculus
 Captain of the Guard was sent withal; but when
 they came to *Bebriacum* I cannot determine. Now
 if *Otho* were at *Brixellum*, Paulinus and Celsus at
Bebriacum, where shall we say the great Consultati-
 on was holden, where *Otho*, Titianus, Proculus, Pau-
 linus, and Celsus were present, and Gallus ab-
 sent? Here Tacitus faileth us again, and g Plutarch g pag. 1520.
 relieveth us, shewing that *Otho* removed from *Brixel-
 lum* to *Bebriacum* to consult with his Captains of
 the manner of proceeding in the War. Thus much
 of *Otho*, and his Captains, it followeth of their
 power, which was of two sorts: brought from Rome,
 and sent for from abroad. From Rome of six sorts,
 1. *Quinque Prætorie cohortes*: 2. *Equitum vexilla*:
 3. *legio prima Adjutrix*: 4. *Gladiatores*: 5. *Ceteræ
 Prætorie cohortes*: and 6. *Classici*. With Gallus and
Spurinna, 1. *Quinque prætorie cohortes*: whereof three
 were h with *Spurinna* in *Placentia*, the other two h page 68.
 belike with Gallus. 2. *equitum vexilla* without num-
 ber: 3. *legio prima Adjutrix Classica ex reliquis caeso-
 rum* à Galbâ *ad pontem Milvium*: 4. two thousand
gladiatores: in the Siege of *Placentia* we find men-
 tion of a thousand *vexillarii*: whether differing from
 all these, or portion of any, I know not. Then in
Otho's train, *Spiculatorum lecta corpora*, as I think, è
Prætorianis. 5. *Ceteræ prætorie cohortes*, beside the
 five sent with Gallus: and yet many *Prætorian* Soldi-
 ers were sent with the Navy into *Narbonensis*, p. 58.
 and 66. so that surely all the rest were not here.
Classici from whence soever they came, have mini-
 stred us, and will minister many Men. Seven thou-
 sand were slain by *Galba*, *ad pontem Milvium*, and
 the rest decimated, è *reliquis*, *prima legio Adjutrix*
 was composed. In the Fleet to *Narbon* there served
 also many as Soldiers. Here we have *classicorum
 ingens numerus*: with *Otho*, pag. 68. vers. 10. a
 thousand *Classici inter Placentiam & Ticinum inter-
 cepti*, which by all circumstances were none of this
 I 2 Company.

Company. And pag. 70, 23. *Turullius Cerealis*, had many *Classici*: but whence he had them, and how he became their Captain, is not set down. And beside all these we have in the third ^a Book another whole Legion, ^b *Classici*, differing from *prima Adjutrix*, which then was in *Spain*. The power sent for by *Otho* from abroad was out of *Illyricum* only, where at that present were seven Legions, to wit, two in *Dalmatia*, *Undecima Claudiana*, and *quartadecima Gemina*; two in *Pannonia*, *septima Galbiana*, and *tertiadecima Gemina*: in *Mæsia* three, *tertia Gallica*, *septima Claudiana*, and *octava Augusta*, as it is declared elsewhere. Now all these being sent for by *Otho*, there marched at *Otho's* commandment, saith ^b *Tacitus*, the Legions of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, which is manifestly defective. For the *Mæsiæ* Legions marched also, and came forward as far as *Aquileia* in favour of *Otho*: the same *Tacitus*, pag. 99. So that all the seven Legions upon *Otho's* commandment marched, and came on: but who were come before the great Battel at *Bebriacum*, and who not, is in my Opinion a question inexplicable, *Tacitus's* Words receiving so many oppositions, and implying so many contradictions, and no other Story to purpose being extant of this matter. And first to begin with the most certain, the three Legions of *Mæsia* absolutely were absent in all military Actions of this War. *Tacitus*, lib. 3. pag. 99. and pag. 109. *Mæsiaci exercitûs vires integre*, present absolutely were two thousand Soldiers sent before out of the four Legions of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, as *Tacitus*, pag. 65, 2. saith. But *Suetonius* ^c *Vespasiano* seemeth to say they came out of *Mæsia*. *Mæsiaci exercitûs bina è tribus legionibus millia missa auxilia Othoni*, and *Tacitus* himself, pag. 82, 8. *Præmissi Mæsia*: either meaning the same that he maketh here to come out of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*; or talking there of Men in the Action, which we find not here in this general view. And lib. 3. pag. 109. *Due tunc Pannonica ac Mæsiæ ala perrupere hostem*, talking of the skirmish of Horse-men at the beginning of the Battel at *Bebriacum*,

^a pag. 134.^b pag. 65.^c cap. 6.

Bebriacum. Now before the four Legions of *Dalmatia*, and *Pannonia*, *ale cohortesque praeveniebant*: which words seem to be meant only of these *bina millia praemissa*: although it may be that some other ^d Auxiliaries were sent after the *bina millia*, and before the Legions themselves; of whose coming and presence is the greatest and most difficult question. In the skirmish, *ad Castoris*, pag. 71, 30. we have *tertiadecima legionis vexillum*, being one of the *Pannonians*. In the shock at the great Battel at *Bebriacum*, *tertiadecima legio*, it self is expressly mentioned by *Tacitus*, pag. 80, 14. and *Vedius Aquila* Lieutenant of the same: pag. 80, ^e 25. Likewise in the very conflict at *Bebriacum* express mention is made, p. 80, 15. of the *Quartadecimani*, one of the *Dalmatian* Legions, and lib. 3. p. 115. *Quartadecimani campis Bebriacensibus fusi sitatique*. Now that *Septima Galbiana*, and *undecima Claudiana* were before the Battel at *Bebriacum*, united with their fellows, albeit they were not in the Battel expressly named, it may appear, pag. 91. where they are counted *inter victas legiones*, as well as *quartadecima* and *tertiadecima*, and by *Vitellius's* commandment, *suis hibernis redditae*. And pag. 100. in *Pannonia tertiadecima legio ac septima Galbiana dolorem iramque Bebriacensis pugnae retinentes*. Moreover the *Prætorian* Soldiers at *Bebriacum*, after the Field lost comfort themselves with no other ^f supply, but only of the *Mæsan* Legions: and at *Brixellum*, in comforting *Orho*, likewise mention is made, only of them, pag. 82. *praemissi Mæsia eandem obstinationem adventantis exercitus, legiones Aquileiam ingressas nunciabant, Ut nemo dubitet potuisse renovari*, &c. So that by these places, and some other like, we may probably conclude, that all the four Legions of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* were come, and joyned, but when they came, and how, where they joyned, and all other circumstances necessary in a point of that importance, we are finally beholding to *Tacitus's* diligence for omitting. On the contrary side, to prove first that *quartadecima* was not come, we have *Tacitus's* Words, p. 75. in the consultation

^d pag. 71, 31.
quatuor auxili-
orum cohortes in praelio
ad Castorem.

^e *Vedium*
Aquilam tertiadecima legionis legatum.

^f pag. 82, 6.
venire Mæsi-
cas legiones.

on at *Bebriacum*, which was not above two or three days before the *Battel*, *paucis diebus quartadecimam legionem, magna ipsam fama, cum Mœsiacis copiis, affore*, whereby it may reasonably be collected that all the other three were come, but not *quartadecima*, p. 90. *è victis Legionibus, quartadecimâ primâ, tertiadecimâ, septimâ, undecimâ, soli quartadecimani se victos abnuebant*, so that the rest belike were there.

Now betwixt the time of consultation and the *Battel* there is no mention at all made of their coming: a thing in reason if there had been any such, not to

a p. 79. *Titianus ac Proculus ubi consiliis vincerentur, ad jus imperii transibant.*

have been omitted, and which ^a *Titianus* and *Proculus* would, no doubt, have alledged, in justification of their purpose against *Paulinus* and *Celsus*. Or if this

be but conjectural, what can be said to the place of *Tacitus*, pag. 85. *Cœnus atroci mendacio universos perculit, affirmans superventu quartadecimæ legionis versam partium fortunam*, as being a known matter, that *quartadecima* was not come at the time of the *Battel* at *Bebriacum*. And again, pag. 90. speaking of the *quartadecima Legio*, *Bebriacensi acie vexillariis tantum pulsas vires legionis non affuisse*. Further-

b pag. 1520.

(1) That is, that *Otho's* Forces expected out of *Mœsia* and *Pannonia* were no less than those which he had then present.

c *Suetonius*, c. 9. writeth that *Otho* slew himself, residuum integrisque etiam nunc copiis, quas secum ad secundos casus detinuerat, & supervenientibus aliis è *Dalmatia* *Pannoniaque* & *Mœsia*.

more, the *Pannonian* Legions, as it appeareth by ^b *Plutarch*, were absent at the time of their consultation at *Bebriacum*, (1) ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ παρὰ τοὺς ἐλπίδας προσδοκίμων εἶναι δύναμιν ἐκ μυριάς καὶ πεν-
vovtas. And *Tacitus*, lib. 3. pag. 109. *Pannonicæ legiones deceptæ magis quam victæ resurgere in ultionem properant*. And generally ^c if the four Legions of *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* were in the Action at *Bebriacum*, why have we no mention set down of their manner of yielding to *Vitellius*; being without all question the greater, and better part of *Otho's* Army? And yet certain it is, that immediately after the *Battel* all the four Legions in question at least were in *Italy*, and disposed of by *Vitellius*, as appeareth, pag. 90, and 91. But when they entred *Italy*, whether they ever joyned with the rest, and when? How and by what means they yielded themselves to *Vitellius's* disposing? *Tacitus* to the eternal note of imperfection of this most excellent Story otherwise, hath left us utterly ignorant. Of *Vitellius's*

his's side all is clear out of question. In the Ger-
 main's Cal. *Januarii* Galba iterum & Vinio Coss, at
 the time of *Vitellius's* revolt, were seven Legions,
 as is declared elsewhere; namely, in low Germany
quinta, and *quintadecima*, whose standing Camp
 was at *Vetera*: *prima*, who lodged at *Novesium*,
 and *sextadecima* at *Bonna*. In high Germany, *quar-*
ta Macedonica, and *decimaoctava* aliàs duo & *vicefima*
 Encamped at *Magontiacum*, and *una* & *vicefima Rapax*
 Lodged, as I think, at *Vindonissa*. Whereof *Cecina*
 took away with him *una* & *vicefima Rapax* whol-
 ly, and pulled well the other two at *Magontiacum*,
 to make up thirty thousand Men: and in Italy af-
 sociated unto him *Ala Syllana*. *Valens* took with him
aquilam quinta, with Cohorts and Wings out of the
 other three, to make up forty thousand, and by the
 way associated to him, *legio Italica*, & octo cohortes
Batavorum, Tacitus, 1. ^d Hist. Neither do we find ^{d pag. 44.}
 in all this Action, before *Vitellius's* coming, any
 Legion named but *Rapax*, and *quintani*. Now by
Aquila quinta, we are to understand some good por-
 tion, not the whole Legion entirely, which portion
 albeit it beareth sometime the name of *quinta*, yet
 we are not to understand, that so many were left
 in *Vetera* thereof, as bare also the name of *quinta*
 at the same time. *Vitellius* at his coming away,
 brought with him, saith ^e Tacitus, the rest of the ^{e lib. 2. p. 85.}
 strength of Germany, leaving the same Legions in
 number and names which were before, (*Rapax* only
 excepted, which was wholly gone away,) but most
 slenderly ^f furnished of Men, and of Soldiers very ^{f As two Le-}
 few or none. So that under *Hordeonius's* charge, in ^{gions left as}
 the Fourth Book of Tacitus, we find in Germany, ^{Vetera had but}
quinta and *quintadecima* at *Vetera*, *sextadecima* at ^{five thousand}
Novesium, *prima* at *Bonna*, *quarta* and *octavadecima* ^{Men, Tacitus,}
aliàs duo & vicefima at *Magontiacum*. ^{lib. 4.} And the very
 same time with *Vitellius* in Italy was another *quin-*
ta, another *quintadecima*, another *sextadecima*, and
 so of *prima*, *quarta*, *octavadecima*, aliàs duo & *vicefi-*
ma, being indeed not two Legions, but two mem-
 bers of one Legion, *Rapax* only excepted, as be-
 fore I have said, which *Cecina* took wholly away,

nor

not leaving any in Germany to carry the name of *Rapax*, till the self same Legion returned thither afterward with *Cerealis*.

P. 109. A base supply.] Being Bondslaves of the worst sort, and besides the dishonourableness of the thing *Tacitus* noteth their unsuitness to service, p. 76. *neque ea constantia gladiatoribus ad praelia quam militibus*, &c. and yet we find, that *Spartacus* with a few of his Companions breaking out of their School put Prætors and Consuls to flight, and troubled the whole Roman State in the greatest height. And P. *Rutilius* being Consul, as *Valerius Maximus* reporteth in his second Book, sent for certain Masters of fence out of the School of C. *Aurelius Scaurus*, and so setting them to teach his Soldiers, *vitandi atque inferendi ictus subtiliorem rationem legionibus ingeneravit*. Unless peradventure it be true, that such Men have better Cunning than Valour.

P. 112. The Battel on both sides.] In this conflict we have of *Otho's* side mention distinctly of *Classici*, *Pagani*, *Prætoriani*, and the Navy. For *Vitellius* of twelve Turmæ of Horse-men, a Cohort of *Ligurians*, the choice of the two *Tungrian* Cohorts, five Hundred *Pannonians*, and a little afterward *Alpini* beside: unless peradventure it should be read *Alpini* in both places, and meant perchance of the *Ligures*: for what *Pannonians* should do here I cannot imagine. Or if it were true, yet being strange, at the least *Tacitus* should have done well to have told us how they came thither.

P. 115. Lying between the *Po* and the *Alpes*.] Of *Milan*, *Novara*, *Eporedia*, and *Vercelle*, we have mention before, lib. 1. pag. 48. of the rest being many, and great Towns, how they were at this time come to *Vitellius's* side, nothing is set down in *Tacitus*: matters in my Opinion not to have been omitted, especially concerning *Cremona*. ^a *Plutarch* seemeth to make *Cremona*, being one of the Towns between the *Alpes* and the *Po*, to have been kept and possessed a great while by the *Orthonians*. And *Tacitus* writeth, *capta Pannoniorum cohors apud Cremonam*, by the *Vitellianists*, which Cohort of *Pannonians*,

nians, whatsoever they were, and from whencesoever they came thither (for Tacitus leaveth us to our guesses) may seem to have been put in the Town by Otho for a Garison, and here taken by the Vitellianists with the Town, although the circumstances in Plutarch do not fully agree with it by reason of the time there.

P. 119. Plutei, crates & viniaë.] Pluteus, saith Vegetius, lib. 4. cap. 15. is a certain moveable Engine, *contexta ad similitudinem absidis, & ciliciis vel coriis tecta, quam obsidentes applicant muris, ejusque munitione protecti sagittis sive fundis vel missilibus defensores de propugnaculis exturbant, ut scalis ascendendi facilior prestetur occasio.* Vineæ according to Vegetius in the same place, and Lucan, l. 3. was a frame of Wood, or Hurdles, covered with Earth, *sub quo subsidentes tuti ad subruenda murorum penetrant fundamenta.* Crates the same with the one or the other of them, or at least to the same purpose.

P. 121. Notorious and unfortunate.] The two calamities here meant are the two great Battels, the first between the Othonians and Vitellianists described in this Book: the other between the Vitellianists and Flavianists set down in the next, more commonly known by the name of *prælium Cremonense*, and with great reason, being fought under the Walls of Cremona, and twenty Miles from *Bebriacum*, albeit then the first skirmish indeed began not above eight Miles from *Bebriacum*, 3. Hist. p. 126. and this former Battel also was fought a great way from *Bebriacum*, *immensum id spatium*, saith Tacitus, and by all probability, many Miles, as shall be declared elsewhere.

P. 122. So he sent for Titianus.] This change of Captains Plutarch with more reason putteth after the Battel *ad Castoris*; (1) *ἡ νίκη* (speaking of the Victory *ad Castoris*) *ἐκ ἐπίπαις περὶ τῆς κακίας τοῦ στρατηγῶν, ἐπεμψεν ὁ θὼν τιτιανὸν ἐπὶ τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ περικλον τὸν ἐπαρχον.* And indeed the alteration is too great to be induced upon the slackness of a petty Companion, especially seeing we find *Macer*, *capitaneus* who committed the fault, still retained in his charge, *b pag. 76.*

Κ.

charge, *b pag. 76.*

(1) That is,

the victory being not fully prosecuted thorough the Leader's fault, Otho sent to the Army *Titianus*, and *Proculus* Captain of the Guard.

charge, and *Paulinus* and *Celsus*, two of the greatest Men in the State, in a manner disgraced for the fault of another, according to *Tacitus*. Now upon this fault whensoever committed, to send from *Brixellum* for *Titianus* at *Rome*, so many Miles distant, (for there we left him in the last Words of the First Book) and bring him to *Bebriacum* to the Consultation, may perchance seem strange to him that considereth how that from *Otho's* going out of *Rome* with his Army till his Death were not above twenty four days in all, and perchance not so much.

P. 123. Twelve Miles from *Cremona*, at a place called *Castor*.] This place *ad Castoris* is twelve Miles (saith our Author) from *Cremona*, where the main Camp, I think, of *Cacina* lay, and eight Miles at the least from *Bebriacum*, where *Paulinus* and *Celsus* were Encamped, however they are here met in the middle way. *Gallus*, as it should seem, was retired to cure himself of his fall, or at least, seeing here is no mention of him in the Field, left to guard the Camp: as it seemeth also he was in the time of the great main Battel described in the sixteenth Chapter.

Ibid. Three *Prætorian* Cohorts.] Five *Prætorian* Cohorts were under the Charge of *Gallus* and *Spurinna*. *Tacitus*, pag. 65, 9. whereof three were at this time in *Placentia* with *Spurinna*, pag. 68, 18. and three more we have here now in *Gallus's* Camp. One too many: but *Otho*, we must say, was not far off to supply it out of the rest of the *Prætorian* Cohorts.

P. 127. Forbidding the Centurions.] *Vetitis vigiliis obire centurionibus*. The Centurion's Charge was not *obire vigiliis*, but *βεβαιῶν, tubæ inflatu vigiliis distinguere*. Whereupon they whose charge it was (in *Polybius*, some of the Horsemen, in *Vegetius*, *Circitores*) went about, so that the Centurions not sounding, the Round was not gone.

P. 137. When *Otho* was gone to *Brixellum*.] In the description of this great Battail, in my conceit, are many great imperfections. And first to settle the reading,

reading, where in some Printed Copies, it is by correction, *confluentes Padi & Adduæ fluminum petebant*, whereas, *Padi & Angele*, was found in Old written Copies, is a mistaking of the Corrector. *Padus* and *Addua* meet above *Cremona*: *Bebriacum* standeth twenty Miles below. So that the *Othonians*, removing from *Bebriacum*, with intention to fight with the *Vitellianists* being about *Cremona*, had no reason to go to the confluence of *Padus* and *Addua*. Then the distance cannot agree. For the streight way, between *Bebriacum* and the confluence of *Addua*, must be more than here is limited: so that we must find a River meeting with the *Po*, some ^a four Miles, or thereabouts, beneath *Cremona*: *Ollius* perchance, or some other, whose confluence the *Othonians* went to, and whereabout the Battel began. Now where the *Vitellianists* were Encamped, *Tacitus* very strangely omitteth to set down. *Macer* with *Gladiatores*, pag. 71. was, *haud procul Cremona*, against whom *Cecina* made a Bridge, pag. 76. which Bridge, as it appeareth by the circumstances, pag. 79. was not far from their main Camp. Then the *Vitellianists* which fled away, pag. 71. fly to *Cremona*, as to their strength, and place of retreat. Lastly, *Tacitus* himself, 3. Hist. pag. 123. talking of *Cremona*, *eadem rursus belli sedes*. And in the same Book, pag. 121. *Othoniano bello Germanicus miles manibus Cremonensium castra sua, castris vallum circumjecerat*: a notable particularity, and more agreeable to have been declared here. But by all these places, we may, I suppose, safely presume, that at *Cremona*, howsoever they came by it, (for of that also may be a question, as is touched before) was always afterward the *Vitellianist's* main Camp. Now the *Othonians*, saith *Tacitus*, removed four Miles forward, leaving notwithstanding at *Bebriacum* the Camp standing and furnished with many Men for the defence. So that this Camp four Miles from *Bebriacum* was but only for a Nights Lodging: for to *Bebriacum* only did the *Othonian* Soldiers retire when they were in rout. From ^b that Lodging they removed sixteen Miles further,

^a *Vitellianus*
vix quatuor
millia passus
in prægressus.

^b According to *Pintarch* from *Bebriacum* they went 50 stadia to that dry place, the day after they minded to go an hundred stadia, but *Paulinus* dissuaded, till the message of the *Numidian* Horse-men took up the matter between them, and so they marched directly toward the Enemy.

c pag. 79, 33.
 Othoniani
 quanquam
 dispersi, pau-
 ciore, festi.
 d Vitelliani
 equites quo-
 minus a pau-
 ciore in
 vallum imp-
 pingerentur,
 Italiae legio-
 nis virtute
 territi sunt.

further, not directly, as it may be supposed, but declining on the left hand towards the *Po*, about four Miles beneath *Cremona*, at the confluence of the *Po*, and *Oglio* as they now call it, or *Agele*, or whatsoever. And yet it^c seemeth they sat not down there, but went streight to find the Enemy in his own strength at *Cremona*. For, (saith *Tacitus*, pag. 79.) they had almost driven the *Vitellian* Horse-men^d into their own Trenches. So that in my fanſie, the poor innocent Village of *Bebriacum*, never heard of before, nor since, insomuch, that no Man knoweth where it stood, had little right to carry the name of this Field, rather than *Cremona*, and yet all Writers denominate it so, unless it were because the *Othonians* being broken, fled thither: for surely the Battel was begun twenty Miles off, and hard under *Cremona*. For the time of this Battel, according to *Josephus* and *Egesippus*, it should seem to have been fought the very next day after that, *ad Caſtoris*: but by *Tacitus* in this case a more credible Author as in a matter done in *Italy*, it appeareth to have been far otherwise. *Suetonius* *Othone*, cap. 9. describeth the meeting of the two Armies in far other manner. *Apud Bebriacum fraude superati quum spe colloquii facta quasi ad conditionem pacis militibus eductis, ex improvise atque in ipsa consalutatione demicandum fuisset.*

P. 142. *Annius Gallus*.] In the Consultation at *Bebriacum* he was absent. When he returned again thither, and wherefore he stayed there when all the rest went out to fight, is not declared by *Tacitus*: like as also many particularities concerning *Celsus*, *Gallus*, *Titianus*, &c. worthy the remembrance in the yielding of the *Othonians* to *Valens* and *Cecina*, which are well recorded by *Plutarch*, pag. 1524, and 1525. and ill left out by our Author, who, to confess a truth, in this whole History hath behaved himself so well, that the only thing we may perfectly understand, is, that he understood not the matter fully himself: and indeed for the particularities^e *Plutarch* writeth, that they which were present at the Battel professed not to know them

them themselves. (1) *Δὲ τ' ἀταξίαν, καὶ τ' ἀνομαλίαν.* (1) For the disorder and confusedness. But yet surely Tacitus is not excusable, seeing that Plutarch, who was less skilled in the Roman Affairs, and had less occasion to know so much, of two bad hath set it down more intelligibly, being a Man otherwise not to be named the same day with Tacitus.

P. 148. In the seven and thirtieth Year.] *Otho* was Born, saith ^a Suetonius, *Camillo* & *Abenobarbo* ^a cap. 2. *Coss.* the 28th of April, *Anno urbis conditæ*, 785. and Died in *Anno*, 822. *Galba iterum* & *Vinio Coss.* The day or month of his Death Tacitus setteth not down, as he is that way negligent even in very great Actions. Nevertheless, beginning his Empire the 15th day of January, as Tacitus reporteth, 1. Hist. if he Died, as Suetonius reporteth, ^b *nonagesimo* & *quinto imperii die*, allowing seventeen days of January, twenty eight or twenty nine of February, thirty one of March, the eighteenth or nineteenth of April will fall out to be the day of his Death. True it is, that the Copies of *Xiphilin* and *Zonaras* have only ninety days for the time of his Empire, both taking it out of one erroneous Fountain, as I think. For *Otho* went out of Rome, as Suetonius saith, cap. 8. *die quo cultores deum matris lamentari & plangere incipiunt*, which is the twenty seventh of March, as *Marcellinus* affirmeth. And for so many great matters as by Tacitus are here recorded, to have passed between that and his Death, three or four and twenty days may in reason seem time little enough at all. Now from the twenty eighth of April, *Anno* 785. to the eighteenth or nineteenth of April, *Anno* 822. are thirty seven Years, as Tacitus here saith, (to whom *Zonaras* and *Xiphilin* do agree, not thirty eight, as Suetonius, who counteth both extreams) lacking nine or ten days, *Xiphilin* saith lacking eleven, pag. 206. *Ἡ βασις αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ τετρακοντῇ ἔτη, ἐν δεκά ἡμέραις δούσα.*

^b *ἡμερῶν δὲ καὶ τριῶν μῆνας καὶ πέντε καὶ πενήντα*, having Reigned three Months and two days, saith Josephus of *Otho*, *ἀλλ' οὐ*. 4. c. 33.

P. 158. The Astrologers were.] The substance of the edict was, *ut intra Cal. Octobr. urbe Italiæque Mathematici excederent*. The Night following the Astrologers set up, saith ^c Suetonius, another edict, ^c cap. 16. *in hac Verba. BONUM FACTUM, ut Vettulius Germanicus intra eundem Calendarum diem usquam*

ne effect. Which how it was verified in him that lived till the latter end of December following, I would gladly have the Astrologers themselves to Calculate unto us: especially being an example whereof all their Books are full. And to say the truth, Zonaras seemeth to give some Patronage to the Error, and Xiphilin also, who saith the edict was published after Vitellius's coming to Rome, whereas, by Tacitus it should seem rather to be sent from Lions. His Words be these,

(1) That is, being come to Rome he published an edict wherein he exiled the Astrologers, charging them before such a day (naming the time) to depart out of Italy. And they to requite him in the night season, set up their Cartel denouncing to him that he should before such a day depart out of this life, as in truth he did.

(2) Being a follower of south-sayers, and doing never so small a matter without their advice.

pag. 207. (1) ἐπεὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο πρόγνῳμα ἔθετο δὲ τὰς ἀστρολόγους ἐξύλας (being otherwise very superstitiously given himself, (2) φιλόμαντις ὑπάρχων, καὶ μηδὲ τι βραχὺ πρόβρων ἀνευ αὐτῶν, saith Zonaras) περιπτῶν σφίσιν ἐν τῷ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρῃ (ῥητὴν τινα τάξας) ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς ἰταλίας χωρῆσαι. καὶ αὐτῶς ἐκείνοι νυκτὸς ἀντιπροσδίντες γράμματα ἀντιπαρησώγησαν ἀπαλαγήναι ἐκ τῆς βίης ἐν τῷ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρῃ ἐν τῇ ἐσταύτησι.

Po 164. Wakes, and the Feasts of Bacchus.] *Pervigilia*, Wakes and Solemnities by Night, in Honour of some God, during sometimes for many Nights together, in which indeed was practised all kind of dissoluteness and insolency. *Cum vinum & nox, & misti feminis mares, atatis tenera majoribus discrimen omne pudoris extinxissent*, as *Livy* speaketh. Of which kind in the common weals of Greece were many, and many abuses growing thereof, as may well appear out of the Comedies of those times, and *Plautus Aulularia*. *Ego me injuriam fecisse fateor filiae tuae, Cereris vigiliis per vinum atque impulsu adolescentiae*. And yet those of *Ceres* seem of all other to have been the most Sober, and therefore thought fit to be retained by *Tully*, 2. *de legibus*. *Nocturna sacrificia mulierum, ne sunt, praeter olla quae pro populo rite fiunt. neve quem initiant, nisi, ut assolet, Cereri, Graeco sacro*. *Vitellius*, saith *Suet.* c. 10. *In Appennini quidem jugis etiam pervigilium egit*: to which Act of his *Tacitus* peradventure here alludeth. Now *Bacchanalia* were, as I think, nothing else but *pervigilia* in Honour of *Bacchus*, of all other the most dissolute, corrupt, and desperate, of whose beginnings, increase, and destruction in the Roman State, read

read Livy, l. 38. f. 324, 325, 326. and Tully, l. 2. de legibus.

P. 166. With Roses and Bay, erected Altars.] Upon the coming of Kings and great Personages, the custom was to strew the ways with Flowers. Herodianus, lib. 4. at Caracalla's entry into Alexandria;

(3) δαδυχίαις τε καὶ ἀνθέων βολαῖς ἐτίμων τὴ βασιλεία. and lib. 1. at the coming of Commodus to Rome,

(4) ὡς ὃ πλεῖστον ἐγένετο τὸ ῥώμης πᾶσα τε ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ πανδημεὶ ὄχοι τὸ ῥώμην κατώκων ἀνδραποιοῦν. λαφνηφόροις, καὶ πάντα ὀπιφερέμενοι ἀνθὴ τότε ἀκμάζοντα, ὡς ἑκάστος οἶσσι ἦν πόρρω τὸ πόλεως ὑπέεταν.

Claudianus Panegyrica 2. de Stilicone.

Speſtabunt cupide matres, ſpargentur & omnes

Flore viæ——

P. 167. To the Gods of the place.] In that Religion every Wood and Field had his local Gods, without whose good favour no humane Action could in that place have any happy success. So Æneas in Virgil, lib. 7. at his entry into Italy,

——geniumque loci primamque deorum

Tellurem, nymphasque, & adhuc ignota precatur

Flumina.——

And Orestes in Sophocles Electra.

ἀλλ' ὃ πατρῷα γῆ, θεοίτ' ἐγχώριοι

Νέεσθε μ' ἐντυχοῦντα ταῖς δὲ ταῖς ὁδοῖς.

In Xenophon, 1. παιδ. Cambyſes and Cyrus paſſing out of Perſia, (1) περσύνεοντο θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς τὴ περσίᾳ γῆν κατέχουσιν, ἰλεως καὶ εὐμενῆς πέμπειν σφᾶς: and entering into Media, περσύνεοντο αὖθις θεοῖς τοῖς μεδίαν γῆν κατέχουσιν. (2) ἰλεως καὶ εὐμενῆς Νέεσθαι αὐτῆς.

P. 177. The Theatre, where the manner of that Town is to meet and consult.] For so all the Græcian Cities used to do, as appeareth both by the Greek Orators and Historiographers. A thing noted also by Ausonius, *Ludo septem sapientum, Prologo.*

(3) That is they honour, ed the Emperor with Torches and strewing of Flowers.

(4) That is, as he approached near the City, all the Senate, and generally as many as dwelt in Rome came forth and met him every Man as far off from the City as possibly he could, bearing Bays, and bringing all sorts of Flowers then in Season.

(1) That is, besought the God's Protectors of Perſia, to fend them forth favourably and with good speed.

(2) To receive them favourably and with good speed.

Quid

Quid erubescis tu togate Romule?
 Scenam quod introibunt tam clari viri?
 Nobis pudendum est hoc, non & Atticis
 Quibus theatrum curiæ præbet vicem?
 Nostris negotiis sua loca sortito data.
 Campus comitiis, ut conscriptis curia.
 Forum atque rostra separat jus civium.
 Una est Athenis, atque in omni Græciâ
 Ad consulendum publici sedes loci.

P. 178. Cappadocia had no Legions.] *Vespasian* being settled in state, Cappadocia, saith ^a *Suetonius*, propter assiduos barbarorum incursus legiones addidit, consularcmque rectorem imposuit pro equite Romano. Yet by *Tacitus* pag. 63. it may seem there was some power. Cappadocia Pontusque, & quicquid castrorum Armeniis prætenditur.

Ibid. Berytus.] By the circumstances in the Story of *Josephus* it may seem, that here at Berytus was the first meeting of *Vespasian* and *Mucianus*, and that before all was dealt between them by the Mediation of *Titus*, whom we find in *Tacitus*, pag. 97, i. absent with *Mucianus* in Syria, which had not needed, if they had met before and the matter been concluded upon. Surely in *Tacitus* of their first meeting no place is set down, and it may seem strange how two Lieutenants-General could come personally together before the War was openly undertaken. But they not coming together before their open Declaration in Arms, there had been no place left for that good Oration, which *Tacitus* meant howsoever to bestow on *Mucianus*. Although for the truth of the Story, and the circumstances of matters which passed in *Jewry*, and *Syria*, I am content to believe *Josephus* better, who, as I have said, was an eye-witness of the whole Action.

P. 180. Marched forward.] *Josephus*, ἀλλῶσ. 4. c. 40. (3) ὁ δὲ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς χειμῶνος διέβαινεν τὸ πλεῖν, περὶ τὴν Σεβαστιανὴν ἔγχε διὰ καππαδοκίας καὶ φρυγίας. How it could be, χειμῶνος ἀκμῇ, the deep of Winter, whenas without question the War was begun sometime in *July*, or at the furthest in the beginning of *August*, I cannot imagine.

Ibid.

(3) That is, *Mucianus* fearing to commit himself to the Sea because it was the deep of Winter, brought his Army by Land through Cappadocia and Phrygia.

Ibid. To leave *Mæſia*, and with his Horſemen.] It appeareth in the proceſs of the Story, that he took the way of *Mæſia*, of whole whole Journey from *Syria*, till we find him in the ^b third book fighting ^{b pag. 130} with the *Dacians*, we have not one word ſet down by *Tacitus*; as likewise after that action, till his entry into *Rome*, in the fourth book: points in my Judgment very material in a good Story, and greatly to the ſatisfaction of the reader.

P. 181. *Illyrian Armies.*] Some learned Men charge this Narration here, and generally the Story of the actions between *Vitellius* and *Veſpaſian*, of great inſufficiencies, imperfections, and confuſions, whereof I do in my judgment moſt clearly acquit it. *Illyricum* was divided into three Provinces; *Mæſia*, whereof at this time *Aponius Saturninus* was Prefident or Lieutenant General; *Pannonia*, whereof *T. Ampius Flavianus* was Prefident; and *Dalmatia*, whereof *Poppeus Silvanus*, or *Pompeius Sullan*, (for in both Names we find difference of Writing) was Prefident. In *Mæſia* were three Legions, *Tertia Gallica*, *Oſtava Auguſta*, and *Septima Claudiana*, led by three, *legati legionum*, Lieutenants of Legions: *Dillius Aponianus* of the third, Hiſt. 3. p. 112, 28. *Numiſius Lupus* of the eighth, Hiſt. 3. p. 112, 29. and *Tertius Julianus* of the ſeventh; who, forſaking his place, as appeareth in this place, *Vipſanius Meſſalla* undertook the charge, 3. Hiſt. p. 111. In *Pannonia* there were at this preſent two Legions, *ſeptima Galbiana* whole Lieutenant was *Antonius Primus*; and *tertiadecima Gemina* ſent back out of *Italy* from Building of *Amphitheatres*, whole Lieutenant in this War was *Vedius Aquila*, the ſame Man who was alſo Lieutenant in the laſt War, 3. Hiſt. 112, 14. and 2. Hiſt. 80, 25. In *Dalmatia* there was none but only one Legion, namely, *undecima Claudiana* (the fourteenth being transported into *Britany*) whole Lieutenant was *Annius Baſſus*, 3. Hiſt. p. 131, 3. The Premiſſes conſidered, which are all expreſſed by *Tacitus*, I ſee not what can be required more to the perfection of this narration here, it ſeeming to me one of the beſt, and moſt ſufficient in this Book, And

so likewise in the whole Story of Tacitus, of all great Actions I take that between *Vitellius* and *Vespasian* to be generally the most fully, and best set down, as the other between *Otho* and *Vitellius* the worst. Now for the time when *Illyricum* began to revolt from *Vitellius*, as in noting of times Tacitus is always too scant, Suetonius ^a *Vitellio* somewhat relieveth us. *Octavo imperii mense desciverunt ab eo exercitus Moesiarum atque Pannoniæ*: so that it seemeth to have been begun in *August*, or perchance toward the latter end of *July*.

P. 185. Threescore Thousand Armed-Men.] *Valens* had out of Germany forty Thousand Armed-Men, beside *legio Italica*, and eight Cohorts of *Batavians*, &c. *Cacina* thirty Thousand, beside *Ala Syllana*, &c. *Vitellius*, *tota mole belli secuturus*, saith Tac. 1. Hist. and in this Book, p. 86. *reliquas Germanici exercitus vires trahebat*, beside eight Thousand, *è Britannico dilectu*. Of all which number we find in Tacitus none sent away, ^b but the Cohorts of *Batavians*. And yet here we have but threescore Thousand Armed-Men.

Ibid. Fencer's Diet, *Gladiatoria sagina*.] *Gladiatores* & *Athletæ*, in Old time were most daintily Dieted and stall-fed, as it were: the known Phrases of *Athleticus habitus*, and *Gladiatoria sagina*, importing no less. Cic. *Cum gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate*. Cyprianus: *Impletur in succum cibis fortioribus corpus, & arvina assidui nidoris moles membrorum robusta pinguescit, ut saginatus in penam carius percat*.

P. 186. The Standards of four Legions.] The eight Legions, which seem here, and elsewhere, to be noted of *Vitellius's* side, were *Italica*, and the seven Legions of Germany, albeit none compleatly but *Rapax*, in all the rest part of the Men being left behind, and the whole Names Attributed alike to both parts.

P. 188. Accounted unlucky.] *Livius*, l. 6. f. 68, 1. *Tum de diebus religiosis agitari ceptum dieque a. d. 15. Cal. Sextiles duplici clade insignem, quo die ad Cremeram Fabii cæsi, quo deinde ad aliam cum exitio*

*exitio urbis fædè pugnatum, à posteriore clade Alien-
sem appellarunt, insignemque nulli rei publicè priva-
timque agendæ fecerunt.* Dio, c. l. 9. de clade Cre-
mense. (1) τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἐκοίμην ἐν ᾗ τὸ πάθος
ἐγένετο, μέλαιναντες καὶ σποράδα τίθειαι (ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων
πόλις) καὶ ἑδερὸς ἂν ἔργα ἐν ταύτῃ χρεῖσθαι ἀρχαίῳ, καὶ
τότε συμβῆσαν αὐτῇ τύχην ὀψιμμένην.

Ibid. In the Election of Consuls: *Comitia Con-
sulum cum candidatis civiliter celebrans.* What by *co-
mitia consulum* should be meant in this place, the
people being at this time excluded from all Voice
in Elections, either I do not conceive, or else *co-
mitia consulum civiliter celebrare*, is but as much,
as *munera à candidatis consularis edita* (whether it
were himself or any other) *civiliter celebrare*. In the
Free State the suitors for Offices to win the people's
favour and good will, *dabant gladiatores*, till it
was by a Law, expressly by Tully to that purpose
enacted, forbidden, and brought within the com-
pass of *ambitus*. Cicero in Vatinius: *Ego legem
de ambitu ex S. C. tuli, quæ dilucidè vetat biennio
quo quis petat petiturusve sit, gladiatores dare nisi ex
testamento.* But after they had attained their suit,
it was then not lawful only, but necessarily inci-
dent to most Offices to exhibit to the people all
sorts of Games and Plays, and accordingly they
performed it with all magnificence and cost. Un-
der the Emperors, albeit no part of the election of
any Officer depended upon the people's favour, yet
both *candidati*, and *designati*, and actual Officers
continued to minister to the people their accusto-
med pleasures of *gladiatores*, *circenses*, &c. conten-
ding therein by all possible means to win the good
will of the people. In the time of Alexander Mam-

meæ, *Quæstores candidati munera populo dederunt*:
in Nero's, *Quæstoribus designatis gladiatores edendi
necessitas erat*, saith Tacitus, *Consul designatus est et
munus edidit*: Marcellus *Jureconsultus*, l. 36. Now
to be present at these Shows was accounted great
Popularity in the Prince. *Xiphil. de Othone*, (2) *Hearts of
the multi-
tude.*
Suetonius de Augusto. *Ipse Circenses spectabat spe-*

c pag. 429.
(1) That is,
the day in
which this
calamity be-
fell them the
people of
Rome ac-
counts dismal
and unlucky,
neither will
they on it
begin any se-
rious matter,
in respect of
the ill for-
tune that
happened
that day to
the City.

d pag. 204.
(2) He used
much the
Theaters to
win the
Hearts of
the multi-
tude.

t pag. 242.

(3) That is, I always hate and shun the Horse-races, as they which are indebted do the places of publick Assembly; therefore I go seldom to them.

t pag. 8.

staculo plurimas horas, aliquando totos dies aderat. Tac. 1. ^f An. de eodem. *Civile rebatur misceri voluptatibus vulgi.* As contrarily to come seldom thither was disliked as a sign of a proud, melancholick, and sour nature; whereof *Julianus* accuseth himself in *Misopogone*. (3) αὐτὸς μὲν τὰς ἵπποδρομὰς, ὡς περὶ οἱ ῥήματα φρονικῶντας τὰς ἀγορὰς, ὀλιγάκις ἢ οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, &c. or to come thither and not to be attentive, or aliud agere, as *Cæsar*, qui vulgò reprehensus est, saith *Suetonius*, quæ inter spectandum epistolis libellisq; legendis ac rescribendis vacaret. But *Vitellius* here seemeth not only to have frequented the Shews, which *candidati Consulatus*, or designati did exhibit, but also to have taken part, for Example, with the *Mirmyllones* against the *Thracæ in theatro*, or with the *Veneri* against the *Prasini in circo*, and therein, omnem infimæ plebis rumorem affectasse; in those days accounted a point of most great popularity. *Suet.* ^a *Tiro: Quin & studium armaturæ Thracum (ne quid popularitatis prætermitteret) præ se ferens, sæpe cum populo & voce & gestu, ut fautor cavillatus est Titus. Verum majestate salvâ.*

P. 189. *P. Sabinus.*] Not *Vespasian's* Brother, as some Learned Men against all circumstances of Story have written. This *Sabinus* was cast in Prison, ob amicitiam *Cæcinæ*: 3. Hist. pag. 125. *Vespasian's* Brother was, *Præfectus urbis*, and at good liberty, till he was Besieged and taken in the Capitol.

P. 190. Right over their Freed-men: *Jura libertorum.*] The *Libertus* was bound to maintain his Patron, if by any means he fell into decay: at his Death by the old constitutions to leave his Patron, Heir of the half of his Goods, which if it were any ways embezzled, the Law awarded the Patron, omnium bonorum possessionem etiam contra tabulas. And in these two points, beside some other services and duties called in the Law, opera, consisted almost the whole *jus libertorum*, as appeareth, lib. 38. Digest. Now whereas *Vitellius*, reversus ab exilio *jura libertorum concessit*, by grace, it seemeth in latter times to have belonged to them by common Right.

Right. Ulpian : Dig. 38, Tit. *de bonis libertorum*. L. 3. Si deportatus patronus restitutus sit, liberti contra tabulas bonorum possessionem accipere potest. And again, in the same Title, L. 4. Paulus. Si deportatus patronus sit, filio ejus competit bonorum possessio in bonis liberti, nec impedimento est ei talis patronus, qui demortui loco habetur.

P. 193. The *Augustales*.] Tac. 1. Ann. p. 241, Idem annus novas ceremonias accepit, addito sodalium Augustalium sacerdotio, ut quondam Titus Tattius retinendis Sabinorum sacris sodales Titios instituerat. Sorte ducti è primoribus civitatis unus & viginti. Tiberius, Drususque & Claudius, & Germanicus adjiciuntur. Where we see Tacitus Attribute that to Tattius himself, which here he Attributeth to Romulus.

P. 195. Vitellius had Governed as Proconsul.] In administranda provincia (Africa) singularem innocentiam præstitit (Vitellius) saith Suetonius Vitellio, c. 5, agreeing with Tacitus : but in Vespasian he disagreeeth utterly. Tacitus saith here, famosum invisumque proconsulatum in Africa Vespasianus egerat. Suetonius Vespasiano, c. 4. Exin sortitus Africam (Vespasianus) integerrimè nec sine magna dignatione administravit.

P. 196. The *Etesians*.] *Etesia* according to Aristotle, 2. Meteor, and Theophrastus, *de ventis*, (1) βορραιοὶ εἰσὶ κατ' ἔτος πρῶτον μετα τὰς δευτέρας τροπὰς καὶ κυνὸς ὀπίσθην. Kυνὸς ὀπίσθην, according to Pliny, lib. 2. cap. 47. fell in that time upon the eighteenth of July, & post biduum exortus, saith the same Pliny, *Etesia diebus quadraginta perflant, nec ulli ventorum magis statim sunt*. So that *Etesia* dured ordinarily from the twentieth of July till the end of August. And the *solstitium æstivum* being just twenty five days before, κυνὸς ὀπίσθην, according to ^a Olympiodorus, in 2. Meteor. It must by due account light in that time upon the four and twentieth of June, from which day the too great length of the Julian Year hath in our Age drawn it back eleven or twelve days, casting it upon the twelfth or thirteenth of June. Now that *Etesiarum flatus* was good for Sailing into Egypt.

(1) That is, are northerly Winds blowing after the Summer Solstitium, and rising of the Dog-Star. a Olympiodorus seemeth to have read the place of Aristotle thus: βορραιοὶ κατ' ἔτος πρῶτον καὶ τὰς δευτέρας τροπὰς καὶ κυνὸς ὀπίσθην μετα τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ τὸν αἰῶνα μετα τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ τὸν αἰῶνα.

Egypt

b For so the *Egypt* and the *East*, and ill from thence, beside
 Author of the site of the Countrey, that also may be an Argu-
 the Book, ment, that *Thales* and certain other Philosophers
de mundo ad Alexand. affirm (as *Diodorus Biblioth. lib. 1.* reporteth)
 maketh the the cause of the rising of *Nilus* to be these *Ete-*
Etesia to have some point of *sian* Winds. (2) *οἱ ἀντιπνεύσιες τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῆς*
 the West: *μὴ ποταμῷ κωλύουσιν εἰς θάλασσαν προχέσθαι τὸ ρεῖ-*
ξι καὶ ἵσχυος αὐτοῦ.
τι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

πυρρὸν μὲν καὶ ζεφύρον. (2) That is, which blowing directly against the mouth of
 the River hinder the Water from falling into the Sea.

The End of the Second Book.

ANNO.

ANNOTATIONS

Upon the THIRD

BOOK

OF

TACITUS.

Pag. 204.

AND least the Provinces.] All from these Words in the Latin Copy, *ac ne inermes provincia*, &c. to these, *si placeret Galbæ principatus, inclusive*, should be placed before, *quæsitum inde quæ sedes bello legere-tur*, &c. and so the Words, *ut innocuum exercitum Mæsicum celebrare*, cohere with, & *præsumpsere par-tes*. Which disorder, by reason the Lines and Letters almost between, *quæsitum inde*, and *Mæsicum celebrare*, are equal to the Lines between, *ac ne in-ermes*, and *Galbæ principatus*, may seem to have grown first by the meer transposition of a leaf in the Copy, from whence all ours were deri-ved.

P. 205. *Antonius* taking with him certain, &c.] The Legions, their Captains and marching, with all necessary circumstances in a manner, are in this War fully and plainly set down by our Au-thor, incomparably better than either in the last between *Visellius* and *Otho*, or in the next between *Civilis*

Civilis and the Romans in Germany. Here *Antonius* Lieutenant of *septima Galbiana* marched first, about the latter end of *August*, or beginning of *September*, with *vexillarii & cohortibus*, and part of the Horse, making up no doubt a convenient power, albeit there was not any entire Legion. With him went *Arius Varus*, of no higher degree at that time, as I think, than a *Primus Pilus*, of what Legion I cannot tell: but lib. 4. pag. 173. *Tertia Legio*, is called, *familiaris Ario Varo miles*: afterward, as it appeareth, Hist. 4. he obtained the ^a Captainship of the Guard, and ^b *Prætoria insignia*, and being put by *Mutianus* from the Captainship of the Guard, was ^c made *Præfectus Annonæ*. At *Patavium* or thereabouts, the two Legions of *Pannonia* overtook *Antonius*, pag. 112, 13. namely, *septima Galbiana*, whose Lieutenant was *Antonius* himself, and *tertiadecima Gemina*, with *Vodius Aquila* Lieutenant thereof, the Lieutenant-General also, *T. Ampius Flavianus*, as it may be presumed, coming with all: for we find him anon in the mutiny. At *Verona*, *Aponius Saturninus* President of *Mæsia* with *septima Claudiana*, *Vipsanius Messalla* being Lieutenant thereof, overtook them, pag. 111. and anon afterward at *Verona* or thereabout, the other two Legions of *Mæsia*, *tertia Gallica* with *Dillius Aponianus*, and *octava Augusta* with *Numisius Lupus*. And this was all the power that was present of the *Flavian* side at the Battel of *Cremona*, certain bands of Old *Prætorian* Soldiers excepted, whereof we find ^d mention both in that Field and elsewhere: but when and where they came to the side is nowhere, as it ought, expressly set down. Of *Vitellius's* part there were present in the Action of *Cremonia* two compleat Legions, *una & vicesima Pax*, which came out of Germany with *Cacina*, and *quartadecima Italica* taken away from *Lions* by *Valens*; and six imperfect Legions out of Germany: to wit, *quarta*, and *octavadecima aliâs duo & vicesima* out of *High-Germany*; *prima*, *quinta*, *quintadecima*, and *sextadecima* out of *Low-Germany*. Whereof six be named, 2. Hist. ^e pag. 106, and pag. 119. A little before

a pag. 152.

b pag. 154.

c pag. 190.

d pag. 118,
27. 119, 19.
120, 11.

e Saving that
line 31. for
quintadecima,
quartadecima
is written,
by error of
Copy, which
Legion was
quite sent a-
way into
Britanny be-
fore, p. 90, 30

before the joyning all the eight are set down particularly, and by name. And beside the eight Legions there were of that side, *vexillarii*, out of the three British Legions, *secunda Augusta*, *nona* & *vicefima Victrix*, part of the eight Thousand which *Vitellius* brought out of Germany, & *Britannico dilectu*. Tacit. 2. Hist. p. 80, & p. 107, l. 3. Hist. p. 119, 5. and all this power under the charge of *Cacina*. After the Battel at *Cremona*, *victæ legiones per Illyricum dispersæ*. Tac. p. 125, 7. The five Conquering Legions, being increased by *undecima Claudiana*, and six Thousand Men beside out of *Dalmatia*, under the leading of *Poppæus Sylvanus*, Lieutenant-General of that Countrey, and *Annius Bassus* Lieutenant of the eleventh Legion, were left at *Verona*. *Antonius* with the Auxiliaries, and *lecti & legionibus*, marched to *Fanum Fortunæ*. Tac. pag. 131. At *Fanum* they sent for all their power from *Verona*, pag. 132. which overtook them at *Carfule*, pag. 137. On the other side, after that overthrow at *Cremona*, *Vitellius* sent to *Fabius Valens* three *Prætorian* Cohorts with the British Wing, pag. 127. which were taken by *Cornelius Fuscus* at *Ariminum*, pag. 128. Then pag. 134. he sent both the Cap-

f And three taken before at *Ariminum*. Summa 17. besides others perchance left with *Vitellius* at *Rome*; and yet ten was the ordinary number of all, and in *Vitellius's* time, when they were most, but 16. Tac. 2. Hist. p. 104. (1) *Tanquam ex maxima*.

P.210. *Flavianus* departed away.] It had been well *Tacitus* had made us acquainted with the Contents of these Letters, which met him so marvellously, (1) *ὡς τις ἐν μυχῷ*; as if *Vespasian* in July two Months before had foreseen, that his good friend *Flavianus* should have been suspected and misused by his Soldiers at *Verona*, and thereupon directed Letters in his favour. Then where the Letters so unluckily met him, or at all whither he went, is not specified: but surely whithersoever it was, being once out of the Soldier's fingers, he was as I

M

presume

presume out of all danger, at least any such as *Vespasian's* Letters could exempt him from.

P. 212. *Bassus* was conveyed.] Why remained he not still in the charge? Why was he committed, albeit it were *custodia honorata*, by those which favoured *Vespasian*? Why sent to *Adria*? Why there put into straighter Prison, if *Mennius* were a friend to *Vespasian's* cause? If an Enemy, why looked at *Hormus's* Commandment, who was *Vespasian's* Man? And what then became of him? When, by whom, and wherefore was *Mennius Rufinus* put there in Garison? These petty circumstances, or some good part had in my Opinion been necessary in this place for the full satisfaction of the Reader.

P. 221. The Moon rose.] The very same effects fell out upon the like cause, in the Night Battel between *Pompey* and *Mithridates*, described by *Plutarch*, pag. 1162. and *Dio*, pag. 12. But the Epitome of *Dio*, pag. 211. setteth this here down somewhat otherwise than *Tacitus*. (1) ἡ δὲ ταραχὴν ἐπιβύησεν ἡ σελήνη τῇ νυκτὶς ἐκλιπύσα, ἔχ' ὅτι καὶ ἐσχιόσθη (καὶ τοῖς δορυβυμένοις καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φόβον φέρει) ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἀμαλύνει καὶ μέλαινα ἀλλαττύνει χρώματα φοβερά αὐτῇ αὐτὴν ὥσθι.

(1) That is, the Moon being Eclipsed that Night increased the astonishment, not so much because she was darkened (although in such as are affrighted such things also strike a terror) but because she seemed bloody and blackish, and streaming out some other fearful colours.

(2) That is, some defending it to remain the same Ship still, some denying it. *De Jeseo*, p. 19. a Fol. 307, 1.

P. 222. Under the Conduct of *M. Antonius*.] Some three or four Years, above an Hundred Year before. So that no one Man, that served then with *Antonius* could in possibility now be here in this service. But we are to understand of a Legion, as the Lawyer saith of a Ship, that being repaired by piecemeal, albeit in process of time there be no one stick remaining the same, yet doth it continue still the same Ship. Although the Philosophers, saith *Plutarch*, are not yet fully agreed of the point, (2) ἢ ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ, ἢ ὡς ἐν τὸ αὐτὸ διαμένει λεγόντων.

P. 225. Target fence.] *Testudo*. The manner of *Testudo* and the utility is very well declared by *Livy*, lib. 44. in these Words. *Quadrato agmine factis sentis super capita densatis stantibus primis, secundis summissioribus, tertiis magis et quartis, postremis etiam genu nixis fastigiatam, sicut tecta adificiorum*

orum

orum sunt, testudinem faciebant : ut alii armati superstantes propugnatoribus muri fastigio altitudinis æquarentur. Soli tamen in fronte extrema, & ex lateribus non habebant super capita elata scuta, ne nudarent corpora, sed prætentâ pugnantium more ita nec ipsos tela ex muro missa subeuntis læserunt, & testudini injecta imbris in modum lubrico fastigio innoxia ad imum labebantur. Plut. Antonio, pag. 1715. (3) That is, the Target-bearers kneeling on their knees hold before them their Targets, those which next follow cover them with theirs, and others them again. the firm is very like the covering of a House, somewhat also resembling a Theatre, and of all other defences is most sure against Arrows sliding down upon it.

Now in case one Testudo would not serve to let their Armed-Men high enough to match them on the Trenches or Walls, they made, as I think, a double Testudo, one upon another. Tacitus in the Words following, *super iteratam testudinem scandentes*, albeit those Words may receive also another construction. The strength of Targets so compacted together is declared by Arianus, ἀναβὰς.

1. Whenas Alexander had to ascend the Mount Hæmus, the Top whereof was occupied by the Enemies, who turned down mighty great Cars upon his Army, he willed such as could not open their ranks, and so give passage to their violence, (4) the Cars coming down upon them and carried over them again, as it was likely, with their own force, might pass away without doing harm, and as Alexander guessed, so it came to pass.

ἔνωσαν καὶ περικύβητας εἰς τὴν συγκλείουσαν εἰς ἀκρεβῆς τὰς ἀσπίδας, τῶν κατ' αὐτῶν φερόμενας τὰς ἀμάξας. καὶ τῇ ῥύμῃ καὶ τὸ ἐκδὸς ὑπερπηδῶσας ἀβλαβῶς ἐπελθεῖν. καὶ ἔτω ξυμβῆ, ὅπως παρήνευσε τε ἀλὲ ξανδρός καὶ ἑκατοῦ.

P. 228. Of a disdainful Traytor.] Xiphilinus, pag. 213. seemeth to say that upon hanging out of their *velamenta* and *insula* obtaining not Pardon, they loosed Cæcina, and sent him in his Consular Robes, (5) ἀνθ' ἱκετήσεως, and by his means, ἔτυχον τῆς σπονδῶν. Josephus, 4. ἀλώτ. c. 41. saith that Antonius loosed Cæcina after his entry into the Town. By Tacitus, here it should seem he went not to Antonius till after the Soldiers had yielded.

(5) That is, to intreat for them, and by his means obtained mercy.

P. 230. This end had Cremona.] In this Battel, saith *Iosephus*, *lib. 4. cap. 41.* were slain of *Vitellius's* side thirty Thousand and two Hundred: of *Antonius's* Soldiers four Thousand and five Hundred. *Xiphilinus* saith that in Cremona, with those which were slain in the Field, died fifty Thousand persons. The time was about the latter end of *October*, about which time also, as it appeareth by *Tacitus*, the News were brought to Rome of *Cecina's* revolt.

P. 236. A middle course.] It may seem that *Valens* for his part resolved upon the first Opinion, that was, *accitis ex urbe cohortibus valida manu perumpere*, but the fault was in *Vitellius* who sent no more.

P. 237. Men greedy of danger.] *Apud avidos periculorum.* So be the Words in our Copies, the meaning I know not; and the narration following I find in my conceit to be somewhat unperfect. As wherefore *Valens* did send the power rather to *Ariminum* into the Enemies mouth, than back to *Vitellius*, if he meant not to follow them himself. Upon what intent and purpose he went into *Umbria* and *Etruria*, and what he would have done, if he had not had advertisement of the Battel at Cremona, unless it were to take the secret way now, which before he refused, toward *Hostilia* and Cremona. Which circumstances surely would not have been omitted.

in lib. 13.

(1) That is, *Caesar* had founded the Colony of *Novum Comum* in the *Alpes* and endowed it with *Jus Latii*, so that whosoever had born annual Office there by virtue thereof became Citizens of Rome, for so much *Jus Latii* importeth.

Ibid. Barbarous people of the Countrey.] Others, as I think, beside those which associated themselves with *Anicetus*: namely, the *Achai*, *Heniochi*, and *Cercai*, dwelling on the other side of *Pontus Euxinus*, and according to *Strabo* ^a living, as they are here described, by Piracy.

P. 249. New treaties: *Fœdera sociis, Latium exterris.*] That is, to our *socii* their *fœdera* were renewed with a further increase of exemptions and privileges; and to foreigners that privilege was granted; that those which had born annual Office with them should by that means become, *cives Romani*: for that is the main point of *jus Latii*. *App. 2.*

Εμπ. p. 216. (1) πόλιν ὃ Νέκωμον ὁ Κρίσας ὁ Λαίω δίκαιον ὅτι τῷ Ἀλπίω ὠκίει, ὃν ὁ Κοί κατ' ἔτος

ἄτος ἤρχον, ἐλθόντο Ῥωμαίων πόλιν. τίς δ' ἰσχύει
τὸ Λάττω.

P. 249. No less ominous.] The breaking away of the Beast at Sacrifice was among the Romans an ominous matter. Titus a little before his Death Sabinos petit, saith ^b Suetonius, aliquanto tristior quid ^b cap. 10. sacrificanti hostia aufugerat. Idem ^c Julio. Cum ^c cap. 59. immolanti aufugisset hostia, tamen profectiorem non distulit. And ^d Galba. Taurus securis ictu constor- ^d cap. 18. natus rupto vinculo effedum ejus invasit. Festus. Picularia vocabant, quod sacrificantibus tristia portendebant: cum aut hostia ab ara profugisset, aut percussa mugitum dedisset, aut in aliam partem corporis quam oporteret decidisset. Plin. l. ^e 8. Notatum est ^e cap. 45. vitulos ad aras humeris hominum allatos non litare, sicut nec claudicante, nec aliena hostia deos placari, nec trabente se ab aris.

P. 265. As a pledge of the Empire.] Livius, l. 1. fol. 12. secutum aliud magnitudinem imperii portendens prodigium est. Caput humanum integrâ facie aperientibus fundamenta templi dicitur apparuisse: quæ visa species haud per ambages arcem eam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat. Idque ita cecidere vates quisque in urbe erant, quosque ad eam rem consultandam ex Hetruria acciverat. Dionysius, lib. 4. pag. 191. reporteth the Words of the answer made to certain messengers sent from Rome purposely into Etruria. (2) ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, λέγετε πρὸς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλιν, ὅτι κεφαλὴν εἰμαρται γενέσθαι Συμπάσης ἰταλίας ἢ τόπον τῆτον, ἐν ᾧ ἢ κεφαλὴν ἄρσεται. Varro, l. 4. de ling. Latina. Capitolium dictum, quod hic, cum fundamenta foderentur ædis Jovis, caput humanum inventum dicitur. Hic mons ante Tarpeius dictus à virgine Vestali Tarpeia, quæ ibi ab Sabinis necata armis & sepulta: ejus nominis monumentum relictum, quod etiam nunc ejus rupes, Tarpeium appellatur saxum. And this Head so found, I take to be that pignus imperii here in Tacitus.

(2) That is, Men of Rome go tell your Citizens that the Gods have decreed that where this Head was found that place should be the head of all Italy.

P. 265. Porsenna when the City was yielded.] It must be that either Tacitus followed some other Tradition in this Story than we have, as indeed by Livy it appeareth there were other, or else had forgotten

gotten himself in reporting it. Of Hostages given to *Porfenna*, *Dionysius*, lib. 5. and *Livy*, l. 2. make mention: of surrendring the City, I find no word spoken by any other we have extant, save *Tacitus*, to my remembrance.

P. 265. Who laid also.] According to *Dionysius*, f. l. 3. p. 149. & *Halic. Tarquinius Priscus*, did but only level the Ground: *Tarquinius Superbus* laid the foundations and Buildd most of it up, but did not consummate the Work. (3) ἀλλ' ὅτι ἦν ἐνιαυτῶν ἀρχόντων ἦν ἡ τρίτη τεῖτον ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπάλευσαν ἡ ζωτέλειαν ὁ νόμος. Read the same *Dionysius*, l. 4. p. 190. and l. 5. p. 224. But it may seem that *Tacitus* took hold of these Words in *Livy*, l. 1. f. 9. *Tarquinius Priscus aream ad adem in Capitolio Jovis occupat fundamentis*. Which notwithstanding is not otherwise meant, but of levelling the Ground, and making it ready for the laying of the foundation. For *Superbus* as it appeareth by the same *Livy*, f. 12. was the Man that laid the foundation. Of *Servius Tullius* in this Building, I have not found mention elsewhere to my remembrance.

P. 277. Seven and fifty Years Old.] *Vitellius* was Born, saith *Suetonius*, & *Druso Cesare* & *Norbanus Flacco Coss.* which was *ab urbe condita*, the 768th Year, the 24th of September, or as some say the seventh of the same Month. The day in which he went out of the Palace with intention to resign the Empire, was, according to *Tacitus*, the 18th of December, in Anno 822. the day following being the 19th of December the Capitol was Burned, the twentieth of December *Antonius* entred into the Town, and the Death of *Vitellius* ensued. All which doth appear plainly by the course of the Story of *Tacitus*. So that from his Birth to his Death we have no more by just account but fifty four Years, and as much as is between the seventh or four and twentieth of September, and the twentieth of December.

^h Beside the circumstances in *Tacitus*, *Josephus*, 4. ἀλλὰ σ. 42. expressly saith, μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν (of the burning of the Capitol) εἰσέλαβον αὐτῶν, τελευτήσας ἐπὶ αὐτῶν.

The end of the Third Book.

ANNOTATIONS

Upon the FOURTH

BOOK

O F

TACITUS.

Pag: 282. **W**AS Pretended.] Triumphs, and a Appian. 2. Em. 234. τα
Triumphalia ornamenta, which ἡ ῥωμαίων
 succeed in their place, were a- ἐνλαβὰ μα-
 warded upon great service done, and upon some notable γὰρ ἀεὶ ὡς
 Conquest obtained against a Foreign Enemy: at least ἐμφύλια, καὶ
 never any Man in the Roman State made profession ἐκείνη το
 of Triumphing, *de civibus victis*. *L. Sylla*, saith αὐτῷ, ὃ ῥω-
Valerius, lib. 3. *qui plurima bella civilia confecit, cum* μαίους
consummata ac constructa potentia sua triumphum du- αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀ-
ceret, ut Græciæ & Asiæ multas urbes, ita civium παίπα ὀπι-
Romanorum nullum oppidum vexit. γὰρ καὶ δε-
a *Cæsar* after he αμβλῶ, παρὰ
 had ended the Civil Wars, albeit he spared in shew ἡ γὰρ ὁμοί-
 to Triumph, *de victis civibus*, and chose rather the αὐτῶν ἐν
 name of King *Juba* for the Title of his *African Tri-* τοῖς ὃ τὰ
umph, than of *Scipio*, *Cato*, or *Afranius*, who were παθήματα
 Generals in the Field, yet went he further than ἅπαντα καὶ
Sylla, carrying their Images and Pictures in Tri- τοὺς ἀνδρα-
ἐν ἐλπίδι καὶ
ποικίλαις
γεγραμῖς, κα-
εἰς τὰ πομ-
 πῆς τῶτον γὰρ δὴ μόνον ἐνυλάξαι το διήξαν σφέτερά ἐπὶ πᾶσι πάντων ὀπιπιδύμενον.

umph,

b Dio, lib. 43.
pag. 146.
δοτ' ἡ πο-
λίτων ἐν τῇ
ἀρχῇ δότι
λαλόντων
πομπῇ δει-
νὴς αὐτοὺς
ἐλύθησαν.

umph, and ^b grieving thereby the people of Rome. *Augustus* having overcome at *Actium*, *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*, entituled likewise his Triumph upon the Woman, omitting the Man, *Ἀφηνῆς ἑνὴς α.* True it is, that oftentimes finding small cause of Triumph over an external Enemy, and not daring to name the Citizen, diverse colours, as here, have been used.

Ibid. Of *Tarracina*.] *Italy* by *Augustus* was divided into eleven Regions. *Pliny*, lib. 3. cap. 15. *Regio prima* is from the River of *Tiber* to *Surrentum*, or rather to the River of *Silarus* thirty miles beyond (for the limit of that side is doubtfully set down in *Pliny*) containing *Latium*, *Campania* and *Picentini*. *Regio secunda*, from *Metapontum* in *sinu Tarantino*, to the River of *Tifernus* in *mari Adriatico*, comprehendeth *Salentini*, *Calabria*, *Apulia* &c. *Regio tertia*, between *Silarus* and *Metapontum*, containeth *Lucani*, *Brutii* and *magna Græcia*. *Regio quarta* extendeth from *Tifernus* to the River *Aternus* likewise upon the *Adriaticum*, and incloseth *Frentini*, *Peligni*, *Samnium*, &c. *Regio quinta* is from *Aternus* to *Ancona*, including *Picenum*. *Regio sexta* containeth *Umbria*, and the Coast between *Ancona* and *Ariminum*. *Regio septima* comprehendeth *Hetruria* between the River of *Macra* and *Tiber*. *Regio octava* is the Countrey which lieth by West from the limits of the sixth Region, between the *Apennine* and the *Po*, comprehending *Ariminum*, *Ravenna*, *Bononia*, *Brixellum*, *Mutina*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, &c. *Regio nona* is from the River of *Macra*, to the River of *Varus*, containing *Liguria*. *Regio decima* containeth *Venetia*: and *Regio undecima*, *Gallia Transpadana*. Now for this place, it was in the Old Copies of *Tacitus*, *regione Italiae* without any addition of number, and *Tarracinae municipio* doubtfully written, sometimes *Tarentium municip.* sometimes *Tarentina municip.* and sometimes *Tarentino*. Indeed it may seem strange, that he should so solemnly describe and note out *Tarracina*, a Town so famously known, and so near unto *Rome*. But howsoever, this is more strange, that allowing it to be *Tarracina*,

Tarracina, some have inserted *septima* to fill up the sence, and some *secunda*, whereas *Tarracina* is clearly and evidently, in *prima regione Italiae*.

P. 185. Counsel *Helvidius*.] And *Helvidius*, for not obeying better this Counsel of *Eprius Marcellus*, lost his Life even under *Vespasian* a good and moderate Prince. *Suetonius* ^c *Vespasiano*. *Helvidio Prisco*, qui reversum ex Syria solus privato nomine *Vespasianum* salutaverat, & in prætura omnibus edictis sine honore ac mentione ulla transmiserat, non ante succensuit quam altercationibus insolentissimis penè in ordinem redactus. Hunc relegatum primò, deinde interfici jussum, missis qui percussores revocarent, servasset, nisi jam periisse falso nunciatum esset. *Probus*. *Elvidius Priscus* post damnationem sceleris *Pæti Thraseæ*, interdicta sibi Italia, *Apolloniæ* concessit, sed post interfectum *Neronem* restitutus à *Galba*, non aliter quam libero civitatis statu egit. See *Arian* also, libro primo, cap. secundo differt. *Epicteti*.

Ibid. P. *Celer*.] *Publius Egnatius Celer*, a chief Witness produced against *Barea Soranus*. Tac. 16. ^d Ann. *Clens hic* (speaking of *Egnatius*) *Sorani*, & ^d pag. 156. tunc emptus ad opprimendum amicum auctoritatem *Stoicæ sectæ* præferbat habitu & ore ad exprimendam imaginem honesti & exerciti, ceterum animo perfidiosus & subdolus; avaritiam ac libidinem occultans. quæ postquam pecunia reclusa sunt, dedit exemplum præcavendi, quomodo fraudibus involutos, aut flagitiis commaculatos, sic specie bonarum artium falsos, & amicitia fallaces. *Juvenalis*.

Stoicus occidit Baream delator amicum;

Discipulumque senex———

The scholiast upon *Juvenal* toucheth another particularity. *Egnatius philosophus* filiam *Bareæ Sorani*, cum ipsius ad magicam descendisset hortatu, *Neroni* detulit.

P. 289. At the naked and bare names of Legions.] In Germany at this time were six unperfect Legions, or rather names of Legions, as he termeth them here: in high Germany, at *Magontiacum*, two; quarta *Macedonica* and octava decima alias duo & vigesima, beside eight *Batavian* Cohorts. In lower

N

Germany

Germany, at *Bonna*, *prima legio* : beneath it, at *Novesium*, *sextadecima* ; and lowest of all, at *Vetera*, *quinta* & *quintadecima*, both under *Mummius Lupercus*. The two last were in this War utterly destroyed, and their Camp rased. Tac. p. 185, and 186. *Sextadecima* & *prima*, after *Hordeonius's* Death, yielded themselves to the Enemy, p. 185. and were by the Enemies appointment removed to *Triers*, p. 186, and 187. then of their own accord they went to the *Mediomatrici*, p. 192. and from thence were sent for by *Cerealis* and received into Grace. The two Legions also at *Magontiacum* yielded themselves to the Enemy at the same time, and were not removed from their Camp, who upon *Cerealis's* coming returned again to the Romans. Tac. p. 185, 18. 186, 23. 191, 27. The eight *Batavian* Cohorts revolted at the very first beginning of the War to *Civilis*. Now in supply of these so revolting, yielding themselves, and being slain, there were assigned under the leading of *Petilius Cerealis* seven Legions, saith *Tacitus*, p. 190. to wit, *sexta Victrix*, which came with *Mutianus* out of *Syria*, and *octava Augusta*, one of the *Mælian* Legions (for so it should be read, not *octava decima*, there being none of that name, *inter victrices*) *una* & *vicecima Rapax* : *secunda*, surnamed as I think, *Flavia*, è *recens conscriptis* : *quartadecima Gemina* out of *Britany* : *sexta Ferrata*, & *decima Gemina* out of *Spain*. For whereas the common Copies of *Tacitus*, p. 190. have *tertia ac prima ex Hispania accitæ*, there was no *tertia* then in *Spain*, and that the *Spanish sexta* was in this Action, we find expressly set down, lib. 5. Hist. p. 210. True it is, that a *prima* surnamed *Adjutrix* was in *Spain* : but seeing we find, lib. 5. p. 211. twice mention of *decima*, lin. 16, and 30. a *Spanish Legion*, we must say, that either all the Legions of *Spain* were called away, against probability, or else that *prima*, p. 190. should be read *decima*. So that following these corrections, in the latter end of this War against the *Germans* and *French*, we have at one time eleven Legions employed by the *Romans*.

Superioris

Superioris Germaniæ { ^a *Quarta Macedonica,*
Octavadecima aliâs Duo & vicefi-
ma : Didius Vocula legatus,
 P. 165. 2.

Inferioris Germaniæ { *Prima : Herennius Gallus lega-*
tus, p. 162, 21.
Sextadecima : Numisius Rufus le-
gatus, as I think, p. 185, 10.

Sexta Viatrix, è Syriacis.

Octava Augusta, è Mæsicis.

Una & vicefima Rapax, è Vitellianis.

Secunda Flavia, è recens conscriptis.

Quartadecima Gemina, è Britannicis.

Sexta Ferrata {
Decima Gemina. { *ex Hispanicis.*

a *Quarta*, as it seemeth, was without Lieutenant, at least in this Story none is named, and per-adventure *Vitellius* had taken him away. But surely *Didius Vocula*, (although by Office) but only Legate of the *xliv.* aliâs the *xxii.* executed no doubt both the charge.

P. 292. *Mummius Lupercus.*] It seems *Vitellius* left the Legions not only bare of Men, and as it were half Legions (for in these two Legions were not above five Thousand men) but disfurnished of Captains also, leaving here but one Lieutenant over two Legions. And yet pag. 163. line 27. as though he had forgotten himself, we find another, *tanquam ex machina*, to wit, *Numisius* ^b *Rufus*. Of whose coming into *Vetera* as we find no reason, so we find him in another ^c place out of *Vetera* with less reason. If he were there from the beginning, why doth *Tacitus* tell us here, that *Lupercus* alone, *duarum Legionum hibernis præerat*? If not, how and when came he? And especially how, and when went he out? But in the setting down of this *German War* there are in my Opinion many little imperfections and negligences, whereof part we will touch, as occasion shall serve, but most of them we have supplied, and explained in the Contents of the Chapters, and by inserting sometimes a Word or two into the Text, as by comparing the Books it will appear.

b *Legati Legionum*
Mummius,
Lupercus &
Numisius
Rufus vallum
murosque firmabant.
 c pag. 185.
 10.

P. 293. The Cohorts of the Batavians and Caninefates.] These are the *octo cohortes Batavorum quatuordecimæ legionis auxilia*, so oft mentioned in the first and second of the History, and now remaining at *Mogontiacum*, whither *Civilis* sent secret messengers to sollicite them to the party, as it appeareth in this ^a Book, and albeit in none of the places before remembred there is any mention of *Caninefates*, yet by this place it is to be intended, that those eight Cohorts consisted of both people, only the *Batavians* carried the name, as being the greater and more known people, and to say truth *Caninefates* were but a kind of *Batavians*, dwelling in the *Batavian* Island, using the same speech, and descended of the same race, as *Tacitus* saith a little before: and therefore, as I think, in his Book *de moribus Germanorum*, he nameth only the *Batavi*, either because the other were intended also by that name, or because they were not greatly worth naming.

^b pag. 150. ^c pag. 574. ^c est. 17. P. 296. In manner of a Bridge.] *Vegetius*, lib. 4. in the description of *Turris Ambulatoria* maketh mention of *Pons*, in hæc verba. *Turres sunt machinamenta ad edificiorum speciem ex trabibus tabulisque compacta, tanta proceritate, ut non solum muros, sed etiam turres altitudine superent. his plures rotæ mechanica arte subduntur, quarum lapsu magnitudo tam ampla movetur. In inferioribus habet arietem, cujus impetu destruit muros. Circa mediam partem accipit pontem factum de duabus trabibus, quem subito prolatum inter turrim murumque constituunt, & per eum egredientes de machina milites occupant muros & in civitatem transeunt. In superioribus partibus conlati & sagittarii collocantur, qui propugnatores depellant, &c.* In this place, *Tacitus* seemeth to take *Pons* for the whole Engine of *Turris ambulatoria*, and not only that special part which *Vegetius* calleth by that name.

^d *Mogontiacum*. P. 297. In the mean time *Flaccus*.] *Hordeonius Flaccus* remaining at ^d *Mentz*, where the standing Camp was of *quarta* and *octavadecima* aliàs *duo & vicesima*, understanding of the Siege of *Vetere*, sendeth *Didius Vocula* Lieutenant of the *octavadecima* aliàs *duo*

duo & vicefima before with the choice Men picked out of the two Legions. Whom *Hordeonius*, leaving sufficient power to guard the Camp at *Mentz*, seemeth immediately to have followed and overtaken at *Bonna*, a Town likewise upon the River, eleven miles above *Coleyn*, and threescore above *Vetera*, according to *Antoninus* in *Itinerario*, and *Tac. 1. Ann.* and so jointly to have removed to *Coleyn*: where at the instance of his mutipous Army, and upon infirmity of Body, he resigned his Generalship, at least the execution to *Didius Vacula*: and yet notwithstanding removed with them to *Novesium*, now called *Nuiss*, a Town sixteen Miles below *Coleyn*, according to *Antoninus*. At *Novesium* *Flaccus* as it seemeth stayed, and there was; as appeareth anon, slain by a mutiny of drunken Soldiers. But *Vacula* with a great part of the Army marched further down, and nearer to *Vetera*, encamping himself at *Gelduba*, a Castle likewise upon the *Rhine*, *ubi ciceris generositas præcipua*, saith *Pliny*. And thus much for the declaration of some circumstances, in my Opinion not so plainly and articulately set down, as they ought, by our Author.

P. 316. Funerals were Celebrated with Censorial Pomp.] *Censorium funus*, the most honourable, and solemn manner of Burial: as the Censorship was the most honourable Office, and accomplishment, as it were of all other. *Polybius*, lib. ^d 6. d pag. 191. saith, that in the Burial of a Consul, or Prætor, certain chosen out for the likest to the Dead person accompanied the Course, *ἐν ἱσθῆτι περιπορεύειν* only, that is, *in veste prætexta purpura*: in the Burial of a Censor *ἐν πορφυρᾷ*, in *purpura*.

P. 321. He committed the charge thereof.] Most of the other Writers affirm contrary to *Tacitus*, and to the truth, as I think, that *Vespasian* was present at the laying of the first foundation of the Capitol. *Sueton.* ^c *Vesp.* *Vespasianus restitutionem capitolii aggressus ruderibus purgandis manus primus admovit, ac suo collo quedam extulit.* *Xiph. p. 221.* (1) *τὸ πρῶτον ἐν καπιτολίῳ ἐνθὺς οἰκοδομῆν ἤρξατο, αὐτὸς τι τῆ χεὶρ πρῶτῃ ἐκφορήσας.* And yet by *Tacitus* the greatest

^c cap. 8.
(1) That is, he forthwith began to build the Temple in the Capitol, himself first carrying out some part of the rubble.

f page 198.

- 39.

greatest Man present in this Action was *Helvidius Priscus Prætor Urbanus*, the highest Office in the absence of the Consuls. And surely beside the credit of *Tacitus*, who may overweigh twenty such writers at random, I cannot see how in possibility *Vespasian* could well be in *Rome* before the one and twentieth of *June*: for at *Alexandria* he attended certain Months, saith our author, *certa maris opperiens*. Now from the eleventh day of *November* to the tenth of *March*, saith *Vegetius*, l. 8. 4. *maria clauduntur*: from the tenth of *March* to the fifteenth of *May* *periculose maria tentantur*, and not lightly ventured upon, but by Marchants, so that before the middle of *May* or thereabouts, it is not likely he set out of *Alexandria*. *Zonaras* seemeth to say, that he stayed a great while longer in *Egypt*, than otherwise he would have done, upon hope that *Hierusalem* might have been won before his departure, and so *Titus* should have accompanied him also to *Rome*. Again, the Voyage of *Vespasian* to *Rome* was long, and much of it performed by land, and many great businesses dispatched in the way. *Iosephus* ἀλωσ. 7. c. 5. & 10. *Suetonius* and others. So that in all reason his entry into *Rome* was toward the latter end of the Summer, and so he not present at the foundation of the Capitol.

P. 343. Between the way and the River.] *Tacitus* might well in this place, after the example of the most approved Story-writers, have set us down a more plain and particular chorography of the Place wherein this Battle was Fought, of whether side of the River the *Roman* Camp stood, and how in respect of the Town: for as it is written, it is in my fanſie hard to conceive, not only to us now, but even so them for whose use he wrote it, and unless we will suppose that every common man that lived in *Rome* in those Times knew this *via*, which he telleth us of here, and such other petty matters in the sight of *Triers* necessary for the full conceiving of the Place, beside that perchance alter the sight as you list, some objections may be picked out of the text here hardly answerable.

P. 347. The ordinary Summer Winds: *Statos æstivis flatibus dies & certa maris opperiens.* *Certa maris* are from the fifteenth or seven and twentieth of May (for *Vegetius*, lib. 4. cap. 39. nameth both) to the fourteenth of September: from the fourteenth of September to the eleventh of November *navigatio*, sed *incerta*: from the eleventh of November to the tenth of March *maris clausa*: and from thence to the fifteenth of May *navigatio periculosa*. So that *Vespasian*, as it may seem, set not out before the latter end of May. *Ioseph.* 4. αλώσ. c. 42. (1) αὐτὸς (1) That is; *μύντοι (ἰσπασιανὸς) οἱ δὲ πρῶτον ὄρμητο λίξαντες* *Vespasian* set forward for *Rome* at the end of Win-
ter. Now whereas some Learned Men for *statos æstivis flatibus dies*, read *statos Etesiarum flatibus dies*, it is an oversight. For *Etesia* are contrary Winds to the course. *Tac. 2. Hist. p. 106, 12.* and *Cæsar. 3. 2 de bello civil. Ipse necessario Etesis tenebatur, qui Alexandria navigantibus sunt adversissimi venti.* And to stay till they were past, that is, till the latter end of *August*, were to stay very near the terms of *incerta navigatio*, and be sure of *incertissima* before he could come home.

The End of the Fourth Book.

ANNO.

ANNOTATIONS UPON THE L I F E O F AGRICOLA.

b Or perad-
venture it
was meant
generally of
that Age:
left as it was
capital in Do-
mitian's time
to have writ-
ten the Lives
of *Thrasea*
and *Helvidi-*
us, albeit
they were
both put to
death by o-
ther Princes,
so it might
be to *Tacitus*
under some
other Tyran-
ny to have
written his Life, who died under *Domitian*, as it was supposed, by *Physon*.

Sect. 1. **I**gnorance of that which is good, and en-
vyng at it.] As small Objects of
weak Eyes, so small Vertues are not
conceived of common Capacities: but as there, a
certain quantiry and bigness is requisite, before the
dull sence can be pierced; so here, before the vul-
gar conceit. Now as soon as Vertue is grown out of
Ignorance, she entreth by and by into Envy, till
mounting aloft, as the Sun being vertical abateth all
shadows, so she, in the top and height of perfection,
all envy.

2. *Am first of force to beg Pardon.*] It seems then
he stood in some fear. And of what? Of falling
in with those *seva* and *infesta virtutibus tempora*,
b under *Domitian*. But he wrote this Treatise in
Trajan's time, in *beatissimi seculi* luce, as he term-
eth it; and I see no sufficient cause, the times
being safe wherein he wrote, to fear the times where-

of he wrote. Nor of that which followeth; We read that *Arulenus Rusticus*, &c. being things so lately done, and all in his memory, and, as it may seem, in his sight. For so he saith himself in the end of this Book. *Nos Maurici, Rusticique visus, nos innocentis sanguine Senecio perfudit.*

Ibid. Thrasea.] Put to Death by Nero, virtutem ipsam excindere concupiente, saith ^c Tacitus: Helvidius Priscus by Vespasian for obeying no better the good Counsel was given him by Eprius Marcellus, in the Senate some Years before, and recorded by ^d Tacitus in these Words. Suadere etiam Prisco, ne supra principem scanderet, ne Vespasianum senem triumphalem, juvenum liberorum patrem praeceptis coereret. Quomodo pessimis imperatoribus sine fine dominationem, ita quamvis egregiis modum libertatis placere.

*Ibid. Against the Books also.] ^e Clisthenes King of the Sicyonians, purposing to make War against the Argivi, forbade the Verses of Homer to be read or sung in his City, because they contained almost every where commendation of Argos and the Argivi; wisely foreseeing what great alteration a Poem so sweetly endited might work in the minds of his Subjects, even against the good of his State. And the Romans likewise among all instruments of innovation seeing none fitter to work trouble in a settled State, than by way of Libels and Books to sow seeds of sedition and novelty, appointed the Aediles and Triumviri capitals to foresee that no prejudice should grow to the commonwealth by that means. In the second Punick War, new Religions being brought in by the means of certain lewd Books of Prophecies, saith ^a Livy, *Incusati graviter ab senatu Aediles, Triumvirique capitales, quod non prohiberent.* And as in this place of Tacitus the Triumviri had the charge, so in another of the same Tacitus we read the Aediles. ^b *Libros Cremutii Cordi per Aediles cremandos censuere patres.* The usual and solemn place of this execution was in Comitio, a part of Forum Romanum, Liv. lib. 40. *Libri Numae de jure Pontificio**

a cap. 10.
d Arulenus
Rusticus in
Tacitus.

e According
to Tacitus
not of Hel-
vidius Prif-
cus but of
Thrasea a-
lone.

f pag. 238.

(1) That is,
Nero put A-
rulenus Ru-
sticus to
Death, be-
cause he
studied Phy-
losophy, and
because he
termed Thra-
sea, Virum
sanctum.

He put also
Herennius
Senecio to
Death, be-
cause he had
written the
Life of Hel-
vidius Prif-
cus. And
many other
beside for
this Crime of
Philosophy
lost their
Lives, and all
of the pro-
fession were
banished out
of the City.

lib. 4.
h Epist. lib. 5.

Pontificio in Comitio, igne à victimariis facto, in con-
spectu populi cremati sunt.

Ibid. The professors of Wisdom.] Suetonius c Do-
mitiano. d Junium Rusticum (interemit Domitianus)
quòd Parti Thraseæ, & e Helvidii Prisci laudes edidif-
set, appellaretque eos sanctissimos viros, cujus criminis
occasione philosophos omnes urbe Italiâque summovit. Sul-
picia a Poetets of that time.

Nunc igitur qui res Romanas imperat inter
Et studia, & sapiens hominum nomenque, genusque,
Omnia abire foras, atque urbe excedere jussit.

f Xiphilinus: (1) Ῥωμαίων Αρεταίων ἀπέλειπον ὅτι ἱε-
ροσόφει, καὶ ὅτι τὸ Θρασεῖαν ἱερὸν ἀγῶμα, καὶ Ἐριν-
ιον Σενηκίαν ὅτι τὸ Πείσαν τὸ Ελευσίαν τὸ βίον Λω-
γιστῶν. ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς τάτης καὶ φιλοσοφίαν
αἰτία, συχνοὶ διώλαντο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐξηλάθησαν
αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

P.4. Forum Julium.] A Town seated in litore Nar-
bonensi, distant from Massilia 75 Miles, as Strabo
e reckoneth. Of the same name there were also in
Italy, but none so famous as this. The present estate
whereof is described very well (as all other things)
by that excellent Chancellor of France, Michael h Ho-
spitalis.

Inde forum Juli parvam nunc venimus urbem:
Apparet veteris vestigia magnæ theatri,
Ingentes arcus, & thermæ, & ductus aquarum;
Apparet moles antiqui diruta portus,
Atque ubi portus erat, siccum nunc litus & horti.

P.6. None of the judicial places.] That is, he was
neither Prætor urbanus, nor peregrinus, which were
the two places of civil causes, properly called by
the name of Jurisdictio. To the rest belonged cog-
nition of criminal causes, as de Ambitu, Repetundis,
Falso, beneficiis, &c. properly called by the name of
Quæstiones, and under the Emperors handled before
the Præfectus urbis, rather than their own Prætor,
which at those times carried not much more than a
bare name.

Ibid. Plays.] To give Plays and Pastimes to the
people seemeth to have been at the first the Ediles
peculiar charge, and afterward common to all Ma-
gistrates

gistrates in a manner, Quæstors, Prætors, Consuls, &c. Of Prætors it is plain by these Words of Cassius to Brutus in *Plutarch*: (2) παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν ἐπιδόσεις, καὶ διαίεα, καὶ μονομάχαι, ὅσα δὲ καὶ καταλύουσιν τὴν νεανίδος ἀπαίτησιν.

(2) That is, of other Prætors. Men do expect and require largesses, Stage-Plays and Gladiators. But at your hands they expect a matter of more importance.

P. 9. Patricians.] One of the fundamental divisions in the Roman state was in *Patres*, five *Patritios* & *plebeios*. The *Patritii* were all made by *Romulus*, as *Livy* reporteth, Senators and Counsellors of State: as *Dionysius*, cut of the *Patritii* the Senators were elected. *Hostilius* uniting *Alba* to *Rome*, *Principes Albanorum* in *Patres*, ut ea quoque pars reip. cresceret, legit, *Julios*, *Servilios*, *Quinctios*, *Geganios*, *Curatio*, *Clælios*. After whom the elder *Tarquinius*, non minus regni sui firmandi, quàm augendæ reip. memor, centum in patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati. *Liv. lib. 1.* And when the Kings were cast out, quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, cædibus regis diminutum Patrum numerum, primoribus equestri gradus lectis, ad trecentorum summam explevit Brutus. And five years after, *Appius Claudius*, fleeing with his faction from the *Sabins* to *Rome*, inter *Patres* lectus est; being the last, I remember, upon whom in the Free-State that honour was conferred, to be made a *Patritian*.

The Emperors many years after upon the like causes, or to pleasure their Friends renewed the custom. *Julius senatum supplevit, Patritios allegit.* Then *Augustus*, (3) τὸ, τὲ τῶν εὐπαιδῶν γένος ὡς πλείονος, ἢ βελῆς οἱ θεοὶ ἐπιτελέσας τὸ τοιοῦτον ποιεῖν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ, τὲ πλείονος παλάαι σφῶν. ἔδεν γὰρ ἕως αὐτοῦ τὸ γένος ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πόλεμοις ἀναλίσκασθαι. And *Claudius*. *Iisdem diebus in numerum Patritiorum ascivit Cesar (Claudius) vetustissimum quemque è senatu, aut quibus clari parentes fuerant, paucos jam reliquos familiarum, quas Romulus majorum, & L. Brutus minorum gentium appellaverat, exhaustis etiam quas dictator Cesar lege Cassia, & princeps Augustus lege Senia sublegere.* *Tac. 11. Annal.* And lastly, as it may here appear, *Vespasian*, after whose time I find no mention of any such subrogation. Only I find that *Constantine the Great* under the old name of *Patritii*

k *Sueton. c.*

41.

(3) That is, *Augustus* by permission, as he would have it seem, of the Senate, supplied the number of the *Patritians*, whereof the most part was decayed, nothing in Civil Wars going so much to the Walls, as the Ancient Nobility: *Dio. lib. 52. p. 234.*

(1) That is, *Upratus* had obtained the dignity of *Patricius* at *Constantine's* hand who first devised this honour, and gave them in that place presence before the *Præfetti Prætorio*. lib. 2. p. 692.

a pag. 761.

(2) That is, when as the *Pontifices* brought unto him according to the custom the *Pontifical* habit, he rejected the suit, supposing it unlawful for a Christian to wear that attire.

b pag. 779.

(3) A long square.

(4) That is, a figure enclosed with four sides having all the Angles right, but not all the sides equal.

A

tricii induced a new kind of Office, and honour superior to the *Præfetti Prætorio*. *Zosimus*. (1) Οπᾶ-
τῶ Ἐδᾶ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ ἀξίῳ τετυχήκει τῷ Πατρικίῳ,
πρώτῃ ταύτην ἐπινόησαν τῶ τὴν τιμὴν, καὶ περιεβύδα
τὴν ταύτης ἡξιομένους τῶ τῷ αὐλῆς ὑπάρχον νομοθε-
τῆσαν τῶ. and of *Patritius* in this sense we read
often in the times of the later Emperors.

9. A pontifical dignity.] Of all the Colleges of Priests, in *Rome*, being many in number, that of the Pontifices was of the supreamest Authority, consisting of four, afterward four more were added, and the number by *Sylla* further augmented, eligible in the free state by Chapter, sometime by the people, afterward appointed by the Prince. The head of this College was called *Pontifex maximus*, an honour resiant in the Emperor's Person even from the time of *Julius*, in whom the Empire, and *Pontificatus* first by chance were united, and continued even in the Christian Emperors, till *Gratian* cast off both the name and the attire. *Zosimus*, a lib. 4. (2) προπαράγοντων αὐτῶ τῶ ποντιφικῶν κατὰ τὸ σύνθεσις τῷ ἱερατικῇν σὺλῆν, ἀπεσίειστο τῷ ἀίστησιν, ἀδύμιττον εἶναι χριστιανῶ τὸ γῆμα νομίσαι. And afterward *Theodosius*, as the same *Zosimus* and *Symmachus* report, dissolved the College of the Pontifices, and all the rest of the Priests, and confiscated the Revenues. The name of *Pontifex*, saith *Varro*, lib. 4. *de lingua Lat.* is deduced, ἀ ponte, nam ab iis Sublicius est factus primus, & restitutus septē. *Zosimus* deriveth the name from an ancient custom among the *Thessalians*, where before the use of Temples, the Images of the Gods being placed upon the Bridge of the River *Peneus*, the Priests thereof were named, *μυυεαῖοι*.

10. To a long Dish, or two edged Ax.] *Scutula*, used by *Tacitus* here, and *Martial*, lib. 11. Epigr. 32. and *scutella* by *Tully*, signifieth a Dish usually served at Table, and to *Scutella*, is, (3) ἐπερὶ μνησ by *Censorinus*, cap. 18. resembled, whose definition by *Euclid* is this, (for in *Censorinus* the place is corrupted) (4) τετραπλευρον ὃ ὁρθογώνιον μὲν εἶναι, ἐκὶ ἰσοπλευρον δέ. like to the figure A although by this place of *Tacitus* it may seem, that not all *Scutulae*

negyrist, as though Tacitus had delivered us here matter worthy of imitation, hath taken the pains to assume this high point of Learning, *ad verbum* into his Oration.

b pag. 166.

12. Pearls.] Marcellinus, ^b lib. 23. *Apud Indos & Persas margarita reperiuntur in testis marinis robustis & candidis, permixtione roris anni tempore praestituto concepta. Cupientes enim velut coitum quendam humoris, ex lunari aspergine capiunt densius oscitando. Exindeque gravide adunt minutas binas aut ternas, vel uniones sic appellatas quae ejus terrae conchula singulas aliquoties, parvulae sunt, sed majores. Idque indicium est aetherea potius generatione quam saginis pelagi hos oriri factus & vesci, quia guttae matutini roris iisdem infusa claros efficiunt lapillos & teretes: vespertini vero, fluxuosos contra & rutilos, & maculosos interdum. Minima autem vel magna pro qualitate haustuum figurantur casibus variatis. Concussa vero saepissime metu fulgurum inanescunt, aut debilia pariunt, aut certe vitiiis destuunt abortivis. Capturas autem difficiles & periculosas, & amplitudines pretiarum illa efficit ratio, quod frequentari sueta litora propter piscantium insidias declinantes, ut quidam conjiciunt, circa devios scopulos, & marinorum canum receptacula delitescunt. Quod genus gemmae etiam in Britannici secessibus maris gigni legique, licet dignitate dispari, non ignoramus. And to the like purpose speaketh Pliny also, l. ^a 9. In Britannia parvos atque decolores uniones nasci certum est: whereas the commendation of Pearl consisteth in candore, magnitudine, orbe, levore, pondere. But in hope of the British, such as they were, Julius Caesar, saith ^b Suetonius, first went into Britanny, & ex iis contextum thoratem Veneri genetrici consecravit. Pliny.*

a cap. 55.

b cap. 47.

13. Policy.] *Consilium.* As in a natural body too little is unperfect; too great unweildy; so in a politick, both the extremities are weak, and not defensible. Although peradventure as well in the one body as in the other, (1) *αλυσθ'εα* induceth less danger generally, than (2) *ἐνεδ'εα* doth. This inconvenience Augustus wisely foreseeing in his time, when-

(1) Fullness

(2) Empti-

ness

as the Roman Empire was grown to that greatness,

ut jam mole laboraret sua, saith Lioy, restrained first

of all that infinite desire of enlarging. Of which

act as a thing most advisedly done *Julianus Casar-*

bus bringeth *Augustus* himself, discoursing in these

Words. (3) οὗτω διεδέμην τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν, ὥστε εἶναι

δὴ ὑμᾶς, ὦ θεοί, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδελμαντήην. Ὁν γὰρ

ταῖς ἀμέτεροις ἐπιθυμίαις ἔικων, ἐπηκτάσθαι πάντας

αὐτῇ διανοήθην, οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ δὴ αὖτε, ὥστε ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ὑπο-

διεδμένα, Ἰστρον καὶ Ἑσπερίην ποταμὸν ἐθέμην. Ἢτα

ὑποτάξας τὸ Σκυθῶν καὶ Θρακῶν ἔθνος, ἐπεμαρτύ-

των ὑμῶν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μοι τὸ χεῖρον, ἢ πῶτερον ἄλ-

λον ἐξ ἄλλης πεισκόπον, &c. After the Death of *Aug-*

ustus, a Book was produced written with his own

Hand, in the which, saith Tac, 1. Ann. operum publicarum

continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis,

quot classes, regna, provincia, tributa, aut vectigalia,

et necessitates, ac largitiones, addideratque insuper Con-

silium, saith he, using the same word in both pla-

ces, speaking of the same matter, coercendi intra ter-

minos imperii incertum motu, an per invidiam. Dio,

l. 56. (4) γράμην τὴν αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε, τοῖς τε παρῶ-

σιν ἀρκισθῆναι καὶ μηδὲ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ ἀρχὴν ἔσταν-

εῖναι ἐθέλῃσαι. δυσθυλακίον τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔσθαι, καὶ

κινδυνώσκειν ἐκ τέτυκτο καὶ τὰ ὅσα ὑπολέσθαι ἔσθαι. οὗτο

γὰρ καὶ αὐτοῖς ὅπως αἰετοῖς ἢ λυγροῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑ-

ργασίᾳ παρὰ τὸν αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων

περὶ τὴν ἰσθμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἡλίου.

19. To buy Corn.] The Romans, beside Tri-

bute, imposed upon the Countries subdued, such at

least as yielded Commodity thereof, a proportion in

Corn, commonly the tenth part, and beside for the

(3) That is,

the Affairs of

the Empire I

settled so that

it was be-

come as

strong and as

hard to make

a breach into

as a diamond.

For I yielded

not to those

unmeasura-

ble desires of

conquering

still more

and more,

but conten-

ted my self

with those

two limits,

as it were ap-

pointed by

nature, of

Danubius

and *Empha-*

tu. After-

ward the

Gods sparing

me longer

Life I under-

the limits of the Empire. For it would be both hard to be kept, and endanger, he said, even that which they had. And this Precept he always observed himself, not only in word but in deed and effect, refusing, whereas with great facility he might, to Conquer any more of the barbarous Nations.

tany

any it seemed the Romans had ingrossed all the Corn of the Countrey, and instituting a Monopoly thereof, compelled the poor Britains to buy at their Hands and their Price, and by and by laying a new charge upon them, as to Victual the Army, or such like, to sell it again under foot. Moreover the Cart-takers for Carriage of Provisions from *Cannisbury*, for Example, to *London*, would take up Carts at *Careil*, or make them pay well to be spared, whereas, the same thing might have been done without any molestation at all of the Subject, but not with like gain to the Officers. These abuses, or other of this kind, are meant in this place, as I understand it, submitting my Judgment herein to Men of better Experience that way.

41. The most capital kind of Enemies, commend[ers.] To hurt or disgrace by way of commendation, albeit, it seemeth a strange position at the first sight, yet may be, and daily is, both easily and diversly performed. For Example, to Commend a Man to his Prince for those Qualities, wherein the Prince himself either by his place ought to excel, or otherwise upon some special fancy affecteth to excel, and principally if he find any weakness that way in himself, is one of the most subtile, ready, and pernicious means to work a great Man in disgrace with his Prince. Whether that humour were with the rest infused into us at our beginning, I know not; but I surely believe, that no Man liveth so utterly void of good parts, but that he supposeth he hath some special gift above most Men some way or other, the nature and motions of which humour who so can mark and observe in his Prince, to take where advantage is offered, and work as the matter doth yield, shall seldom want means to do harm: to note wherein they delight and please themselves, being as ready a means to do hurt, even with the good Princes, as to feel and search out, what they feared, hath been with the bad. For if all kind of rivalry breed in private Men causes of grudge and dislike, what may the subject attend from his Prince (whose mind, as his body, is more tender, and more

c *Matru prin-*
cipis rimari,
as *Tigellinus*
did with *Nero*. See *Tac-*
itus 14. *Ann.*
p. 504.

more apt to receive offensive impressions) in so great means to offend, but assured destruction, be the concurrency founded upon never so small, and trifling a point? ^a *Dionysius* the elder, upon some gentle frensie, having a desire to become in his Old Days a Writer of Tragedies, hated, imprisoned, and tortured *Philoxenus* the Poet, who seemed to stand in his light. ^b The first disgrace of *Seneca* with *Nero* was grounded upon a suppose, that *Seneca* sought to excel him in Eloquence, and making of Verses; unto which Studies the Prince in those days had wholly betaken himself. And in his latter times settling his fancy and love upon Singing and playing in Stages, Qualities unseemly for his Estate, ^c he cast out of favour, and then made away *Paris* the Stage-Player, as his concurrent in that profession. Now by way of commendation *Poppæa* ^d *Sabina* commending the gentlemanly Qualities of *Otho*; albeit she did it to another intent, yet wrought she unawares his ^d discredit with the same *Nero*. And for my part I am not resolved, how an excellent Poet of our time observed congruity, which before a Prince, that esteemed it more than his Crown to be accounted the most beautiful personage in the World, maketh one extol his own Brother so highly, yea; and prefer him also before the King himself in that point; being a point so prone to engender emulation, and emulation in that kind, dangerous effects. But above all other kinds of commendations; that toucheth most nearly, and worketh most danger; where the quality commended breedeth not only love; but admiration also generally among the mean people; as military renown; magnanimity, patronage of justice against all oppressions and wrongs, magnificence and other Heroical vertues properly belonging; or chiefly besecming the Prince's Person. And this being general to all in some measure; no Prince in this World having

^a *Diodorus*
lib 15. p. 461.
ἐκαστὸν
πολύ μὲλλον
ἐπὶ τοῖς ποι-
ήμασιν ἢ τοῖς
ἐν πολέμῳ
κατεργασμέ-
σι καὶ ὁ
αὐτοὺς αὐ-
τῷ παύσαι
φιλοῦντο ὁ
διδουμένη-
ποιός, μὲν-
τοι ἔχον
ἐξέταμα καὶ
τῷ κατα-
σκευῇ τῷ
ἰδίῳ ποιήμα-
τι, καὶ τὸ
συμπόσιον
ἀναγνῶσθαι
ταῦτα καὶ
τις αὐτῶν
ποιήματα
μοχθηρὸν
ᾄδαν, ἐπε-
τιδὼν αὐτῷ
ποιήματα
τίνα χειρὶ
ἔχοι. ἐπο-
κειναμὲν
δ' αὐτῷ παρ-
ρησιαστέον
ὁ μὲν τίθει-
ντο, πορρῶ-
τας τοῖς
ῥηθῆναι, καὶ
καταμμε-
νὰ ἔχειν
ὅτι διαφύκει
ἡ θρασύτης
στρατοῦ
τοῖς ἐκεί-
ναις παρ-
χέται ἀπὸ
καὶ ἐκ τῆς
καλοῦμαι.

^b *Obijciebano*

etiam eloquentia laudem uni sibi asciscere, & carmina crebrius fastitare postquam Neroni amor eorum venisset. Tacit. c *Sueton. Nerone, cap. 54.* d Tac. 13. Ann. p. 471. de-
iitor familiaritate Sueti, post congressu & comitate Otho: & postremo, ne in urbe
pessimum ageret provincia Lusitania proficiscitur.

his

e Suetonius
Vespasiano, c.
14. ut suspi-
cione aliqua
vel metu ad
perniciem cu-
jusquam com-
pelleretur,
tantum asu-
it ut mone-
tilus amicus
evadendum es-
se Metium
Pomposianum,
quod vulgo
crederetur ge-
nesim habere
imperatorii-
am, insuper
eos fecerit,
spondens
quandoque be-
neficii memo-
riam futurum.

his mind so well armed against this cunning but that some breach may be made at some seasons into it, yet there it worketh both most speedily, and dangerously, where the Prince, as before I have said, is a witness to himself of his own weakness. For as it is true, that *Aliene virtuti nemo invidet, qui confidit sue*, so it is true also, that insufficiency is most apprehensive and envious. ^c *Vespasian* and other great Princes, standing upon their own might, and the strength of their virtues, could easily digest, that one should be said, for Example, to have *imperatoriam genesim*, yea, and preferred him also to place of credit, adding in jest, that he would perhaps remember it one day, whereas, with *Domitian* a Prince umbrageous and fearful, because of himself he was nothing, no way was found more fit to bring *Agricola* in disfavour, than by commending his excellent virtues. In like manner certain of *Constantius's* Court, whereas they could not justly speak ill, by the same Stratagem of praising in Audience of their Master, a jealous and suspicious Prince because he was weak and unable, brought *Julian* in hatred, as *Mamertinus* declareth at large in his Panegyrick, pag. 163. *Cum (Juliani) sancti principis mores atque instituta, falsarum vituperationum licentiam submoverent, callido nocendi artificio accusatoriam diritatem laudum titulis peragebant, in omnibus conventiculis quasi per benevolentiam illa jactantes, Julianus Alamaniam domuit: Julianus urbes Gallie ex favillis & cineribus excitavit. Aestates omnes in castris, hyemes in tribunalibus degit: ita illi anni spatia divisa sunt, ut aut barbaros domitet, aut civibus jura restituat, perpetuum professus aut contra hostem, aut contra vitia certamen. Hæ voces fuerunt ad inflammanda odia probris omnibus potentiores. Si n. comminisci aliqua flagitia tentassent, facile ipso splendore laudis & gloriæ refutarentur: invenerunt accusandi genus quod nullus refelleret.* Another kind of hurting by way of commendation is touched by *Polybius*, whereof he giveth us in the fourth Book of his Story an Example in the person of *Apelles* a Counsellor, and one in chief credit with *Philip* of *Macedonia*

nia Father of *Perseus*: who being desirous to remove *Taurion*, Governor of *Peloponneſe*, from his charge, and place ſome Creature of his in his room, told *Philip* his Maſter, that *Taurion* was a moſt ſingular Man, and fit in all reſpects to ſerve nearer, counſelling him thereupon to ſend for him home, and place him about his own Perſon, craftily calling him by that means from an honourable, and almoſt abſolute Government thither, where he ſhould live in equality with others, and be ſubject to check as one of the meany: Great Men in this point ſome- what reſembling the Moon, which although ſhe fetch her light from the Sun, and eſtſoons reſorteth thither again to receive new influence and vertue, yet in her prime turneth her dark Face toward the World, and ſhineth then brighteſt, when ſhe is furtheſt removed. Albeit in later times the contrary Example hath been more uſual in Courts, by way of commendation to remove one from about the Prince and ſend him out of the way, under pretence, that he is the only fit Man for ſuch and ſuch a Service abroad. Many other kinds might be reckoned of this ſort of Sophiſtry, as to commend a Man publickly, where it can do no good (beſide that it maketh the party ſecure of all danger from thence) and ſecretly diſpraiſe him, where it ſhould do much harm. *Manlius Valens*, ſaith *Tacitus*, 1. Hiſt. *quaniſquam bene de partibus meritis, nullo apud Vitellium honore fuit. ſecretis eum criminationibus infamaverat Fabius ignarum, & quo incauti- or deciperetur, palam laudatum.* Or elſe to commend in generalities, and ſo having won the Opin- ion of a friend in the Prince's ears, conſequently to diſable to this or that particular, which ſhall be in queſtion; with ſuch like deceits, which the malice of Courtiers heretofore hath invented, and daily in- venteth plentifully. For in Court, ſaith ^a *Polybius*, this malice was found, and in court it remaineth.

P. 44. A good Man you would easily think him, &c. *Bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter.*] *Et te Corneli Tacite bonum historicum facile credimus, bonum oratorem crederemus libenter,* were it not for this

P 2

and

α ἔφυγον· ἡ
 μάχη τε καὶ
 πρῶτον πταύ-
 ομι· κακὴ γὰρ
 ἡ καὶ βασι-
 λεύα, καὶ δολ-
 οὗσα, το μὴ
 ἐπαύειν τὰς
 λυγυσιδῶναι
 τῆς πόλεως,
 ἐκ ὧν ποῦ
 τὰς αὐτὰς
 διατερεβό-
 τον, καὶ τὴν
 αὐτὴν σφαιρὰν
 ἀλλήλους ζη-
 λουσιπας καὶ
 πλουσιζμα.
 ρ. 136.

and some other sayings of the like making. Fuit
 b 13. *Annal.* illi viro, saith ^b Tacitus judging of Seneca, as we
 may of him, *ingenium amatum, & temporis illius*
auribus accommodatum. How that Age was eared,
 long or round, I cannot define: but sure I am it
 yielded a kind of Sophisticate Eloquence, and Rhyming
 Harmony of Words, whereunder was small matter
 in Sence, when there seemed to be most in appearance.
 This kind of Rhetorick was induced into Græ-
 cia by the Teachers of Oratory in School, whose
 Judgments, Use and Experience had not refined: first
 by Gorgias, as it may well appear by that little of
 his which is left; then by Isocrates and his Disci-
 ples, and being refused by that judicious Nation
 found favour in some corners of Asia, till at length
 the use of Eloquence decaying in Commonwealth,
 and the Study thereof remaining in Schools, that
 bastard Rhetorick returned again, yielding us in
 stead of the soundly contrived sentences of Demost-
 benes, Æschines, Hyperides, the paintings of Aristides,
 Philostratus, Dio Chrysostomus, and others, though
 not without opposition of many, as Dionysius, Lu-
 cian and such like. The Ancient Romans sucking
 the best from the Greeks, when they were at
 their best failed not much that way, unless per-
 adventure we may reckon Hortensius as one of
 the number: for so Tully in Bruto seems to de-
 scribe him. But of the latter, whom have we
 almost not infected with that Heresie of Sryle
 begun by Seneca, Quintilian, the Plinies, and Ta-
 citus, continued in their Successors the Panegy-
 lists, and lastly, conveyed to Christian Religion
 by Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, Bernard, &c.
 For a tast of this affectation in Tacitus, 1. Hist.
 pag. 15. *Rara temporum felicitate ubi sentire quæ*
velis, & quæ sentias dicere licet, pag. 20. *Incho-*
avere annum sibi ultimum, reip. prope supremum.
 pag. 22. *Secundæ res acrioribus stimulis animum*
explorant, quia miseriæ tolerantur, felicitate cor-
rumpimur. pag. 37. *Quatriduo Cæsar properata ad-*
optione, ad hoc tantum majori fratri prelatum ut
prior occideretur. pag. 46. *Et uno amne discretæ con-*
 nexura

nexum odium. pag. 54. Redieruntque in castra in-
niti neque innocentes. pag. 34. Nec illos priores &
futuri principes terruere, quo minus facerent scelus
cujus ultor est quisquis successit. pag. 45. Quaeque
alia placamenta hostilis irae non quidem in bello sed pro
pace tendebantur. 2. Hist. pag. 88. Et Vitellius credi-
dit de perfidia & fidem absoluit. 3. Hist. pag. 143.
Arserat & ante Capitolium sed fraude privata: nunc
palam obsessum, palam incensum, with many more of
the same mark.

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